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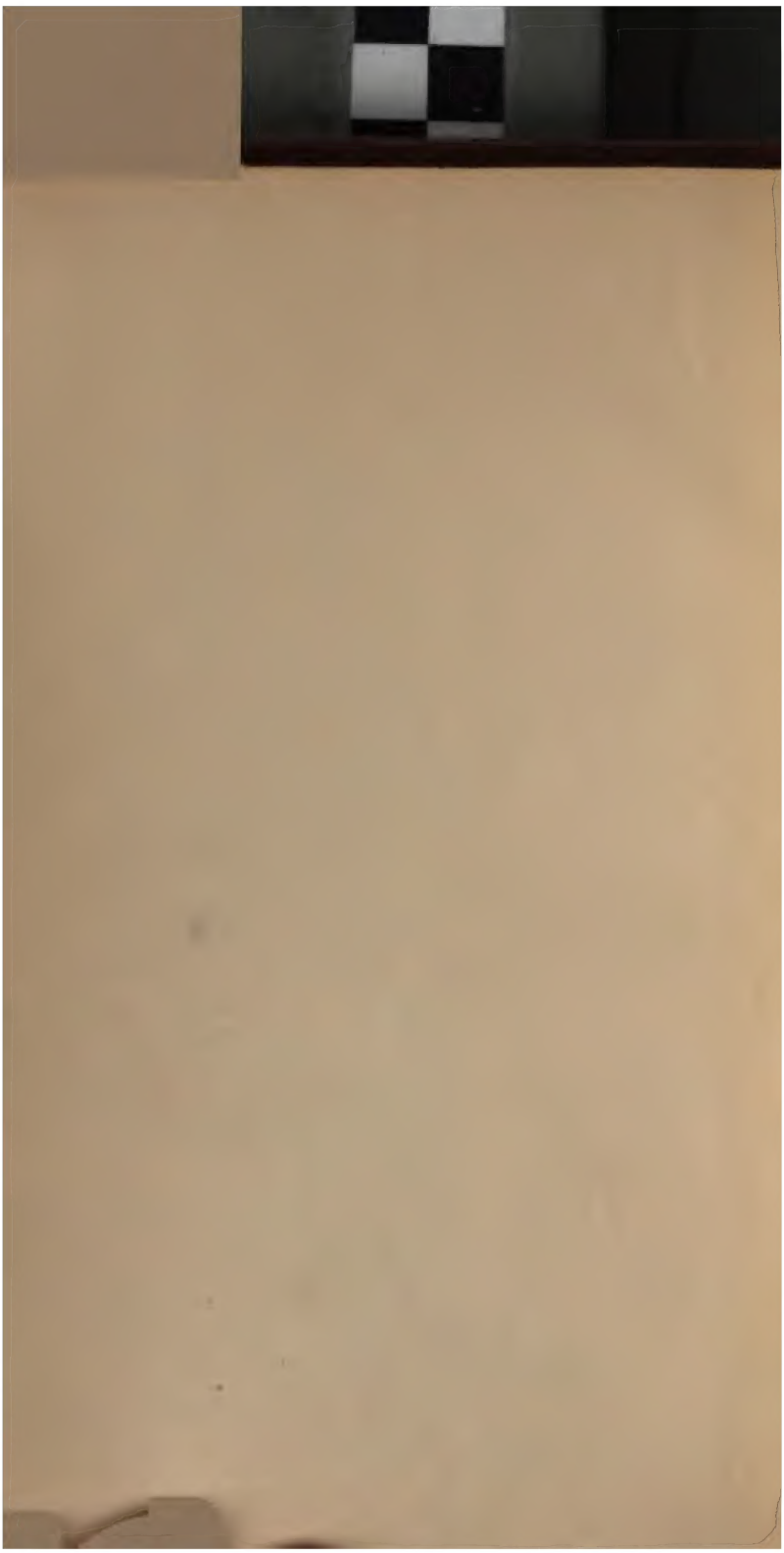

THE

PLAYS AND POEMS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

PART II.

CONTAINING

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.
THE TEMPEST.
THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

ENGLISH STAGE,

AND OF

THE ECONOMY AND USAGES OF OUR ANCIENT THEATRES.

THE drama before the time of Shakſpeare was ſo little cultivated, or ſo ill underſtood, that to many it may appear unneceſſary to carry our theatrical reſearches higher than that period. Dryden has truly obſerved, that he "found not, but created firſt the ſtage;" of which no one can doubt, who conſiders, that of all the plays iſſued from the preſs antecedent to the year 1592, when there is reaſon to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are ſcarcely known, except to antiquaries; nor is there one of them that will bear a ſecond peruſal. Yet theſe, contemptible and few as they are, we may ſuppoſe to have been the moſt popular productions of the time, and the beſt that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakſpeare[1].

[1] There are but thirty-eight plays, (excluſive of myſteries, moralities, interludes, and tranſlated pieces,) now extant, written antecedent to, or in, the year 1592. Their titles are as follows:

Acolaſtus	1540	*Appius and Virginia*	1575
Ferrex and Porrex	1561	*Gammer Gurton's Needle*	
Damon and Pythias	1562	*Promos and Caſſandra*	1578
Tancred and Giſmund	1568	*Arraignment of Paris*	1584
Cambyſes, no date, but probably written before	1570	*Sappho and Phao*	
		Alexander and Campaſpe	
		Misfortunes of Arthur,	1587

A minute inveſtigation, therefore, of the origin and progreſs of the drama in England, will ſcarcely repay the labour of the inquiry. However, as the beſt introduction to an account of the internal economy and uſages of the Engliſh theatres in the time of Shakſpeare, (the principal object of this diſſertation,) I ſhall take a curſory view of our moſt ancient dramatick exhibitions, though I fear I can add but little to the reſearches which have already been made on that ſubject.

Jeronimo	1588	*Orlando Furioſo*	before 1592
Spaniſh Tragedy, or *Hieronimo is mad again*		*Alphonſus king of Arragon*	
Tamburlaine		*James IV. king of Scotland*	
Titus Andronicus -	1589	*A Lookinglaſs for London and England*	
King Henry V. in or before	1589	*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*	
Contention between the Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, in or before -	1590	*Jew of Malta*	
King John, in two parts,	1591	*Dr. Fauſtus*	
Endymion -		*Edward II.*	
Soliman and Perſeda	in or before 1592	*Luſt's Dominion*	
Midas		*Maſſacre of Paris*	
Galathea		*Dido*	
Arden of Feverſham			

Between the years 1592 and 1600, the following plays were printed or exhibited; the greater part of which, probably, were written before our author commenced play-wright.

Cleopatra -	1593	*Woman in the Moon* - -	1597
Edward I. - -		*Mucedorus* -	1598
Battle of Alcazar	1594	*The virtuous Octavia*	
Wounds of Civil War		*Blind Beggar of Alexandria*	
Selymus, Emperor of the Turks		*Every Man in his Humour*	
Cornelia		*Pinner of Wakefield*	1599
Mother Bombie		*Warning for fair Women*	
The Cobler's Prophecy		*David and Bethſabe*	
The Wars of Cyrus		*Two angry women of Abingdon*	
King Leir		*The Caſe is altered*	
Taming of a Shrew		*Every Man out of his Humour*	
An old wives Tale		*The Trial of Chevalry*	
Maid's Metamorphoſes		*Humorous day's mirth*	
Love's Metamorphoſes		*Summer's laſt Will and Teſtament*	
Pedler's Prophecy			
Antonius	1595		
Edward III.			
Wily Beguiled			

Mr. Warton in his elegant and ingenious Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry has given ſo accurate an account of our earlieſt dramatick performances, that I ſhall make no apology for extracting from various parts of his valuable work, ſuch particulars as ſuit my preſent purpoſe.

The earlieſt dramatick entertainments exhibited in England, as well as every other part of Europe, were of a religious kind. So early as in the beginning of the twelfth century, it was cuſtomary in England on holy feſtivals to repreſent, in or near the churches, either the lives and miracles of ſaints, or the moſt important ſtories of Scripture. From the ſubject of theſe ſpectacles, which, as has been obſerved, were either the miracles of ſaints, or the more myſterious parts of holy writ, ſuch as the incarnation, paſſion, and reſurrection of Chriſt, theſe ſcriptural plays were denominated *Miracles*, or *Myſteries*. At what period of time they were firſt exhibited in this country, I am unable to aſcertain. Undoubtedly, however, they are of very great antiquity; and Riccoboni, who has contended that the Italian theatre is the moſt ancient in Europe, has claimed for his country an honour to which it is not entitled. The era of the earlieſt repreſentation in Italy[2], founded on holy writ, he has placed in the year 1264, when the fraternity *del Gonfalone* was eſtabliſhed; but we had ſimilar exhibitions in England above 150 years before that time. In the year 1110, as Dr. Percy and Mr. Warton have obſerved, the Miracle-play of *Saint Catharine*, written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, (afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's,) was acted, probably by his ſcholars, in the abbey of Dunſtable; perhaps the firſt ſpectacle of this kind exhibited in England[3]. William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who according

[2] The French theatre cannot be traced higher than the year 1398, when the Myſtery of the Paſſion was repreſented at St. Maur.

[3] "Apud Duneſtapliam—quendam ludum de ſancta Katerina (quem MIRACULA vulgariter appellamus) fecit. Ad quæ decoranda, petiit a ſacriſta ſancti Albani, ut ſibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit." Vitæ Abbat. ad calc. Hiſt. Mat. Paris, folio, 1639. p. 56.

to the beſt accounts compoſed his very curious work in 1174, about four years after the murder of his patron Archbiſhop Becket, and in the twenty-firſt year of the reign of King Henry the ſecond, mentions, that "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the repreſentations of miracles wrought by holy confeſſors, or the ſufferings of martyrs [4]."

Mr. Warton has remarked, that "in the time of Chaucer Plays of Miracles appear to have been the common reſort of idle goſſips in Lent:"

4 "Lundonia pro ſpectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis ſcenicis, ludos habit ſanctiores, repræſentationes miraculorum quæ ſancti confeſſores operati ſunt, ſeu repræſentationes paſſionum, quibus claruit conſtantia martyrum." *Deſcriptio nobiliſſimæ civitatis Lundoniæ.* Fitz-Stephen's very curious deſcription of London is a portion of a larger work, entitled *Vita ſancti Thomæ, Archiepiſcopi et Martyris*, i. e. Thomas a Becket. It is aſcertained to have been written after the murder of Becket in the year 1170, of which Fitz-Stephen was an ocular witneſs, and while King Henry II. was yet living. A modern writer with great probability ſuppoſes it to have been compoſed in 1174, the author in one paſſage mentioning that the church of Saint Paul's was formerly metropolitical, and that it was thought it would become ſo again, "ſhould the citizens return into the iſland." In 1174 King Henry II. and his ſons had carried over with them a conſiderable number of citizens to France, and many Engliſh had in that year alſo gone to Ireland. See Diſſertation prefixed to Fitz-Stephen's *Deſcription of London, newly tranſlated*, &c. 4to. 1772, p. 16.—Near the end of his Deſcription is a paſſage which aſcertains it to have been written before the year 1182: "Lundonia et modernis temporibus reges illuſtros magnificoſque *peperit*; imperatricem Matildam, Henricum regem *tertium*, et beatum Thomam" [Thomas Becket]. Some have ſuppoſed that inſtead of *tertium* we ought to read *ſecundum*, but the text is undoubtedly right; and by *tertium*, Fitz-Stephen muſt have meant Henry, the ſecond ſon of Henry the Second, who was born in London in 1156-7, and being heir apparent, after the death of his elder brother William, was crowned king of England in his father's life-time, on the 15th of July, 1170. He was frequently ſtyled *rex filius*, *rex juvenis*, and ſometimes he and his father were denominated *Reges Angliæ*. The young king, who occaſionally exerciſed all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, died in 1182. Had he not been living when Fitz-Stephen wrote, he would probably have added *nuper defunctum*. Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were born in London. See the *Diſſertation* above-cited, p. 12.

"Therefore

" Therfore made I my viſitations
" To vigilies and to proceſſions;
" To prechings eke, and to thiſe pilgrimages,
" To *playes of miracles*, and mariages[5], &c. "

" And in Pierce Plowman's Creed, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions theſe Miracles as not leſs frequented than market-towns and fairs:

" We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
" At markets and Miracles we meddle us never."

The elegant writer, whoſe words I have juſt quoted, has given the following ingenious account of the origin of this rude ſpecies of dramatick entertainment:

" About the eighth century trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which laſted ſeveral days. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed many great marts of this ſort in France, as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman ſucceſſors, in England. The merchants who frequented theſe fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minſtrels, and buffoons; who were no leſs intereſted in giving their attendance, and exerting all their ſkill on theſe occaſions. As now but few large towns exiſted, no publick ſpectacles or popular amuſements were eſtabliſhed; and as the ſedentary pleaſures of domeſtick life and private ſociety were yet unknown, the fair-time was the ſeaſon for diverſion. In proportion as theſe ſhews were attended and encouraged, they began to be ſet off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered ſtill more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy obſerving that the entertainments of dancing, muſick, and mimickry, exhibited at theſe protracted annual celebrities, made the people leſs religious, by promoting idleneſs and a love of feſtivity, proſcribed

[5] The Wif of Bathes Prologue, v. 6137. Tyrwhitt's edit.

theſe ſports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and inſtead of profane mummeries, preſented ſtories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the monks of ſaint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the profeſſed players. Muſick was admitted into the churches, which ſerved as theatres for the repreſentation of holy farces. The feſtivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux, d l'Ane,* and *des Innocens,* at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and abſurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. Theſe are the ideas of a judicious French writer now living, who has inveſtigated the hiſtory of human manners with great comprehenſion and ſagacity."

"Voltaire's theory on this ſubject is alſo very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he ſuppoſes, came originally from Conſtantinople[6]; where the old Grecian ſtage continued to flouriſh in ſome degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were repreſented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbiſhop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, baniſhed pagan plays from the ſtage at Conſtantinople, and introduced ſtories from the old and new Teſtament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious ſpectacle, a tranſition was made on the ſame plan; and the choruſſes were turned into Chriſtian hymns. Gregory wrote many ſacred dramas

[6] "At Conſtantinople" (as Mr. Warton has elſewhere obſerved,) "it ſeems that the ſtage flouriſhed much, under Juſtinian and Theodora, about the year 540: for in the Baſilical codes we have the oath of an actreſs, μη αναχωρειν της πορνειας. Tom. VII. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly ſaint Chryſoſtom, are full of declamation againſt the drama; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleaſure than a preacher of the goſpel." Warton's *Hiſt of E. P.* I. 244. n.

for

for this purpoſe, which have not ſurvived thoſe inimitable compoſitions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called Χριστὸς πασχων, or *Chriſt's Paſſion*, is ſtill extant. In the prologue it is ſaid to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the firſt time the Virgin Mary had been introduced on the ſtage. The faſhion of acting ſpiritual dramas, in which at firſt a due degree of method and decorum was preſerved, was at length adopted from Conſtantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous ſpecies of theatrical repreſentation called MYSTERIES, or ſacred comedies, and which were ſoon after received in France. This opinion will acquire probability, if we conſider the early commercial intercourſe between Italy and Conſtantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be ſuppoſed to have imported plays of this nature, did not underſtand the Greek language, yet they could underſtand, and conſequently could imitate, what they ſaw."

"In defence of Voltaire's hypotheſis, it may be further obſerved, that *The feaſt of fools* and of *the Aſs*, with other religious farces of that ſort, ſo common in Europe, originated at Conſtantinople. They were inſtituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek Church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Conſtantinople, probably with a better deſign than is imagined by the eccleſiaſtical annaliſts; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, by the ſubſtitution of chriſtian ſpectacles partaking of the ſame ſpirit of licentiouſneſs.—To thoſe who are accuſtomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies which the unpoliſhed ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the people who were forbidden to read the events of the ſacred hiſtory in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, ſhould at the ſame time be permitted to ſee them repreſented on the ſtage, diſgraced with the groſſeſt improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the moſt ridiculous kind, ſullied with

impurities, and expreſſed in the language of the loweſt farce."

"On the whole, the *Myſteries* appear to have originated among the eccleſiaſticks; and were moſt probably firſt acted with any degree of form by the monks. This was certainly the caſe in the Engliſh Monaſteries[7]. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine performed at Dunſtable Abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the ſuperintendance of Geoffrey a Pariſian eccleſiaſtick: and the exhibition of the *Paſſion* by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Inſtances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only perſons who could now read, were in the religious ſocieties; and various circumſtances, peculiarly ariſing from their ſituation, profeſſion, and inſtitution, enabled the Monks to be the ſole performers of theſe repreſentations."

"As learning encreaſed, and was more widely diſſeminated, from the monaſteries, by a natural and eaſy tranſition, the practice migrated to ſchools and univerſities, which were formed on the monaſtick plan, and in many reſpects reſembled the eccleſiaſtical bodies[8]."

Candlemas Day, or *The Slaughter of the Innocents*, written by Ihan Parfre in 1512, *Mary Magdalene*, produced in the ſame year[9], and *The Promiſes of God*, written by John Bale, and printed in 1538, are curious ſpecimens of this early ſpecies of drama. But the moſt ancient as well as moſt complete collection of this kind is, *The Cheſter Myſteries*, which were written by Ralph Higden, a Monk of the Abbey of Cheſter, about the year 1328[1], of which a particular account will be found below.

7 "In ſome regulations given by Cardinal Wolſey to the monaſteries of the Canons regular of Saint Auſtin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *luſores* aut *mimici*, players or mimicks. But the prohibition means that the monks ſhould not go abroad to exerciſe theſe arts in a ſecular and mercenary capacity. See Annal. Burtonenſes, p. 437."

In 1589, however, an injunction made in the MEXICAN COUNCIL was ratified at Rome, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Myſteries even on Corpus Chriſti day. See HIST. OF E. P. II. 201.

8 Warton's HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY, II. pp. 366, *et ſeq.*

9 Mſs. Digby, 133. Bibl. Bodl.

1 Mſs. Harl. 2013, &c. "Exhibited at Cheſter in the year 1327, at

below. I am tempted to tranſcribe a few lines from the third of theſe pageants, *The Deluge*, as a ſpecimen of of the ancient Myſteries.

at the expence of the different trading companies of that city: *The Fall of Lucifer*, by the Tanners. *The Creation*, by the Drapers. *The Deluge*, by the Dyers. *Abraham*, *Melchiſedech*, and *Lot*, by the Barbers. *Moſes*, *Balak*, and *Balaam*, by the Cappers. *The Salutation* and *Nativity*, by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night*, by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings*, by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings*, by the Mercers. *The killing of the Innocents*, by the Goldſmiths. *The Purification*, by the Blackſmiths. *The Temptation*, by the Butchers. *The laſt Supper*, by the Bakers. *The blind Men and Lazarus*, by the Glovers. *Jeſus and the Lepers*, by the Corveſarys. *Chriſt's Paſſion*, by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Deſcent into Hell*, by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Reſurrection*, by the Skinners. *The Aſcenſion*, by the Taylors. *The Election of S. Matthias, ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, &c.* by the Fiſhmongers. *Antichriſt*, by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgement*, by the Webſters. The reader will perhaps ſmile at ſome of theſe combinations. This is the ſubſtance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world; he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradiſe, and opens his ſide while ſleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not aſhamed*, and the old ſerpent enters lamenting his fall. He converſes with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propoſe, according to the ſtage-direction, to make themſelves *ſubligacula a foliis quibus tegamus pudenda*. Cover their nakedneſs with leaves, and converſe with God. God's curſe. The ſerpent *exit* hiſſing. They are driven from Paradiſe by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming ſword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve ſpinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter: the former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is baniſhed," &c. Warton's HIST. OF E. P. I. 243.

Mr. Warton obſerves in a note in his firſt volume, p. 180, that "if it be true that theſe *Myſteries* were compoſed in the year 1328, and there was ſo much difficulty in obtaining the Pope's permiſſion that they might be preſented in Engliſh, a preſumptive proof ariſes, that all our *Myſteries* before that period were in Latin. Theſe plays will therefore have the merit of being the firſt Engliſh interludes."

Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, Lib. v. c. 2, that the Myſteries were in his time in Engliſh. "Solemus vel more priſcorum ſpectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes, —recitare comœdias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria repræſentare, in quibus, ut cunctis par ſit voluptas, *qui recitant, vernaculam linguam tantum uſurpant.*" The firſt three books of Polydore's work were publiſhed in 1499; in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more.

The

The firſt ſcenical direction is,—"*Et primo in aliquo ſupremo loco, ſive in nubibus, ſi fieri poterat, loquatur* DEUS *ad Noe, extra archam exiſtente cum tota familia ſua.*" Then the ALMIGHTY, after expatiating on the ſins of mankind, is made to ſay:

Man that I made I will deſtroye,
Beaſt, worme, and fowle to fley,
For one earth the doe me nye,
The folke that are herone.
It harmes me ſore hartefully
The malice that doth nowe multiplye,
That ſore it greeves me inwardlie
That ever I made man.
Therefore, Noe, my ſervant free,
That righteous man arte, as I ſee,
A ſhipp ſoone thou ſhalt make thee
Of trees drye and lighte.
Litill chambers therein thou make,
And byndinge ſlytche alſo thou take,
Within and without ney thou ſlake
To anoynte yt through all thy mighte, &c.

After ſome dialogue between Noah, Sem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives, we find the following ſtage-direction: "Then Noe with all his family ſhall make a ſigne as though the wrought uppon the ſhippe with divers inſtruments, and after that God ſhall ſpeake to Noe:

Noe, take thou thy meanye,
And in the ſhipp hie that ye be,
For non ſo righteous man to me
Is nowe on earth livinge.
Of clean beaſtes with the thou take
Seven and ſeven, or thou ſlake,
He and ſhe, make to make,
By live in that thou bring, &c.

"Then Noe ſhall goe into the arke with all his familye, his wife excepte. The arke muſt be boarded round

round aboute, and uppon the bordes all the beaſtes and fowles hereafter rehearſed muſt be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures."

SEM. Sier, here are lions, libardes, in,
Horſes, mares, oxen and ſwyne,
Neates, calves, ſheepe and kyne,
Here ſitten thou maye ſee, &c.

After all the beaſts and fowls have been deſcribed, Noah thus addreſſes his wife:

NOE. Wife, come in, why ſtandes thou there?
Thou art ever froward, that dare I ſwere,
Come in on Godes halfe; tyme it were,
For fear leſt that wee drowne.
WIFE. Yea, ſir, ſet up your ſaile,
And rowe forth with evil haile,
For withouten anie faile
I wil not oute of this toune;
But I have my goſſepes everich one,
One foote further I will not gone:
They ſhal not drown by St. John,
And I may ſave ther life.
They loved me full well by Chriſt:
But thou will let them in thie chiſt,
Ellis rowe forth, Noe, when thou liſt,
And get thee a newe wife.

At length Sem and his brethren put her on board by force, and on Noah's welcoming her, "Welcome, wife, into this boate," ſhe gives him a box on the ear: adding, "Take thou that for thy note[2]."

Many licentious pleaſantries, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, were ſometimes introduced in theſe religious repreſentations. "This might imperceptibly lead the way to ſubjects entirely profane, and to comedy; and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Myſtery of

2 It is obvious that the tranſcriber of theſe ancient Myſteries, which appear to have been written in 1328, repreſents them as they were exhibited at Cheſter in 1600, and that he has not adhered to the original orthography.

the

The Maſſacre of the Holy Innocents [3], part of the ſubject of a ſacred drama given by the Engliſh fathers at the famous Council of Conſtance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, deſiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical buſineſs is treated with the moſt ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their ſpinning-wheels, break his head with their diſtaffs, abuſe him as a coward and a diſgrace to chivalry, and ſend him to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy.——It is certain that our anceſtors intended no ſort of impiety by theſe monſtrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the ſpectators ſaw the impropriety, nor paid a ſeparate attention to the comick and the ſerious part of theſe motley ſcenes; at leaſt they were perſuaded that the ſolemnity of the ſubject covered or excuſed all incongruities. They had no juſt idea of decorum, conſequently but little ſenſe of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the higheſt burleſque, on them would have made no ſort of impreſſion. We muſt not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, compoſed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tornament, firſt invoked his God, then his miſtreſs, and afterwards proceeded with a ſafe conſcience and great reſolution to engage his antagoniſt. In theſe Myſteries I have ſometimes ſeen groſs and open obſcenities. In a play of *The Old and New Teſtament* Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the ſtage naked [4], and converſing about their nakedneſs; this very pertinently introduces the next ſcene; in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary ſpectacle was beheld by a numerous aſſembly of both ſexes with great compoſure: they had the authority of ſcripture for ſuch a

[3] Mſs. Digby 134. Bibl. Bodl.

[4] This kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of King James the Firſt, ſeveral perſons appearing almoſt entirely naked in one of the Maſks, which was repreſented before him, his queen, and a large aſſembly of the ladies of the court. It is, if I recollect right, deſcribed by Winwood.

repreſentation

repreſentation, and they gave matters juſt as they found them in the third chapter of Geneſis. It would have been abſolute hereſy to have departed from the ſacred text in perſonating the primitive appearance of our firſt parents, whom the ſpectators ſo nearly reſembled in ſimplicity; and if this had not been the caſe, the dramatiſts were ignorant what to reject and what to retain[5]."

"I muſt not omit," adds Mr. Warton[6], "an anecdote entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the *Myſteries* at this period, [the latter part of the fifteenth century,] which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the ſeventh kept his reſidence at the caſtle of Wincheſter, on occaſion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called *Chriſti Deſcenſus ad inferos*, or *Chriſt's deſcent into Hell*. It was repreſented by the *Pueri Eleemoſynarii*, or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's priory, two large monaſteries at Wincheſter. This is the only proof I have ever ſeen of choir-boys acting in the old *Myſteries*: nor do I recollect any other inſtance of a royal dinner, even on a feſtival, accompanied with this ſpecies of diverſion[7]. The ſtory of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Chriſt, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptiſt, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the LUDUS PASCHALIS, or *Eaſter Play*. It occurs in the Coventry Plays acted on Corpus Chriſti day[8], and in the Whitſun

[5] Warton's HIST. OF ENGLISH POETRY. I. pp. 242, *et ſeq.*

[6] HIST. OF E. P. II. p. 206.

[7] "Except, that on the firſt ſunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princeſs Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the ſeventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high ſplendour, "after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the ſaid Maſter Inglyſhe and hys companions in the preſence of the kyng and qweene." On one of the preceding days, "after ſoupper the kynge and qweene beynge togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglyſh and hys companions *plaid*." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland, coll. iii. p. 300. Append. edit. 1770."

[8] See an account of the Coventry Plays in Stevens's Monaſticon, vol. I. p. 238. "Sir W. Dugdale, ſpeaking of the Gray-friars or Franciſcans

Whitſun-plays at Cheſter, where it is called the HARROWING OF HELL. The repreſentation is, Chriſt entering hell triumphantly, delivering our firſt parents, and

Franciſcans at Coventry, ſays, before the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries this city was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus-Chriſti day; which pageants being acted with mighty ſtate and reverence by the friers of this houſe, had theatres for the ſeveral ſcenes, very large and high, placed upon wheeles, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the ſpectators.— An ancient manuſcript of the ſame is now to be ſeen in the Cottonian Library, ſub. effig. Veſp. D. 8. Sir William cites this manuſcript by the title of *Ludus Coventriæ*; but in the printed catalogue of that library, p. 113, it is named thus: A collection of plays in old Engliſh metre; h. e. *Dramata ſacra, in quibus exhibentur hiſtoriæ Veteris & N. Teſtamenti, introductis quaſi in ſcenam perſonis illic memoratis, quas ſecum invicem colloquentes pro ingenio fingit poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, ſive ad inſtruendum, ſive ad placendum, a fratribus mendicantibus repræſentata.* It appears by the latter end of the prologue, that theſe plays or interludes were not only played at Coventry, but in other towns and places upon occaſion. And poſſibly this may be the ſame play which Stow tells us was played in the reign of King Henry IV. which laſted for eight days. The book ſeems by the character and language to be at leaſt 300 years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or geſticulations, (which were as ſo many ſeveral acts or ſcenes,) repreſenting all the hiſtories of both teſtaments, from the creation to the chuſing of St. *Matbias* to be an apoſtle. The ſtories of the New Teſtament are more largely expreſſed, viz. The Annunciation, Nativity, Viſitation; but more eſpecially all matters relating to the Paſſion very particularly, the Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, the choice of St. *Matbias*: after which is alſo repreſented the Aſſumption, and laſt Judgment. All theſe things were treated of in a very homely ſtile, as we now think, infinitely below the dignity of the ſubject: But it ſeems the guſt of that age was not nice and delicate in theſe matters; the plain and incurious judgment of our anceſtors, being prepared with favour, and taking every thing by the right and eaſieſt handle: For example, in the ſcene relating to the Viſitation:

Maria. But huſband of on thyng pray you moſt mekeley,
I have knowing that our coſyn Elizabeth with childe is,
That it pleaſe yow to go to her haſtyly,
If ought we myth comfort her, it wer to me blys.
Joſeph. A Gods ſake, is ſhe with child, ſche?
Than will her huſband Zachary be mery.
In Montana they dwelle, fer hence, ſo mory the,
In the city of Juda, I know it verily;

ſt

and the moſt ſacred characters of the old and new teſtaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into paradiſe.—The compoſers of the Myſteries did not think the plain and probable events of the new teſtament ſufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be ſurpriſed. They frequently ſelected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The ſubject of the Myſteries juſt mentioned was borrowed from the *Pſeudo-Evangelium*, or the *fabulous Goſpel*, aſcribed to Nicodemus: a book, which together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical hiſtory, and forged at Conſtantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endleſs variety of legends concerning the life of Chriſt and his apoſtles; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better eſteemed than the genuine goſpel, on account of its improbabilities and abſurdities."

"But whatſoever was the ſource of theſe exhibitions, they were thought to contribute ſo much to the information

It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fifty;
We ar like to be wery or we come at the ſame.
I wole with a good will, bleſſyd wyff Mary;
Now go we forth then in Goddys name, &c.

A little before the reſurrection.

Nunc dormiunt milites, & venit anima Chriſti de inferno, cum Adam & Eva, Abraham, John Baptiſt, *et aliis.*

Anima Chriſti. Come forth, Adam, and Eve with the,
And all my fryndes that herein be,
In paradys come forth with me
In blyſſe for to dwelle.
The fende of hell that is yowr foo,
He ſhall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo;
Fro wo to welth now ſhall ye go,
With myrth ever mor to melle.

Adam. I thank the, Lord, of thy grete grace,
That now is forgiven my gret treſpace,
Now ſhall we dwellyn in blyſsful place, &c.

The laſt ſcene or pageant, which repreſents the day of Judgment, begins thus:

Michael.

tion and inſtruction of the people on the moſt important ſubjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thouſand days to every perſon who reſorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitſun week at Cheſter, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was ſeconded by the biſhop of the dioceſe, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the ſame time denouncing the ſentence of damnation on all thoſe incorrigible ſinners who preſumed to diſturb or interrupt the due celebration of theſe pious ſports*. It is certain that they had their uſe, not only in teaching the great truths of ſcripture to men who could not read the bible, but in aboliſhing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tornament, which had ſo long prevailed as the ſole ſpecies of popular amuſement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they ſoftened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to ſpectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than thoſe of bodily ſtrength and ſavage valour."

I may add, that theſe repreſentations were ſo far from being conſidered as indecent or profane, that even a ſupreme pontiff, Pope Pius the Second, about the year 1416, compoſed and cauſed to be acted before him on Corpus Chriſti day, a Myſtery, in which was repreſented the *court of the king of heaven*[9].

Theſe religious dramas were uſually repreſented on holy feſtivals in or near churches. "In ſeveral of our old ſcriptural plays," ſays Mr. Warton, "we ſee

Michael. Surgite, All men aryſe,
Venite ad Judicium;
For now is ſet the High Juſtice,
And hath aſſignyd the day of dome;
Kepe you redyly to this grett aſſyſe,
Both gret and ſmall, all and ſum,
And of your anſwer you now adviſe,
What you ſhall ſay when that yow com," &c.
Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica, 8vo. 1699, pp. 15, 17, 18, 19.

* Mſſ. Harl. 2124. 2013.

9 *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633, p. 112.

ſome

ſome of the ſcenes directed to be repreſented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubrick in a miſſal. That is, becauſe they were performed in a church where the choir aſſiſted. There is a curious paſſage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary[1], written about the year 1570, much to our purpoſe, which I am therefore tempted to tranſcribe. "In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they uſed at Wytney (in Oxfordſhire) to ſet fourthe yearly in maner of a ſhew or interlude, the reſurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purpoſes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the reſurrection, the prieſtes garniſhed out certain ſmall puppettes, repreſenting the perſons of Chriſt, the Watchman, Marie, and others; amongeſt the which, one bore the parte of a wakinge watchman, who eſpiinge Chriſte to arriſe, made a continual noyce like to the ſound that is cauſed by the metynge of two ſtickes, and was therefore commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myſelf, beinge then a childe, once ſawe in Powles church, at London, at a feaſt of Whitſuntyde; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghoſt was ſet forthe by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be ſene in the mydſt of the roofe of the great ile, and by a longe cenſer[2] which deſcendinge out of the ſame place almoſt to the verie grounde, was ſwinged up and downe at ſuch a lengthe, that it reached with thone ſwepe almoſt to the weſt-gate of the churche, and with the other to the quyre ſtaires of the ſame; breathinge out over the whole churche and companie a moſt pleaſant perfume of ſuch ſwete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome-ſhews they uſed everie where to furniſh ſondrye parts of theire church ſervice, as by their ſpectacles of the nativitie, paſſion, and aſcenſion[3]," &c.

[1] P. 459, edit. 1730. 4to.

[2] This may ſerve to explain a very extraordinary paſſage in Stowe's *Annales*, p. 690, edit. 1605: "And on the morrowe hee [King Edward the Fourth] went crowned in Paul's church in London, in the honor of God and S. Paule, and there *an Angell came downe, and cenſed him.*"

[3] Warton's Hist. of E. P. Vol. I. p. 240.

In a preceding paſſage Mr. Warton has mentioned that the ſinging boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Wincheſter performed a Myſtery before king Henry the Seventh in 1487; adding, that this is the only inſtance he has met with of choir-boys performing in Myſteries; but it appears from the accompts of various monaſteries that this was a very ancient practice, probably co-eval with the earlieſt attempts at dramatick repreſentations. In the year 1378, the ſcholars, or choriſters of Saint Paul's cathedral, preſented a petition to king Richard the ſecond, praying his Majeſty to prohibit ſome ignorant and unexperienced perſons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended conſiderable ſums for a publick preſentation of that play at the enſuing Chriſtmas. About twelve years afterwards, the Pariſh Clerks of London, as Stowe informs us, performed ſpiritual plays at Skinner's Well for three days ſucceſſively, in the preſence of the king, queen, and nobles of the realm. And in 1409, the tenth year of king Henry IV. they acted at Clerkenwell for eight days ſucceſſively a play, which "was matter from the creation of the world," and probably concluded with the day of judgment, in the preſence of moſt of the nobility and gentry of England[4].

We are indebted to Mr. Warton for ſome curious circumſtances relative to theſe Miracle-plays, which "appear in a roll of the Churchwardens of Baſſingborne in

4 Probably either the Cheſter or Coventry Myſteries. "In the ignorant ages the Pariſh-clerks of London might juſtly be conſidered as a literary ſociety. It was an eſſential part of their profeſſion not only to ſing, but to read; an accompliſhment almoſt wholly confined to the clergy; and, on the whole, they ſeem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowſhip by king Henry the third about the year 1240, under the patronage of ſaint Nicholas.——Their profeſſion, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this ſpiritual brotherhood the repreſentation of plays, eſpecially thoſe of the ſcriptural kind: and their conſtant practice in ſhews, proceſſions, and vocal muſick, eaſily accounts for their addreſs in detaining the beſt company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than one week." Warton's HIST. OF E. P. Vol. II. p. 396.

Cambridgeſhire,

Cambridgeſhire, which is an accompt of the expences and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Baſſingborne, on the feaſt of ſaint Margaret, in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-ſeven neighbouring pariſhes for furniſhing the play. They diſburſed about two pounds in the repreſentation. Theſe diſburſements are to four minſtrels, or waits, of Cambridge, for three days, vs. vjd. To the players, in bread and ale, iijs. ijd. To the *garnement-man* for *garnements* and *propyrts*[5], that is, for dreſſes, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xxs. To John Hobard, *brotherhoode preeſte*, that is, a prieſt of the guild in the church, for the *play-book*, ijs. viiid. For the *croſte*, or field in which the play was exhibited, js. For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, js. ivd. For fiſh and bread, and to ſetting up the ſtages, ivd. For painting three *fanchoms* and four *tormentors*, words which I do not underſtand, but perhaps *fantoms* and devils - - - -. The reſt was expended for a feaſt on the occaſion, in which are recited 'Four chicken for the gentilmen, ivd.' It appears by the manuſcript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary ſcaffold only was erected for theſe performances[6]."

5 "The property-room," as Mr. Warton has obſerved, "is yet known at our theatres."

The following liſt of the properties uſed in a Myſtery formed on the ſtory of Tobit in the Old Teſtament, which was exhibited in the Broadgate, Lincoln, in July 1563, (6 Eliz.) appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1787:

"*Lying at Mr. Norton's houſe in tenure of William Smart.*

"Firſt Hell-mouth, with a nether chap. *Item*, A priſon, with a covering. *It.* Sarah's chamber."

"*Remaining in St. Swithin's church.*

"*It.* A great Idol. *It.* A tomb with a covering. *It.* The cyty of Jeruſalem with towers and pinacles. *It.* The cyty of Rages, with towers and pinacles. *It.* The city of Nineveh. *It.* The kings palace of Nineveh. *It.* Old Tobyes houſe. *It.* The kynge palace at Laches. *It.* A firmament with a firey cloud, and a double cloud, *in the cuſtody of* Thomas Fulbeck, *Alderman*."

6 HIST. OF E. P. Vol. III. p. 326. "Strype, under the year 1559, ſays, that after a grand feaſt at Guildhall, "the ſame day was a *ſcaffold* ſet up in the hall for a play." Ann. Ref. I. 197. edit. 1725.

In the ancient religious plays the Devil was very frequently introduced. He was uſually repreſented with horns, a very wide mouth, (by means of a maſk) ſtaring eyes, a large noſe, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. His conſtant attendant was the Vice, (the buffoon of the piece,) whoſe principal employment it was to belabour the Devil with his wooden dagger, and to make him roar, for the entertainment of the populace[7].

As the *Myſteries* or *Miracle-plays* "frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, ſuch as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, eſpecially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely conſiſting of ſuch perſonifications. Theſe were called MORALITIES. The *Miracle-plays* or MYSTERIES were totally deſtitute of invention and plan: they tamely repreſented ſtories, according to the letter of the ſcripture, or the reſpective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatick art: they contain ſome rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual tranſition to real hiſtorical perſonages was natural and obvious[8]."

Dr. Percy in his account of the Engliſh Stage has given an Analyſis of two ancient Moralities, entitled *Every Man*, and *Luſty Juventus*, from which a perfect notion of this kind of drama may be obtained. *Every Man* was written in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and *Luſty Juventus* in that of king Edward the Sixth. As Dr. Percy's curious and valuable collection of ancient Engliſh Poetry is in the hands of every ſcholar, I ſhall content myſelf with merely referring to it. Many other Moralities are yet extant, of ſome of which I

[7] "It was a pretty part in the old church-playes," ſays Biſhop Harſenet, "when the nimble Vice would ſkip up nimbly like a Jacke-an-apes into the Devil's necke, and ride the devil a courſe, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to ſee the Devil ſo Vice-haunted." Harſenet's *Declaration of Popiſh Impoſtures*, &c. 4to. 1603.

[8] Warton's HIST. OF E. P. I. p. 242. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 128.

ſhall

ſhall give the titles below[9]. Of one, which is not now extant, we have a curious account in a book entitled "*Mount Tabor, or Private Exerciſes of a Penitent Sinner*, by R. W. [R. Willis.] *Eſqr. publiſhed in the year of his age 75, Anno Domini*, 1639;" an extract from which will give the reader a more accurate notion of the old Moralities than a long diſſertation on the ſubject.

"UPON A STAGE-PLAY WHICH I SAW WHEN I WAS A CHILD.

"In the city of Glouceſter the manner is, (as I think it is in other like corporations,) that when players of enterludes come to towne, they firſt attend the Mayor, to enforme him what noble-mans ſervants they are, and ſo to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would ſhew reſpect to their lord and maſter, he appoints them to play their firſt play before himſelf and the Aldermen and Common-Counſell of the city; and that is called *the Mayors play*: where every one that will, comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to ſhew reſpect unto them. At ſuch a play, my father tooke me with him, and made me ſtand between his leggs, as he ſate upon one of the benches, where we ſaw and heard very well. The play was called *The Cradle of Security*[1], wherein was perſonated a king or ſome great prince, with his courtiers of ſeveral kinds, among which three ladies were in ſpecial grace with him; and they keeping him in delights and pleaſures, drew him from his graver counſellors, hearing of ſermons, and

[9] *Magnificence*, written by John Skelton; *Impatient Poverty*, 1560; *The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene*, 1567; *The Trial of Treaſure*, 1567; *The Nice Wanton*, 1568; *The Diſobedient Child*, no date; *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1570; *The Interlude of Youth*, no date; *The longer thou liveſt, the more Fool thou art*, no date; *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, no date; *All for Money*, 1578; *The Conflict of Conſcience*, 1581; *The three Ladies of London*, 1584; *The three Lords of London*, 1590; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, &c.

[1] *The Cradle of Securitie* is mentioned with ſeveral other Moralities, in a play which has not been printed, entitled *Sir Thomas More*, MSS. Harl. 3768.

liſtening to good councell and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the ſtage, where theſe three ladies, joyning in a ſweet ſong, rocked him aſleepe, that he ſnorted againe; and in the meane time cloſely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered, a vizard, like a ſwines ſnout, upon his face, with three wire chains faſtened thereunto, the other end whereof being holden ſeverally by thoſe three ladies; who fall to ſinging againe, and then diſcovered his face, that the ſpectators might ſee how they had transformed him, going on with their ſinging. Whilſt all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the fartheſt end of the ſtage, two old men; the one in blew, with a ſerjeant at armes his mace on his ſhoulder; the other in red, with a drawn ſword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others ſhoulder; and ſo they two went along with a ſoft pace round about by the ſkirt of the ſtage, till at laſt they came to the cradle, when all the court was in the greateſt jollity; and then the foremoſt old man with his mace ſtroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle; wherewith all the courtiers, with the three ladies, and the vizard, all vaniſhed; and the deſolate prince ſtarting up bare-faced, and finding himſelf thus ſent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miſerable caſe, and ſo was carried away by wicked ſpirits. This prince did perſonate in the Morall, the wicked of the world; the three ladies, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Luxury; the two old men, the end of the world, and the laſt judgement. This ſight took ſuch impreſſion in me, that when I came towards mans eſtate, it was as freſh in my memory, as if I had ſeen it newly acted[a]."

The writer of this book appears to have been born in the ſame year with our great poet (1564). Suppoſing him to have been ſeven or eight years old when he ſaw this interlude, the exhibition muſt have been in 1571 or 1572.

[a] *Mount Tabor, &c.* 8vo. 1639, pp. 110, et ſeq. With this curious extract I was favoured, ſeveral years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Bowle of Idmiſton near Saliſbury.

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I am unable to aſcertain when the firſt Morality appeared, but incline to think not ſooner than the reign of king Edward the Fourth (1460). The publick pageants of the reign of king Henry the Sixth were uncommonly ſplendid[3]; and being then firſt enlivened by the introduction of ſpeaking allegorical perſonages properly and characteriſtically habited, they naturally led the way to thoſe perſonifications by which Moralities were diſtinguiſhed from the ſimpler religious dramas called Myſteries. We muſt not however ſuppoſe, that, after Moralities were introduced, Myſteries ceaſed to be exhibited. We have already ſeen that a Myſtery was repreſented before king Henry the Seventh at Wincheſter in 1487. Sixteen years afterwards, on the firſt Sunday after the marriage of his daughter with king James of Scotland, a Morality was performed[4]. In the early part of the reign of king Henry the

[3] See Warton's HIST. OF E. P. Vol. II. p. 199.

[4] Sir James Ware in his *Annales*, folio, 1664, after having given an account of the Statute, 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. by which Henry was declared king of Ireland, and Ireland made a kingdom, informs us, that the new law was proclaimed in St. Patrick's church, in the preſence of the Lord Deputy St. Leger, and a great number of peers, who attended in their parliament robes. "It is needleſs," (he adds,) "to mention the feaſts, *comedies*, and ſports, which followed." "Epulas, *comædias*, et certamina ludicra, quæ ſequebantur, quid attinet dicere?" The mention of *comedies* might lead us to ſuppoſe that our ſiſter kingdom had gone before us in the cultivation of the drama; but I find from a Mſ. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that what are here called *comedies*, were nothing more than *pageants*. "In the parliament of 1541," (ſays the author of the memoir,) "wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were preſent the earls of Ormond and Deſmond, the lord Barry, M'Gilla Phædrig, chieftaine of Oſſory, the ſon of O'Bryan, M'Carthy More, with many Iriſh lords; and on Corpus Chriſti day they rode about the ſtreets in their parliament-robes, and the NINE WORTHIES was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horſeback."

Two of Bale's Myſteries, *God's Promiſes*, and *St. John Baptiſt*, we have been lately told, were acted by young men at the market-croſs in Kilkenny, on a ſunday, in the year 1552. See Walker's *Eſſay on the Iriſh Stage*, 4to. 1789, and *Collect. de Rebus Hiber.* Vol. II. p. 388: but there is a ſlight error in the date. Bale has himſelf informed us, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Oſſory, February 2, 1552-3, (not on the 25th of March, as the writer of Bale's Life in *Biographia Britannica* aſſerts,) and that he ſoon afterwards went to his palace in Kil-

the Eighth they were perhaps performed indiſcriminately; but Myſteries were probably ſeldom repreſented after the ſtatute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. which was made, as the preamble informs us, with a view that the kingdom ſhould be purged and cleanſed of all *religious plays, interludes,* rhymes, ballads, and ſongs, which are

kenny. Theſe Myſteries were exhibited there on the 20th of Auguſt, 1553, the day on which Queen Mary was proclaimed, as appears from his own account: "On the xx daye of Auguſt was the ladye Marye with us at Kilkennye proclaimed Quene of England, &c.—The yonge men in the forenone played a tragedye of *Gods Promiſes in the old lawe,* at the market-croſſe, with organe-plainges and ſonges, very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a comedie of *Sanct Johan Baptiſtes* preachinges, of Chriſtes baptiſynge, and of his temptacion in the wilderneſſe; to the ſmall contentacion of the preſtes and other papiſtes there." *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale,* &c. 16mo. no date, ſign. C 8.

The only theatre in Dublin in the reign of queen Elizabeth was a booth (if it may be called a theatre) erected in Hoggin Green, now College Green, where Myſteries and Moralities were occaſionally performed. It is ſtrange, that ſo lately as in the year 1600, at a time when many of Shakſpeare's plays had been exhibited in England, and lord Montjoy, the intimate friend of his patrons, lord Eſſex and lord Southampton, was Deputy of Ireland, the old play of *Gorboduck,* written in the infancy of the ſtage, (for this piece had been originally preſented in 1562, under the name of *Ferrex and Porrex,*) ſhould have been performed at the Caſtle of Dublin: but ſuch is the fact, if we may believe Chetwood the prompter, who mentions that old Mr. Aſhbury had ſeen a bill dated the 7th of September 1601, (queen Elizabeth's birth-day,) "*for wax tapers for the play of* Gorboduck *done at the Caſtle, one and twenty ſhillings and two groats.*" Whether any plays were repreſented in Dublin in the reign of James the Firſt, I am unable to aſcertain. Barnaby Riche, who has given a curious account of Dublin in the year 1610, makes no mention of any theatrical exhibition. In 1635, when lord Strafford was Lord Lieutenant, a theatre, probably under his patronage, was built in Werburgh-ſtreet; which, under the conduct of the well known John Ogilby, Maſter of the Revels in Ireland, continued open till October 1641, when it was ſhut up by order of the Lords Juſtices. At this theatre Shirley's *Royal Maſter* was originally repreſented in 1639, and Burnel's *Landgartha* in 1641. In 1662 Ogilby was reſtored to his office, and a new theatre was erected in Orange-ſtreet, (ſince called Smock-Alley) part of which fell down in the year 1671. *Agrippa, King of Alba,* a tragedy tranſlated from the French of Quinault, was acted there before the duke of Ormond, in 1675; and it continued open, I believe, till the death of king Charles the Second. The diſturbances which followed in Ireland put an end for a time to all theatrical entertainments.

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equally *peſtiferous* and *noyſome* to the commonweal. At this time both Moralities and Myſteries were made the vehicle of religious controverſy; Bale's *Comedy of the three Laws of Nature*, printed in 1538, (which in fact is a Myſtery,) being a diſguiſed ſatire againſt popery; as the Morality of *Luſty Juventus* was written expreſsly with the ſame view in the reign of king Edward the Sixth[3]. In that of his ſucceſſor queen Mary, Myſteries were again revived, as appendages to the papiſtical worſhip. "In the year 1556," ſays Mr. Warton, "*a goodly ſtage-play* of the *Paſſion of Chriſt* was preſented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus-Chriſti day, before the Lord-Mayor, the Privy-council, and many great eſtates of the realm. Strype alſo mentions, under the year 1557, a ſtage-play at the Grey-friers, of the Paſſion of Chriſt, on the day that war was proclaimed in London againſt France, and in honour of that occaſion. On Saint Olave's day in the ſame year, the holiday of the church in Silver-ſtreet which is dedicated to that ſaint, was kept with much ſolemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a ſtage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous hiſtory of the life of that ſaint, which continued four hours, and concluded with many religious ſongs[4]." No Myſteries, I believe, were repreſented during the reign of Elizabeth, except ſuch as were occaſionally performed by thoſe who were favourers of the popiſh religion[5], and thoſe already mentioned, known

3 "This mode of attack" (as Mr. Warton has obſerved) "was ſeldom returned by the oppoſite party: the catholick worſhip founded on ſenſible repreſentations afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of ſome of the ſects of the reformers, which was of a more ſimple and ſpiritual nature." Hist. of E. P. Vol. II. p. 378, n. The interlude, however, called *Every Man*, which was written in defence of the church of Rome, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, is an exception. It appears alſo from a proclamation promulgated early in the reign of his ſon, of which mention will be made hereafter, that the favourers of popery about that time had levelled ſeveral dramatick invectives againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the reformers.

4 Hist. of E. P. Vol. III. p. 326.

5 That Myſteries were occaſionally repreſented in the early part of queen Elizabeth's reign appears from the aſſertions of the controverſial

known by the name of the Cheſter Myſteries, which had been originally compoſed in 1328, were revived in the time of king Henry the Eighth, (1533,) and again performed at Cheſter in the year 1600. The laſt Myſtery, I believe, ever repreſented in England, was that of *Chriſt's Paſſion*, in the reign of king James the Firſt, which Prynne tells us was "performed at Elie-Houſe in Holborne, when Gundomar lay there, on Good-friday at night, at which there were thouſands preſent[6]."

In France the repreſentation of Myſteries was forbid in the year 1548, when the fraternity aſſociated under the name of *The Actors of our Saviour's Paſſion*, who had received letters patent from king Charles the Sixth in 1402, and had for near 150 years exhibited religious plays, built their new theatre on the ſite of the duke of Burgundy's houſe; and were authoriſed by an Arret of parliament to act, on condition that "they ſhould meddle with none but profane ſubjects, ſuch as are lawful and honeſt, and not repreſent any ſacred Myſteries[7]." Repreſentations founded on holy writ continued to be exhibited in Italy till the year 1660, and the Myſtery of Chriſt's Paſſion was repreſented at Vienna ſo lately as the early part of the preſent century.

Having thus occaſionally mentioned foreign theatres, I take this opportunity to obſerve, that the ſtages of France ſo lately as in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign were entirely unfurniſhed with ſcenery or any kind of decoration, and that the performers at that time remained on the ſtage the whole time of the exhibition; in which mode perhaps our Myſteries in England were repreſented. For this information we are indebted to the elder Scaliger, in whoſe *Poeticks* is the following curious paſſage. "*Nunc in Gallia* ita agunt fabulas, ut

ſial writers. "They play" (ſays one of them,) "and counterfeite the whole Paſſion ſo trimly, with all the ſeven ſorowes of our lady, as though it had been nothing elſe but a ſimple and plain enterlude, to make boyes laugh at, and a little to recreate ſorowful harts." *Beehive of the Romiſhe Churche*, 1580, p. 207. See alſo *ſupra*, p. 19, n. 5.

6 *Hiſtriomaſtix*, quarto, 1633, p. 117. n.

7 Riccoboni's *Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 124.

omnia in conſpectu ſint; UNIVERSUS APPARATUS *diſpoſitis ſublimibus ſedibus. Perſonæ ipſæ nunquam diſcedunt: qui ſilent pro abſentibus habentur.* At enimvero perridiculum, ibi ſpectatorem videre te audire, et te videre teipſum non audire quæ alius coram te de te loquatur; quaſi ibi non ſis, ubi es: cum tamen maxima poetæ vis ſit, ſuſpendere animos, atque eos facere ſemper expectantes. At hic tibi novum fit nihil; ut prius ſatietas ſubrepat, quam obrepat fames. Itaque recte objecit Æſchylo Euripides apud Ariſtophanem in Ranis, quod Niobem et Achillem in ſcenam introduxiſſet capite co-operto; neque nunquam ullum verbum qui ſint loquuti[8]." That is, "At preſent in France [about the year 1556] plays are repreſented in ſuch a manner, that nothing is withdrawn from the view of the ſpectator. The whole apparatus of the theatre conſiſts of ſome high ſeats ranged in proper order. The perſons of the ſcene never depart during the repreſentation: he who ceaſes to ſpeak, is conſidered as if he were no longer on the ſtage. But in truth it is extremely ridiculous, that the ſpectator ſhould ſee the actor liſtening, and yet he himſelf ſhould not hear what one of his fellow-actors ſays concerning him, though in his own preſence and within his hearing: as if he were abſent, while he is preſent. It is the great object of the dramatick poet to keep the mind in a conſtant ſtate of ſuſpence and expectation. But in our theatres, there can be no novelty, no ſurpriſe: inſo-

[8] Jul. Cæſ. Scaligeri *Poetices Libri Septem.* Folio, 1561. l. 1. c. 21. Julius Cæſar Scaliger died at Agen, in the province of Guienne in France, on the 21ſt of October, 1558, in the 75th year of his age. He wrote his *Poeticks* in that town a few years before his death.

Riccoboni gives us the ſame account in his Hiſtory of the French Theatre. "In the repreſentations of the Myſteries, the theatre repreſented paradiſe, hell, heaven, and earth, all at once; and though the action varied, there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part, he did not go off the ſtage, but retired to a corner of it, and ſate there in full view of all the ſpectators." *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe*, octavo, 1741, p. 118. We ſhall preſently ſee that at a much later period, and long after the Myſteries had ceaſed to be exhibited, "though the action changed, there was no change of decoration," either in France or England.

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much that the ſpectator is more likely to be ſatiated with what he has already ſeen, than to have any appetite for what is to come. Upon this ground it was, that Euripides objected to Æſchylus, in The Frogs of Ariſtophanes, for having introduced Niobe and Achilles as mutes upon the ſcene, with a covering which entirely concealed their heads from the ſpectators."

Another practice, equally extraordinary, is mentioned by Bulenger in his treatiſe on the Grecian and Roman theatres. In his time, ſo late as in the year 1600, all the actors employed in a dramatick piece came on the ſtage in a troop, before the play began, and preſented themſelves to the ſpectators, in order, ſays he, to raiſe the expectation of the audience. "Putem tamen *(quod hodieque fit)* omnes actores antequam ſinguli agerent, confeſtim et in turba in proſcenium prodiiſſe, ut ſui expectationem commoverent[9]." I know not whether this was ever practiſed in England. Inſtead of raiſing, it ſhould ſeem more likely to repreſs, expectation. I ſuppoſe, however, this writer conceived the audience would be animated by the *number* of the characters, and that this diſplay would operate on the gaping ſpectators like ſome of our modern enormous play-bills; in which the length of the ſhow ſometimes conſtitutes the principal merit of the entertainment.

Mr. Warton obſerves that Moralities were become ſo faſhionable a ſpectacle about the cloſe of the reign of Henry the Seventh, that "John Raſtall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had been hitherto confined either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a deſign of making it the vehicle of ſcience and philoſophy. With this view he publiſhed *A new* INTERLUDE *and a mery, of the nature of the iiij. Elements, declaring many proper points of philoſophy naturall, and dyvers ſtraunge landys, &c.* In the coſmographical part of the play, in which the poet profeſſes to treat of

[9] Bulengeri de *Theatro*, 8vo. 1600. l. 1. p. 60. b.

dyvers

dyvers ſtraunge landys, and of the new-found landys, the tracts of Amèrică recently diſcovered, and the manners of the natives, are deſcribed. The characters are, a Meſſenger, who ſpeaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Deſire, Senſual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance [1]."

As it is uncertain at what period of time the ancient Myſteries ceaſed to be repreſented as an ordinary ſpectacle for the amuſement of the people, and Moralities were ſubſtituted in their room, it is equally difficult to aſcertain the preciſe time when the latter gave way to a more legitimate theatrical exhibition. We know that Moralities were exhibited *occaſionally* during the whole of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and even in that of her ſucceſſor, long after regular dramas had been preſented on the ſcene [2]; but I ſuſpect that about the year 1570 (the 13th year of queen Elizabeth) this ſpecies of drama began to loſe much of its attraction, and gave way to ſomething that had more the appearance of comedy and tragedy. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was written by Mr. Sill, (afterwards biſhop of Bath and Wells,) in the 23d year of his age, and acted at Chriſt's College, Cambridge, in 1566, is pointed out by the ingenious writer of the tract entitled *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, as the firſt piece "that looks like a regular comedy;" that is, the firſt play that was neither Myſtery nor Morality, and in which ſome humour and diſcrimination of character may be found. In 1561-2 Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurſt, and Thomas Norton, joined in writing the tragedy

[1] Hist. of E. P. Vol. II. p. 364. "Dr. Percy ſuppoſes this play to have been written about the year 1510, from the following lines:

"——Within this xx yere
"Weſtwarde he found new landes
"That we never harde tell of before this."

The Weſt-Indies were diſcovered by Columbus in 1492." Ibid.

[2] The licence granted in 1603 to Shakſpeare and his fellow-comedians, authoriſes them to play comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, interludes, *morals*, paſtorals, &c. See alſo *The Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "—if in the middle of his play, (bee it paſtoral or comedie, *morall* or tragedie,) you riſe with a ſhrewd and diſcontented face," &c.

of

of *Ferrex and Porrex*, which was exhibited on the 18th of January in that year by the Students of the Inner Temple, before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. Neither of theſe pieces appears to have been acted on a publick theatre, nor was there at that time any building in London conſtructed ſolely for the purpoſe of repreſenting plays. Of the latter piece, which, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, is perhaps "the firſt ſpecimen in our language of an heroick tale written in verſe, and divided into acts and ſcenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy," a correct analyſis may be found in the HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY[3], and the play itſelf within theſe few years has been accurately reprinted.

It has been juſtly remarked by the ſame judicous writer, that the early practice of performing plays in ſchools and univerſities greatly contributed to the improvement of our drama. "While the people were amuſed with Skelton's *Trial of Simony*, Bale's *God's Promiſes, and Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell*, the ſcholars of the times were compoſing and acting plays on hiſtorical ſubjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of legitimate fable muſt have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama[4]."

In confirmation of what he has ſuggeſted, it may be obſerved, that the principal dramatick writers, before Shakſpeare appeared, were ſcholars. Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Naſhe, Lily, and Kyd, had all a regular univerſity education. From whatever cauſe it may have ariſen, the dramatick poetry about this period certainly aſſumed a better, though ſtill an exceptionable, form. The example which had been furniſhed by Sackville was quickly followed, and a great number of tragedies and hiſtorical plays was produced between the years 1570 and 1590; ſome of which are ſtill extant, though by far the greater part is loſt. This, I appre-

[3] Vol. III. pp. 355, et ſeq.
[4] HIST. OF E. P. II. p. 388.

hend;

hend, was the great era of thoſe bloody and bombaſtick pieces, which afforded ſubſequent writers perpetual topicks of ridicule: and during the ſame period were exhibited many *Hiſtories*, or hiſtorical dramas, formed on our Engliſh Chronicles, and repreſenting a ſeries of events ſimply in the order of time in which they happened. Some have ſuppoſed that Shakſpeare was the firſt dramatick poet that introduced this ſpecies of drama; but this is an undoubted error. I have elſewhere obſerved that every one of the ſubjects on which he conſtructed his hiſtorical plays, appears to have been dramatized, and brought upon the ſcene, before his time[5].

[5] See Vol. VI. p. 426.

Goſſon in his *Plays Confuted in five actions*, printed about the year 1580, ſays, "In playes either thoſe things are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Pſyche*, plaid at Paules; [he means, in Paul's ſchool,]—or if a true *hiſtorie* be taken in hand, it is made like our ſhavelings, longeſt at the riſing and falling of the ſunne." From the ſame writer we learn, that many preceding dramatick poets had travelled over the ground in which the ſubjects of ſeveral of Shakſpeare's other plays may be found. "I may boldly ſay it, (ſays Goſſon) becauſe I have ſeene it, that *the Palace of Pleaſure*, the Golden Aſſe, the Æthiopian Hiſtorie, Amadis of Fraunce, the Round table, bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh, have beene *thoroughly ranſacht* to furniſh the playe-houſes in London." Signat. D 5. b.

Lodge, his antagoniſt in this controverſy, in his *Play of plays and paſtimes*, a work which I have never ſeen, urges, as Prynne informs us, in defence of plays, that "they dilucidate and well explain many darke obſcure *hiſtories*, imprinting them in men's minds in ſuch indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated." *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 940. See alſo Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612: "Plays have made the ignorant more apprehenſive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous *hiſtories*; inſtructed ſuch as cannot reade, in the diſcovery of our *Engliſh Chronicles*: and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot diſcourſe of any notable thing recorded, *even from William the Conqueror*, nay from the landing of Brute, untill this day, being poſſeſt of their true uſe?"—In Florio's dialogues in Italian and Engliſh, printed in 1591, we have the following dialogue:

"*G.* After dinner we will goe ſee a play.

H. The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.

T. Yet they do nothing elſe but plaie every daye.

H. Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.

G. How would you name them then?

H. Repreſentations of *hiſtories*, without any decorum."

The

The hiſtorical drama is by an elegant modern writer ſuppoſed to have owed its riſe to the publication of *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in which many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in Engliſh hiſtory are introduced, giving a poetical narrative of their own misfortuues[6]. Of this book three editions, with various alterations and improvements, were printed between 1563 and 1587.

At length (about the year 1591) the great luminary of the dramatick world blazed out, and our poet produced thoſe plays which have now for two hundred years been the boaſt and admiration of his countrymen.

Our earlieſt dramas, as we have ſeen, were repreſented in churches or near them by eccleſiaſticks: but at a very early period, I believe, we had regular and eſtabliſhed players, who obtained a livelihood by their art. So early as in the year 1378, as has been already noticed, the ſinging-boys of St. Paul's repreſented to the king, that they had been at conſiderable expence in preparing a ſtage repreſentation at Chriſtmas. Theſe, however, cannot properly be called comedians, nor am I able to point out the time when the profeſſion of a player became common and eſtabliſhed. It has been ſuppoſed that the licenſe granted by queen Elizabeth to James Burbage and others, in 1574, was the firſt regular licenſe ever granted to comedians in England; but this is a miſtake, for Heywood informs us that ſimilar licenſes had been granted by her father king Henry the Eighth, king Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary. Stowe records, that "when king Edward the Fourth would ſhew himſelf in ſtate to the view of the people, he repaired to his palace at St. John's, where he was accuſtomed to ſee the *City Actors*[7]." In two books in the Remembrancer's-office in the

[6] Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. I. p. 166.

[7] *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, Signat. E 1. b. "Since then," adds Heywood, "that houſe by the princes free giſt hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have been in *late dayes* yearely rehearſed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility." This houſe muſt

the Exchequer, containing an account of the daily expences of king Henry the Seventh, are the following articles; from which it appears that at that time players, both French and Engliſh, made a part of the appendages of the court, and were ſupported by regal eſtabliſhment.

"*Item*, to Hampton of Worceſter for making of balades, 20s. *Item*, to my ladie the kings moders poete, 66s. 8d. *Item*, to a Welſh Rymer, in reward, 13s. 4d. *Item*, to my Lord Privie-Seals fole, in rew. 10s. *Item*, to Pachye the fole, for a rew. 6s. 8d. *Item*, to the fooliſh duke of Lancaſter, 3s. *Item*, to Dix the foles maſter, for a months wages, 10s. *Item*, to the King of Frances fole, in rew. 4l. *Item*, to *the Frenſhe players*, in rew. 20s. *Item*, to the tumbler upon the ropes, 20s. *Item*, for heling of a ſeke maid, 6s. 8d. [Probably the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.] *Item*, to my lord princes organ-player, for a quarters wages at Michell. 10s. *Item*, to *the players of London*, in reward, 10s. *Item*, to Maſter Barnard, the blind poete, 100s. *Item*, to a man and woman for ſtrawberries, 8s. 4d. *Item*, to a woman for a red roſe, 2s." The foregoing extracts are from a book of which almoſt every page is ſigned by the king's own hand, in the 13th year of his reign. The following are taken from a book which contains an account of expences in the 9th year of his reign. "*Item*, to Cart for writing of a boke, 6s. 8d. *Item*, payd for *two playes* in the hall, 26s. 8d. *Item*, to *the kings players* for a reward, 100s. *Item*, to the king to play at cardes, 100s. *Item*, loſt to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 8d. *Item*, to Harry Pyning, the king's godſon, in reward, 20s. *Item*, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d*."

Some of theſe articles I have preſerved as curious, though they do not relate to the ſubject immediately before us. This account aſcertains, that there was then not only a regular troop of players in London, but alſo

muſt have been choſen on account of its neighbourhood to Whitehall, where the royal theatre then was. The regular office of the Revels at that time was on St. Peter's hill, near the Blackfriars' playhouſe.

* For theſe extracts I am indebted to Francis Groſe, eſq. to whom every admirer of the venerable remains of Engliſh antiquity has the higheſt obligations.

a royal company. The intimate knowledge of the French language and manners which Henry muſt have acquired during his long ſojourn in foreign courts, (from 1471 to 1485,) accounts for the article relative to the company of French players.

In a Manuſcript in the Cottonian library in the Muſeum, a narrative is given of the ſhews and ceremonies exhibited at Chriſtmas in the fifth year of this king's reign, 1490. "This Criſtmaſs I ſaw no diſgyſyngs, and but *right few pleys*; but ther was an abbot of miſ-rule, that made muche ſport, and did right well his office.—On Candell Maſs day, the king, the qwen, my ladye the kings moder, with the ſubſtance of al the lordes temporell preſent at the parlement, &c. wenten a proceſſion from the chapell into the hall, and ſoo into Weſtmynſter Hall:—The kyng was that day in a riche gowne of purple, pirled withe gold, furred wythe ſabuls.—At nyght the king, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs moder, came into the Whit hall, and ther had *a pley*."—"On New-yeeres day at nyght, (ſays the ſame writer, ſpeaking of the year 1488,) ther was a goodly diſgyſing, and alſo this Criſtmaſs ther wer *many and dyvers playes*[8]."

A proclamation which was iſſued out in the year 1547 by king Edward the Sixth, to prohibit for about two months the exhibition of "any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter ſet forth in the form of a play, in the Engliſh tongue," deſcribes plays as a familiar entertainment, both in London, and in the country[9], and the profeſſion of an actor as common and eſtabliſhed. "Foraſmuch as a great number of thoſe that be *common*

[8] Leland. Collect. Vol. IV. Append. pp. 235, 256. edit. 1774.

[9] Itinerant companies of actors are probably coeval with the firſt riſe of the Engliſh ſtage. King Henry the Seventh's bounty to ſome ſtrolling players has been mentioned in the preceding page. In 1556, the fourth year of queen Mary, a remonſtrance was iſſued from the privy-council to the lord Preſident of the North, ſtating, "that certain lewd [wicked or diſſolute] perſons, naming themſelves to be the ſervants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their ſleeves, have wandered about theſe north parts, and repreſenting certain plays and interludes, reflecting on the queen and her conſort, and the formalities of the maſs." Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. III. Append. III. p. 185.

players of interludes and playes, as well within the city of London as elſewhere within the realme, doe for the moſt part play ſuch interludes as contain matter tending to ſedition[1]," &c. By *common* players of interludes here mentioned, I apprehend, were meant the players of the city, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the king's own ſervants. In a Manuſcript which I ſaw ſome years ago, and which is now in the Library of the Marquis of Lanſdown, are ſundry charges for the players belonging to king Edward the Sixth; but I have not preſerved the articles. And in the houſehold-book of queen Mary, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, is an entry which ſhews that ſhe alſo had a theatrical eſtabliſhment: "Eight players of interludes, each, 66s. 8d.—26l. 13s. 4d."

It has already been mentioned that originally plays were performed in churches. Though Bonner biſhop of London iſſued a proclamation to the clergy of his dioceſe in 1542, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, ſet forth, or declared within their churches, chapels," &c. the practice ſeems to have been continued occaſionally during the reign of queen Elizabeth; for the author of *The Third Blaſt of retrait from plays and players* complains, in 1580, that "the players are permitted to publiſh their mammetrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England;" &c. and this abuſe is taken notice of in one of the Canons of King James the Firſt, given ſoon after his acceſſion in the year 1603. Early however in Queen Elizabeth's reign the eſtabliſhed players of London began to act in temporary theatres conſtructed in the yards of inns[2]; and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or two

[1] Fuller's *Church Hiſt.* B. VII. p. 390.

[2] "In proceſs of time it [playing] became an occupation, and many there were that followed it for a livelihood, and, what was worſe, it became the occaſion of much ſin and evil; great multitudes of people, eſpecially youth, in queen Elizabeth's reign, reſorting to theſe plays: and being commonly acted on ſundays and feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the playhouſes thronged. Great inns were uſed for this purpoſe, which had ſecret chambers and places, as well as open ſtages and galleries." Strype's Additions to *Stowe's Survey*, folio, 1720. Vol. I. p. 247.

regular playhouſes were erected[3]. Both the theatre in Blackfriars and that in Whitefriars were certainly built before 1580; for we learn from a puritanical pamphlet publiſhed in the laſt century, that ſoon after that year, "many goodly citizens and well diſpoſed gentlemen of London, conſidering that play-houſes and dicing-houſes were traps for young gentlemen, and others, and perceiving that many inconveniences and great damage would enſue upon the long ſuffering of the ſame,—acquainted ſome pious magiſtrates therewith,—who thereupon made humble ſuite to Queene Elizabeth and her privy-councell, and obtained leave from her majeſty to thruſt the players out of the citty, and to pull down all playhouſes and dicing-houſes within their liberties; which accordingly was effected, and the playhouſes in Gracious-ſtreet, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite pulled down and ſuppreſſed by the care of theſe religious ſenators[4]." The theatre in Blackfriars, not being within the liberties of the city of London, eſcaped the fury of theſe fanaticks. Elizabeth, however, though ſhe yielded in this inſtance to the frenzy of the time, was during the whole courſe of her reign a favourer of the ſtage, and a frequent attendant upon plays. So early as in the year 1569, as we learn from another puritanical writer, the children of her chapel, (who are deſcribed as "her majeſty's unfledged minions,") "flaunted it in their ſilkes and ſattens," and acted plays on profane ſubjects in

3 "In playes either thoſe thinges are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Pſyche*, played at Paules, [the ſchool-room of St. Paul's,] and a great many comedies more at *the Blackfriers, and in every playhouſe in London*, which for brevity ſake I over-ſkippe; or," &c. *Plays confuted, in five Actions*, by Stephen Goſſon, no date, but printed about the year 1580.

4 Richard Reulidge's *Monſter lately found out and diſcovered, or the ſcourging of Tipplers*, 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. What he calls the theatres in Gracious-ſtreet, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and Ludgate-hill, were the temporary ſcaffolds erected at the Croſs-Keys Inn in Gracechurch-ſtreet, the Bull in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill. "That nigh Paul's," was St. Paul's ſchool-room, behind the Convocation-houſe.

the

the chapel-royal[5]. In 1574 ſhe granted a licence to James Burbage, probably the father of the celebrated tragedian, and four others, ſervants to the earl of Leiceſter, to exhibit all kind of ſtage-plays, during pleaſure, in any part of England, "as well for the recreation of her loving ſubjects, as for her own ſolace and pleaſure when ſhe ſhould think good to ſee them[6];" and in the year 1583, ſoon after a furious attack had been made on

5 "Even in her majeſties chapel do theſe pretty upſtart youthes prophane the Lordes-day by the laſcivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables, gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. *The Children of the Chapel ſtript and whipt*, 1569, fol. xiii. b. Theſe children acted frequently in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the theatre in Whitefriars.

6 For the notice of this ancient theatrical licence we are indebted to Mr. Steevens. It is found among the unpubliſhed collections of Rymer, which were purchaſed by parliament, and are depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum. Aſcough's Catalogue of Sloanian and other manuſcripts, N°. 4625.

"*Pro* Jacobo Burbage *et aliis, de licentia ſpeciali.*

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, quene of England, &c. To all juſtices, mayors, ſheriffes, baylyffes, head conſtables, under conſtables, and all other oure officers and myniſters, gretinge.

Know ye, that we of our eſpeciall grace, certen knowledge, and mere motion, have licenſed and auctoriſed, and by theſe preſents do lycenſe and auctoriſe our lovinge ſubjectes James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnſon, and Robert Wilſon, ſervaunts to our truſtie and well beloved coſen and counſeyllour the Earle of Leyceſter, to uſe, exercyſe and occupie the arte and facultye of playenge commedies, tragedies, enterludes, ſtage-playes, and ſucne other like as they have alredie uſed and ſtudied, or hereafter ſhall uſe and ſtudie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge ſubjectes as for our ſolace and pleaſure when we ſhall thinke good to ſee them, as alſo to uſe and occupie all ſuche inſtrumentes as they have alredie practiſed or hereafter ſhall practiſe, for and duringe our pleaſure; and the ſaid commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and ſtage-plaies, together with their muſicke, to ſhew, publiſhe, exerciſe and occupie to their beſt commoditie, during all the terme aforeſaide, as well within the liberties and freedomes of anye our cities, townes, bouroughs, &c. whatſoever, as without the ſame, thoroughoute our realme of England. Wyllinge and commaundinge yowe and every of you, as ye tender our pleaſure, to permit and ſuffer them herein withoute anye lettes, hynderaunce, or moleſtation, duringe the terme aforeſaide, any acte, ſtatute, or proclamation or commaundement heretofore made or hereafter to be made notwythſtandynge; provyded that the ſaide commedies, tragedies, enterludes and ſtage-playes be by the Maſter of our Revells for the tyme beynge before ſene and allowed; and that the ſame be not publiſhed or ſhewen in the tyme of common prayer,

on the ſtage by the puritans, twelve of the principal comedians of that time, at the earneſt requeſt of Sir Francis Walſingham, were ſelected from the companies then ſubſiſting under the licence and protection of various noblemen[7], and were ſworn her majeſty's ſervants[8], Eight

or in the tyme of greate and common plague in our ſaide citye of London. In wytnes whereof, &c.

Wytnes our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 10th daye of Maye. [1574.]

Per breve de privato ſigillo."

Mr. Steevens ſuppoſed that Mr. Dodſley was inaccurate in ſaying in the preface to his Collection of Old Plays, p. 22, that "the firſt company of players we have any account of in hiſtory are the children of Paul's in 1578," four years ſubſequent to the above licence. But the figures 1578 in that page are merely an error of the preſs for 1378, as may be ſeen by turning to a former page of Mr. Dodſley's preface, to which, in page 22, he himſelf refers.

[7] The ſervants of the earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Eſſex; thoſe of the Lord Chamberlain; the ſervants of the Lord Admiral (Nottingham); thoſe of Lord Strange, Lord Suſſex, Lord Worceſter, &c.—By the ſtatute 39 Eliz. c. 4. noblemen were authoriſed to licenſe players to act both in town and country; the ſtatute declaring "that all common players of interludes *wandering abroad*, other than players of interludes belonging to anie baron of this realme, or anie other honourable perſonage of greater degree, to be authoriſed to play under the hand and ſeale of arms of ſuch baron or perſonage, ſhall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds."

This ſtatute has been frequently miſ-ſtated, by Prynne and others, as if it declared *all* players (except noblemen's ſervants) to be rogues and vagabonds: whereas it was only made againſt *ſtrolling* players.

Long after the playhouſes called the Theatre and the Curtain had been built, and during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the companies belonging to different noblemen, acted occaſionally at the Croſs-Keys in Gracechurch-ſtreet, and other inns, and alſo in the houſes of noblemen at weddings and other feſtivals.

[8] "Comedians and ſtage-players of former time were very poor and ignorant in reſpect of theſe of this time; but being now [in 1583] growne very ſkilfull and exquiſite actors for all matters, they were entertained into the ſervice of divers great lords; out of which companies there were twelve of the beſt choſen, and, at the requeſt of Sir Francis Walſingham, they were ſworne the queenes ſervants, and were allowed wages and liveries as groomes of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583, the queene had no players. Among theſe twelve players were two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilſon, for a quicke, delicate, refined, extemporall witt, and Richard Tarleton for a wondrous plentifull pleaſant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his tyme.—He lieth buried in Shoreditch church." "He was ſo beloved," adds the writer in a note,

Eight of them had an annual ſtipend of 3l. 6s. 8d. each[9]. At that time there were eight companies of comedians, each of which performed twice or thrice a week[1].

King James the Firſt appears to have patronized the ſtage with as much warmth as his predeceſſor. In 1599, while he was yet in Scotland, he ſolicited queen Elizabeth (if we may believe a modern hiſtorian) to ſend a company of Engliſh comedians to Edinburgh; and very ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, granted the following licence to the company at the Globe, which is found in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

note, "that men uſe his picture for their ſignes." Stowe's Chron. publiſhed by Howes, ſub. ann. 1583, edit. 1615.

The above paragraph was not written by Stowe, not being found in the laſt edition of his Chronicle publiſhed in his life-time, 4to. 1605; and is an interpolation by his Continuator, Edmund Howes.

Richard Tarleton, as appears by the regiſter of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was buried there, September the third, 1588.

The following extract from Strype ſhews in how low a ſtate the ſtage was at this time:

"Upon the ruin of Paris Garden, [the fall of a ſcaffold there in January 1583-4] ſuit was made to the Lords [of the Council] to baniſh plays wholly in the places near London: and letters were obtained of the Lords to baniſh them on the Sabbath days.

Upon theſe orders againſt the players, the *Queen's players* petitioned the Lords of the Councel, That whereas the time of their ſervice drew very near, ſo that of neceſſity they muſt needs have exerciſe to enable them the better for the ſame, and alſo for their better keep and relief *in their poor livings*, the ſeaſon of the year being paſt to play at any of the houſes without the city: Their humble petition was, that the Lords would vouchſafe to read a few articles annexed to their ſupplication, and in conſideration [that] the matter contained the very ſtay and ſtate of their living, to grant unto them confirmation of the ſame, or of as many as ſhould be to their honours good liking; and withal, their favourable letters to the Lord Maior, to permit them to exerciſe within the city; and that their letters might contain ſome orders to the juſtices of Middleſex in their behalf." Strype's *Additions* to Stowe's *Survey*, Vol. I. p. 248.

[9] Houſehold-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, in the Muſeum, Mſs. Sloan. 3194. The Continuator of Stowe ſays, ſhe had no players before, (ſee n. 8,) but I ſuſpect that he is miſtaken, for Q. Mary, and K. Edward the Sixth, both had players on their eſtabliſhments. See p. 35.

[1] "For reckoning with the leaſte the gaine that is reaped of *eight* ordinarie places in the citie, (which I know) by playing but once a weeke, (whereas many times they play twice, and ſometimes thrice,) it amounteth to two thouſand pounds by the year. *A Sermon preached at Paules Croſſe*, by John Stockwood, 1578.

" Pro Laurentio Fletcher & Willielmo Shakespeare & aliis.

A. D. 1603. *Pat.*

1. Jac. P. 2, m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c. to all juſtices, maiors, ſheriffs, conſtables, headboroughs, and other our officers and loving ſubjects, greeting. Know you that wee, of our ſpecial grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have licenſed and authoriſed, and by theſe preſentes doe licence and authorize theiſe our ſervaunts, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Auguſtine Philippes, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the reſt of their aſſociates, freely to uſe and exerciſe the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, interludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like other as theie have alreadie ſtudied or hereafter ſhall uſe or ſtudie, as well for the recreation of our loving ſubjects, as for our ſolace and pleaſure when we ſhall thincke good to ſee them, during our pleaſure: and the ſaid comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, enterludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like, to ſhew and exerciſe publiquely to their beſt commoditie, when the infection of the plague ſhall decreaſe, as well within theire nowe uſuall houſe called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as alſo within anie toune-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, univerſitie, toun, or boroughe whatſoever, within our ſaid realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleaſure, not onlie to permit and ſuffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or moleſtations, during our pleaſure, but alſo to be aiding or aſſiſtinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them ſuch former curteſies as hathe bene given to men of their place and quallitie; and alſo what further favour you ſhall ſhew to theiſe our ſervaunts for our ſake, we ſhall take kindlie at your handes. In witneſs whereof, &c.

Witneſs our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

Per Breve de privato ſigillo."

HAVING now, as conciſely as I could, traced the hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, from its firſt rude ſtate to the period of its maturity and greateſt ſplendour, I ſhall endeavour to exhibit as accurate a delineation of the internal form and economy of our ancient theatres, as the diſtance at which we ſtand, and the obſcurity of the ſubject, will permit.

The moſt ancient Engliſh playhouſes of which I have found any account, are, the playhouſe in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*[1], the *Theatre*, of which I am unable

[1] There was a theatre in Whitefriars, before the year 1580. See p. 36. *A Woman's a Weathercock* was performed at the private playhouſe in Whitefriars in 1612. This theatre was, I imagine, either in Saliſbury-court or the narrow ſtreet leading into it. From an extract taken by Sir Henry Herbert from the office-book of Sir George Buc, his predeceſſor in the office of Maſter of the Revels, it appears that the theatre in Whitefriars was either rebuilt in 1613, or intended to be rebuilt. The entry is: "July 13, 1613, for a licenſe to erect a new play-houſe in the White-friers, &c. £20." I doubt however whether this ſcheme was then carried into execution, becauſe a new playhouſe was erected in Saliſbury-court in 1629. That theatre probably was not on the ſite of the old theatre in Whitefriars, for Prynne ſpeaks of it as then *newly built*, not *re-built*; and in the ſame place he mentions the *re-building* of the Fortune and Red Bull theatres.—Had the old theatre in Whitefriars been pulled down and re-built, he would have uſed the ſame language with reſpect to them all. *The Rump*, a comedy by Tatham, was acted in 1669, in the theatre in Saliſbury-court (that built in 1629). About the year 1670 a new theatre was erected there, (but whether on the ſite of that laſt mentioned I cannot aſcertain,) known by the name of the Theatre in Dorſet Gardens, to which the Duke of York's Company under the conduct of Sir William D'Avenant's widow removed from Lincoln's-Inn fields in 1671. The former play-houſe in Saliſbury-court could hardly have fallen into decay in ſo ſhort a period as forty years; but I ſuppoſe was found too ſmall for the new ſcenery introduced after the Reſtoration. The Prologue to Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing-Maſter*, printed in 1673, is addreſſed "To the city, newly after the removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's-Inn fields to their new theatre *near* Saliſbury-court."

Maitland in his *Hiſtory of London*, p. 963, after mentioning Dorſet Stairs, adds, "near to which place ſtood the theatre or play-

able to aſcertain the ſituation[2], and *The Curtain* in Shoreditch[3]. *The Theatre*, from its name, was probably the firſt building erected in or near the metropolis purpoſely for ſcenick exhibitions.

In the time of Shakſpeare there were ſeven principal theatres; three private houſes, namely, that in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, and *The Cockpit* or *Phœnix*[4], in Drury-Lane; and four that were called publick theatres; viz. *The Globe* on the Bankſide, *The*

play-houſe, a neat building, having a curious front next the Thames, with an open place for the reception of coaches."

2 It was probably ſituated in ſome remote and privileged place, being, I ſuppoſe, hinted at in the following paſſage of a ſermon by John Stockwood, quoted below, and preached in 1578: "Have we not houſes of purpoſe built with great charges for the maintenance of them, [the players,] and that *without the liberties*, as who ſhall ſay, there, let them ſay what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned eſpecially, more diſcommend the gorgeous playing-place *erected in the fields*, than to term it, as they pleaſe to have it called, a *Theatre*."

3 *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* are mentioned in "A Sermon preached at Paules Croſs on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24th of Auguſt, 1578, by John Stockwood," and in an ancient *Treatiſe againſt Idleneſs, vaine Plaies and Interludes*, by John Northbrook, bl. l. no date, but written apparently about the year 1580. Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuſes*, p. 90, edit. 1583, inveighs againſt *Theatres* and *Curtaines*, which he calls *Venus' Palaces*. Edmund Howes, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle*, ſays, (p. 1004,) that before the year 1570, he "neither knew, heard, nor read of any ſuch theatres, ſet ſtages, or play-houſes, as have been purpoſely built within man's memory."

4 This theatre had been originally a Cockpit. It was built or re-built not very long before the year 1617, in which year we learn from Camden's Annals of King James the Firſt, it was pulled down by the mob: "1617. Martii 4. Theatrum ludionum *nuper* erectum in Drury-Lane à furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus dilaceratur." I ſuppoſe it was ſometimes called *The Phœnix* from that fabulous bird being its ſign. It was ſituated oppoſite the Caſtle-tavern in Drury-Lane, and was ſtanding ſome time after the Reſtoration. The players who performed at this theatre in the time of King James the Firſt, were called the Queen's Servants, till the death of Queen Anne in 1619. After her death they were, I think, for ſome time denominated the Lady Elizabeth's Servants; and after the marriage of King Charles the firſt, they regained their former title of the Queen's players.

Curtain

Curtain[5] in Shoreditch, *The Red Bull* at the upper end of St. John's-ſtreet, and *The Fortune*[6] in White-croſs-ſtreet.

[5] See *Skialetheia*, an old collection of Epigrams, and Satires, 16mo. 1598:

" ——— if my diſpoſe
" Perſuade me to a play, I'll to the Roſe,
" Or *Curtain*,—."

The *Curtain* is mentioned in Heath's Epigrams, 1610, as being then open; and *The Hector of Germany* was performed at it by a company of young men in 1615. The original ſign hung out at this playhouſe (as Mr Steevens has obſerved) was the painting of a curtain ſtriped. The performers at this theatre were called *The Prince's Servants*, till the acceſſion of King Charles the Firſt to the crown. Soon after that period it ſeems to have been uſed only by prize-fighters.

[6] The Fortune theatre, according to Maitland, was the oldeſt theatre in London. It was built or re-built in 1599 by Edward Alleyn, the player, (who was alſo proprietor of the *Bear-Garden* from 1594 to 1610,) and coſt 520l. as appears from the following memorandum in his hand-writing:

' What *The Fortune* coſt me, Nov. 1599.

Firſt for the leas to Creſt,	- - -	240.
Then for building the play-hous,	- -	520.
For other privat buildings of myn owne,	-	120.
So that it hath coſt me for the leaſſe,	-	£. 880.'

It was a round brick building, and its dimenſions may be conjectured from the following advertiſement in *The Mercurius Politicus*, Tueſday Feb. 14, to Tueſday Feb. 21, 1661, for the preſervation of which we are indebted to Mr. Steevens: " The Fortune play-houſe ſituate between Whitecroſs-ſtreet and Golding-lane, in the pariſh of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be lett to be built upon; where twenty-three tenements may be erected, with gardens; and a ſtreet may be cut through for the better accomodation of the buildings."

The Fortune is ſpoken of as a playhouſe of conſiderable ſize, in the prologue to the *Roaring Girl*, a comedy which was acted there, and printed in 1611:

" A roaring girl, whoſe notes till now ne'er were,
" Shall fill with laughter *our weſt theatre*."

See alſo the concluding lines of Shirley's prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, quoted below.

Howes in his continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1004, edit. 1631, ſays, it was burnt down in or about the year, 1617: " About foure yeares after, [i. e. after the burning of the Globe,] a fayre ſtrong new-built play-houſe near Golden-lane, called the Fortune, by negligence of a candle was cleane burnt to the ground, but ſhortly after re-built

ſtreet. The laſt two were chiefly frequented by citizens[7]. There were however, but ſix companies of comedians; for the playhouſe in Blackfriars, and the Globe, belonged to the ſame troop. Beſide theſe ſeven theatres, there were for ſome time on the Bankſide three other publick theatres; *The Swan*, *The Roſe*[8], and *The Hope*[9]: but *The Hope* being uſed chiefly as a bear-

re-built far fairer." He is however, miſtaken as to the time, for it was burnt down in December, 1621, as I learn from a letter in Dr. Birch's collection in the Muſeum, from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 15, 1621, in which is the following paragraph: "On ſunday night here was a great fire at *The Fortune* in Golding-lane, the firſt play-houſe in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours, and all their apparell and playbooks loſt, whereby thoſe poore companions are quite undone. There were two other houſes on fire, but with great labour and danger were ſaved." *Mſs.* Birch, 4173. It does not appear whether this writer, by "the *firſt* play-houſe in this town," means the firſt in point of ſize or dignity, or the oldeſt. I doubt much its being the oldeſt, though that is the obvious meaning of the words, and though Maitland has aſſerted it: becauſe I have not found it mentioned in any of the tracts relative to the ſtage, written in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Prynne ſays that the Fortune on its re-building was enlarged. Epiſtle Dedicat. to *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633.

Before this theatre there was either a picture or ſtatue of Fortune. See *The Engliſh Traveller*, by Heywood, 1633:

" ——— I'le rather ſtand here,
" Like a ſtatue in the fore-front of your houſe
" For ever; like the picture of dame Fortune
" Before the Fortune play-houſe."

7 Wright's *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 5.

8 The Swan and the Roſe are mentioned by Taylor the water-poet, but in 1613 they were ſhut up. See his Works, p. 171, edit. 1633. The latter had been built before 1598. See p. 43, n. 5. After the year 1620, as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, they were uſed occaſionally for the exhibition of prize-fighters.

9 Ben Jonſon's *Bartholomew-Fair* was performed at this theatre in 1614. He does not give a very favourable deſcription of it:—"Though the fair be not kept in the ſame region that ſome here perhaps would have it, yet think that the author hath therein obſerved a ſpecial decorum, the place being as dirty as *Smithfield*, and as ſtinking every whit."—*Induction* to *Bartholomew Fair*.

It appears from an old pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in quarto in 1632, that *The Hope* was occaſionally uſed as a bear-garden, and that *The Swan* was then fallen into decay.

garden,

garden, and *The Swan* and *The Roſe* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the eſtabliſhed theatres that were open in 1598, were either without the city of London or its liberties[1].

It appears from the office book[2] of Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of the Revels to King James the Firſt, and the two

[1] Sunt porro Londini, *extra urbem*, theatra aliquot, in quibus hiſtriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias fingulis fere diebus, in magna hominum frequentia agunt; quas variis etiam ſaltationibus, ſuaviſſima adhibita muſica, magno cum populi applauſu finiri ſolent." Hentzneri *Itinerarium*, 4to. 1598, p. 132.

[2] For the uſe of this very curious and valuable Manuſcript I am indebted to Francis Ingram of Ribbisford near Bewdley in Worceſterſhire, Eſq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the ſame old cheſt which contained the manuſcript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the Life of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.

The firſt Maſter of the Revels in the reign of queen Elizabeth was Thomas Benger, whoſe patent paſſed the great ſeal Jan. 18, 1560-1. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. His ſucceſſor, Edmund Tilney, obtained a grant of this office (the reverſion of which John Lily, the dramatick poet, had long in vain ſolicited,) on the 24th of July 1579, (as appears from a book of patents in the Pells-office,) and continued in poſſeſſion of it during the remainder of her reign, and till October 1610, about which time he died. This office for near fifty years appears to have been conſidered as ſo deſirable a place, that it was conſtantly ſought for during the life of the poſſeſſor, and granted in reverſion. King James on the 23d of June, 1603, made a reverſionary grant of it to Sir George Buc, (then George Buc, Eſq.) to take place whenever it ſhould become vacant by the death, reſignation, forfeiture, or ſurrender, of the then poſſeſſor Edmund Tilney; who, if I miſtake not, was Sir George Buc's maternal uncle. Mr. Tilney, as I have already mentioned, did not die till the end of the year 1610, and ſhould ſeem to have executed the duties of the office to the laſt; for his executor, as I learn from one of the *Exitus* books in the Exchequer, received in the year 1611, 120l. 18s. 3d. due to Mr. Tilney on the laſt day of the preceding October, for one's year's expences of office. In the edition of Camden's *Britannia*, printed in folio in 1607, Sir George Buc is called Maſter of the Revels, I ſuppoſe from his having obtained the reverſion of that place: for from what I have already ſtated he could not have been then in poſſeſſion of it. April 3, 1612, Sir John Aſtley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reverſionary grant of this office, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir George Buc, as Ben Jonſon the poet

two ſucceeding kings, that very ſoon after our poet's death, in the year 1622, there were but five principal companies

poet obtained a ſimilar grant, October 5, 1621, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir John Aſtley and Sir George Buc.

Sir George Buc came into poſſeſſion of the office about November 1610, and held it till the end of the year 1621, when, in conſequence of ill health, he reſigned it to king James, and Sir John Aſtley ſucceeded him. How Sir Henry Herbert got poſſeſſion of this office originally, I am unable to aſcertain; but I imagine Sir John Aſtley for a valuable conſideration appointed him his *deputy*, in Auguſt 1623, at which time, to uſe Sir Henry's own words, he "was *received* as Maſter of the Revels by his Majeſty at Wilton;" and in the warrant-books of Philip earl of Pembroke, now in the Lord Chamberlain's office, containing warrants, orders, &c. between the years 1625 and 1642, he is conſtantly ſtyled Maſter of the Revels. If Sir John Aſtley had formally reſigned or ſurrendered his office, Ben Jonſon, in conſequence of the grant obtained in the year 1621, muſt have ſucceeded to it; but he never derived any emolument from that grant, for Sir John Aſtley, as I find from the probate of his will, in the Prerogative office, (in which it is obſervable that he calls himſelf *Maſter of the Revels*, though both the duties and emoluments of the office were then exerciſed and enjoyed by another,) did not die till January 1639-40, above two years after the poet's death. To make his title ſtill more ſecure, Sir Henry Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Eſq. Auguſt 22, 1629, obtained a reverſionary grant of this much ſought-for office, to take place on the death, ſurrender, &c. of Sir John Aſtley and Benjamin Jonſon. Sir Henry held the office for fifty years, though during the uſurpation he could not exerciſe the functions nor enjoy the emoluments of it.

Sir George Buc wrote an expreſs treatiſe, as he has himſelf told us, on the ſtage and on revels, which is unfortunately loſt. Previous to the exhibition of every play, it was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels, who had an eſtabliſhed fee on the occaſion. If ever therefore the Office-books of Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc ſhall be found, they will aſcertain preciſely the chronological order of all the plays written by Shakſpeare; and either confirm or overturn a ſyſtem in forming which I have taken ſome pains. Having however found many of my conjectures confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, I have no reaſon to augur ill concerning the event, ſhould the regiſters of his predeceſſors ever be diſcovered.

The regular ſalary of this office was but ten pounds a year; but, by fees and other perquiſites, the emoluments of Sir George Buc in the firſt year he came into poſſeſſion of it, amounted to near 100l. The office afterwards became much more valuable.

Having mentioned this gentleman, I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Anthony Wood has fallen, and which has

companies of comedians in London; the King's Servants, who performed at the Globe and in Blackfriars; the Prince's Servants, who performed then at the Curtain; the Palſgrave's Servants [3], who had poſſeſſion of the Fortune; the players of the Revels, who acted at the Red Bull [4]; and the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are ſometimes denominated, the Queen of Bohemia's players, who performed at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane [5].

has been implicitly adopted in the new edition of *Biographia Britannica*, and many other books. The error I allude to, is, that this Sir George Buc, who was knighted at White-hall by king James the day before his coronation, July 23, 1603, was the author of the celebrated *Hiſtory of King Richard the Third*; which was written above twenty years after his death by George Buck, *Eſq.* who was, I ſuppoſe, his ſon. The preciſe time of the father's death, I have not been able to aſcertain, there being no will of his in the prerogative-office; but I have reaſon to believe that it happened ſoon after the year 1622. He certainly died before Auguſt 1629.

The Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almoſt every piece exhibited at any of the theatres from Auguſt 1623 to the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, and many curious anecdotes relative to them, ſome of which I ſhall preſently have occaſion to quote. This valuable Manuſcript having lain for a conſiderable time in a damp place, is unfortunately damaged, and in a very mouldering condition: however, no material part of it appears to have periſhed.

I cannot conclude this long note without acknowledging the obliging attention of W. E. Roberts, Eſq. Deputy Clerk of the Pells, which facilitated every ſearch I wiſhed to make in his office, and enabled me to aſcertain ſome of the facts above ſtated.

3 "1622. The Palſgrave's ſervants. Frank Grace, Charles Maſſy, Richard Price, Richard Fowler, —— Kane, Curtys Grevill." *Mſ.* Herbert. Three other names have periſhed. Of theſe one muſt have been that of Richard Gunnel, who was then the manager of the Fortune theatre; and another, that of William Cartwright, who was of the ſame company.

4 "The names of the cheiſe players at the Red Bull, called the players of the Revells. Robert Lee, Richard Perkings, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Baſſe, John Blany, John Cumber, William Robbins." *Ibidem.*

5 "The cheiſe of them at the Phœnix. Chriſtopher Beeſton, Joſeph More, Eliard Swanſon, Andrew Cane, Curtis Grevill, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner." *Ibidem.* Eliard Swanſton in 1624 joined the company at Blackfriars.

That part of the leaf which contained the liſt of the king's ſervants, and the performers at the *Curtain*, is mouldered away.

When

When Prynne publiſhed his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, (1633) there were ſix play-houſes open; the theatre in Blackfriars; the Globe; the Fortune; the Red Bull; the Cockpit or Phœnix, and a theatre in Saliſbury-court, Whitefriars[6].

All the plays of Shakſpeare appear to have been performed either at *The Globe*, or the theatre in *Blackfriars*. I ſhall therefore confine my inquiries principally to thoſe two. They belonged, as I have already obſerved, to the ſame company of comedians, namely his majeſty's ſervants, which title they obtained after a licence had been granted to them by king James in 1603; having before that time, I apprehend, been called the ſervants of the Lord Chamberlain. Like the other ſervants of the houſehold, the performers enrolled in this company were ſworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of baſtard ſcarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every ſecond year[7].

The theatre in Blackfriars was ſituated near the preſent Apothecaries-hall, in the neighbourhood of which

[6] It has been repeated again and again that Prynne enumerates *ſeventeen* playhouſes in London in his time; but this is a miſtake; he expreſsly ſays that there were only ſix, (ſee his Epiſtle Dedicatory,) and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert confirms his aſſertion.

Mr. Dodſley and others have fallen into this miſtake of ſuppoſing there were *ſeventeen* playhouſes open at one time in London; into which they were led by the continuator of Stowe, who mentions that between 1570 and 1630 ſeventeen playhouſes were built, in which number however he includes five inns turned into playhouſes, and St. Paul's ſinging-ſchool. He does not ſay that they were all open at the ſame time.—A late writer carries the matter ſtill further, and aſſerts that it appears from Rymer's Mſſ. in the Muſeum that there were *twenty-three* playhouſes at one time open in London!

[7] "Theſe are to ſignify unto your lordſhip his majeſties pleaſure, that you cauſe to be delivered unto his majeſties players whoſe names follow, viz. John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joſeph Taylor, Richard Robinſon, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanſon, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the ſeveral allowance of foure yardes of baſtarde ſkarlet for a cloake, and a quarter of a yard of crimſon velvet for the capes, it being the uſual allowance graunted unto them by his majeſty every ſecond yeare, and due at Eaſter laſt paſt. For the doing whereof theis ſhall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629." *Mſ. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.*

there

there is yet *Playhouſe-yard*, not far from which the theatre probably ſtood. It was, as has been mentioned, a private houſe; but what were the diſtinguiſhing marks of a private playhouſe, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. We know only that it was ſmaller [5] than thoſe which were called publick theatres; and that in the private theatres plays were uſually repreſented by candle-light [6].

In this theatre, which was a very ancient one, the Children of the Revels occaſionally performed [7].

It

5 Wright, in his *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* informs us, that the theatre in *Blackfriars*, the *Cockpit*, and that in *Saliſbury-Court*, were exactly alike both in form and ſize. The ſmallneſs of the latter is aſcertained by theſe lines in an epilogue to *Tottenham Court*, a comedy by Nabbes, which was acted there:

"When others' fill'd rooms with neglect diſdain ye,
"My *little* houſe with thanks ſhall entertain ye."

6 "All the city looked like *a private play-houſe*, when the *windows are clapt downe*, as if ſome *nocturnal* and diſmal tragedy were preſently to be acted." Decker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606. See alſo *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*.

7 Many pieces were performed by them in this theatre before 1580. Sometimes they performed entire pieces; at others, they repreſented ſuch young characters as are found in many of our poet's plays. Thus we find Nat. Field, John Underwood, and William Oſtler, among the children of the Revels who repreſented ſeveral of Ben Jonſon's comedies at the Blackfriars in the earlier part of king James's reign, and alſo in the liſt of the actors of our author's plays prefixed to the firſt folio, publiſhed in 1623. They had then become men.

Lily's *Campaſpe* was acted at the theatre in Blackfriars in 1584, and *The Caſe is altered*, by Ben Jonſon, was printed in 1609, as acted by *the children of Black-friers*. Some of the children of the Revels alſo acted occaſionally at the theatre in Whitefriars; for we find *A Woman's a Weathercock* performed by them at that theatre in 1612. Probably a certain number of theſe children were appropriated to each of theſe theatres, and inſtructed by the elder performers in their art; by which means this young troop became a promptuary of actors. In a manuſcript in the Inner Temple, No. 515, Vol. VII. entitled "A booke conteyning ſeveral particulars with relation to the kings ſervants, petitions, warrants, bills, &c. and ſuppoſed to be a copy of ſome part of the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold's book in or about the year 1622," I find "A warrant to the ſignet-office (dated July 8th, 1622,) for a privie ſeale for his majeſties licenſing of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Baſſe, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robbins, late comedians of Queene Anne deceaſed, *to bring up children in the qualitie and exerciſe*

It is ſaid in Camden's Annals of the reign of king James the firſt, that the theatre in Blackfriars fell down in the year 1623, and that above eighty perſons were killed by the accident; but he was miſinformed[8]. The room which gave way was in a private houſe, and appropriated to the ſervice of religion.

I am unable to aſcertain at what time the Globe theatre was built. Hentzner has alluded to it as exiſting in 1598, though he does not expreſsly mention it[9]. I believe it was not built long before the year 1596[1].

of playing comedies, hiſtories, interludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage-plaies, and ſuch like, as well for the ſollace and pleaſure of his majeſtie, as for the honeſt recreation of ſuch as ſhall deſire to ſee them; to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*;—and to be drawne in ſuch a manner and forme *as hath been uſed in other lycenſes of that kinde.*" Theſe very perſons, we have ſeen, were the company of the Revels in 1622, and were then become men.

[8] "1623. Ex occaſu domûs ſcenicæ apud Black-friers Londini, 81 perſonæ ſpectabiles necantur." Camdeni *Annales*, *ab anno* 1603 *ad annum* 1623, 4to. 1691. p. 82. That this writer was miſinformed, appears from an old tract, printed in the ſame year in which the accident happened, entitled, *A Word of Comfort, or a diſcourſe concerning the late lamentable accident of the fall of* a Room at a Catholick ſermon *in the Black-friers, London, whereby about* four-ſcore *perſons were oppreſſed.* 4to 1623.

See alſo verſes prefixed to a play called *The Queen*, publiſhed by Alexander Goughe, (probably the ſon of Robert Goughe, one of the actors in Shakſpeare's company,) in 1653:

" ——————— we dare not ſay—
" — that Blackfriers we heare, which in this age
" Fell, when it was a church, *not when a ſtage*;
" Or that the puritans that once dwelt there,
" Prayed and thriv'd, though the play-houſe were ſo near."

Camden had a paralytick ſtroke on the 18th of Auguſt 1623, and died on the 9th of November following. The above-mentioned accident happened on the 24th of October; which accounts for his inaccuracy. The room which fell, was an upper room in Hunſdon-Houſe, in which the French Ambaſſador then dwelt. See Stowe's Chron. p. 1035, edit. 1631.

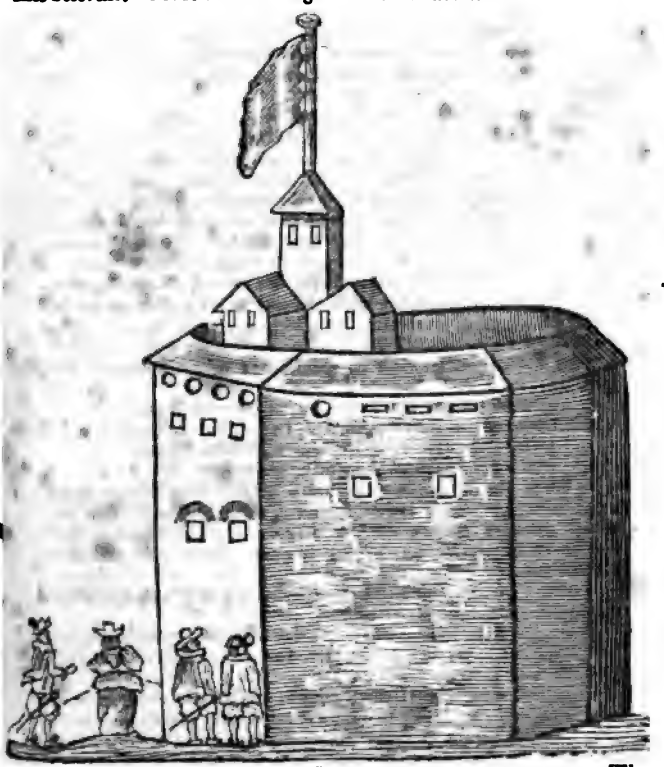
[9] "Non longe ab *uno* horum theatrorum, quæ *omnia lignea ſunt*, ad Thameſin navis eſt regia, quæ duo egregia habet conclavia," &c. *Itin.* p. 132. By *navis regia* he means the royal barge called the *Gallyfoiſt*. See the South View of London, as it appeared in 1599.

[1] See "The Sult of the Watermen againſt the Players," in the *Works* of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171.

It

It was ſituated on the Bankſide, (the ſouthern ſide of the river Thames,) nearly oppoſite to Friday-ſtreet, Cheapſide. It was an hexagonal wooden building, partly open to the weather, and partly thatched[2]. When Hentzner wrote, all the other theatres as well as this were compoſed of wood.

[2] In the long Antwerp View of London in the Pepyſian Library at Cambridge, is a repreſentation of the Globe theatre, from which a drawing was made by the Rev. Mr. Henley, and tranſmitted to Mr. Steevens. From that drawing this cut was made.



The Globe was a publick theatre, and of conſiderable ſize[3], and there they always acted by day-light[4]. On the roof of this and the other publick theatres a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed[5]. Theſe flags were probably diſplayed only during the hours of exhibition; and it ſhould ſeem from one of the old comedies that they were taken down in Lent, in which time, during the early part of King James's reign plays were not allowed to be repreſented[6], though at a ſubſequent period this prohibition was diſpenſed with[7].

I formerly

3 The Globe, we learn from Wright's *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, was nearly of the ſame ſize as the *Fortune*, which has been already deſcribed.

4 *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 7.

5 So, in *The Curtain-Drawer of the World*, 1612: "Each play-houſe advanceth his *flagge* in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are ſummoned whole troops of men, women, and children."—Again, in *A Mad World, my Maſters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608: "——the hair about the hat is as good as a *flag* upon the pole, at a common play-houſe, to waft company." See a *View of the City of London as it appeared in* 1599, in which are repreſentations of *the Globe* and *Swan* theatres. From the words, "a *common* play-houſe," in the paſſage laſt quoted, we may be led to ſuppoſe that flags were not diſplayed on the roof of *Blackfriars*, and the other *private* playhouſes.

This cuſtom perhaps took its riſe from a miſconception of a line in Ovid:

"Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,—"

which Heywood, in a tract publiſhed in 1612, thus tranſlates:

"In thoſe days from the marble houſe did waive
"No ſail, no *ſilken flag*, or enſign brave."

"From the roof (ſays the ſame author, deſcribing a Roman amphitheatre,) grew a loover or turret, of exceeding altitude, from which *an enſign of ſilk waved continually*;—pendebant vela theatro."—The miſinterpretation might, however, have ariſen from the Engliſh cuſtom.

6 "'Tis *Lent* in your cheeks;—*the flag is down*." *A Mad World, my Maſters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608.

Again, in Earle's *Characters*, 7th edit. 1638: "Shrove-tueſday hee [*a player*] feares as much as the bawdes, and *Lent* is more dangerous to him than the butchers."

7 "[Received] of the King's players for a *lenten diſpenſation*, the other companys promiſing to doe as muche, 44*s*. March 23, 1616."

"Of

I formerly conjectured that *The Globe*, though hexagonal at the outside, was perhaps a rotunda within, and that it might have derived its name from its circular form[1]. But, though the part appropriated to the audi-

" Of John Hemminges, in the name of the four companys, for toleration in the holydayes, 44s. January 28, 1618."

Extracts from the office-book of Sir George Buc. Mſſ. Herbert.

Theſe diſpenſations did not extend to the ſermon-days, as they were then called; that is, Wedneſday and Friday in each week.

After Sir Henry Herbert became poſſeſſed of the office of Maſter of the Revels, fees for permiſſion to perform in Lent appear to have been conſtantly paid by each of the theatres. The managers however did not always perform plays during that ſeaſon. Some of the theatres, particularly the Red-Bull and the Fortune, were then let to prize-fighters, tumblers, and rope-dancers, who ſometimes added a Maſque to the other exhibitions. Theſe facts are aſcertained by the following entries:

" 1622. 21 Martii. For a priſe at the Red Bull, for the howſe; the fencers would give nothing. 10s." Mſſ. Aſtley.

" From Mr. Gunnel, [Manager of the Fortune,] in the name of the dancers of the ropes for Lent, this 15 March, 1624. £1. 0. 0."

" From Mr. Gunnel, to allowe of a *Maſque* for the dancers of the ropes, this 19 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

We ſee here, by the way, that *Microcoſmus*, which was exhibited in 1637, was not (as Dr. Burney ſuppoſes in his ingenious *Hiſtory of Muſick*, Vol. III. p. 385,) the firſt maſque exhibited on the publick ſtage.

" From Mr. Blagrave, in the name of the Cockpit company, for this Lent, this 30 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

" March 20, 1624. From Mr. Hemminges, for this Lent allowanſe, £2. 0. 0." Mſſ. Herbert.

Prynne takes notice of this relaxation in his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633: " There are none ſo addicted to ſtage-playes, but when they go unto places where they cannot have them, or when as they are ſuppreſſed by publike authority, (as in times of peſtilence, and in *Lent*, *till now of late*,) can well ſubſiſt without them." p. 784.

[1] " After theſe" (ſays Heywood, ſpeaking of the buildings at Rome, appropriated to ſcenick exhibitions,) " they compoſed others, but differing in form from the theatre or amphitheatre, and every ſuch was called *circus*; the frame *globe*-like, and merely *round*." *Apology for Actors*, 1612. See alſo our author's prologue to *K. Henry V.*

" —— or may we cram
" Within this wooden *O*," &c.

But as we find in the prologue to Marſton's *Antonio's Revenge*, which was acted by the *Children of Paul's* in 1602,

" If any ſpirit breathes within this *round*,—"

no inference reſpecting the denomination of *the Globe* can be drawn from this expreſſion.

ence was probably circular, I now believe that the houſe was denominated only from its ſign; which was a figure of Hercules ſupporting the Globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit hiſtrionem* [2]. This theatre was burnt down on the 29th of June, 1613 [3]; but it was rebuilt in

[2] Stowe informs us, that "the allowed Stewhouſes [antecedent to the year 1545] had ſignes on their frontes towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles; as a Boares head, The Croſs Keyes, The Gunne, The Caſtle, the Crane, the Cardinals Hat, the Bell, the Swanne," &c. *Survey of London*, 4to, 1603, p. 409. The houſes which continued to carry on the ſame trade after the ancient and privileged edifices had been put down, probably were diſtinguiſhed by the old ſigns; and the ſign of the Globe, which theatre was in their neighbourhood, was perhaps, in imitation of them, painted on its wall.

[3] The following account of this accident is given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613, *Reliq. Wottoni*, p. 425, edit. 1685: "Now to let matters of ſtate ſleep, I will entertain you at the preſent with what hath happened this week at the Banks ſide. The Kings Players had a new play called *All is true*, repreſenting ſome principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was ſet forth with many extraordinary circumſtances of pomp and majeſty, even to the matting of the ſtage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like: ſufficient in truth within a while to make greatneſs very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Maſque at the Cardinal Wolſeys houſe, and certain cannons being ſhot off at his entry, ſome of the paper or other ſtuff, wherwith one of them was ſtopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at firſt but an idle ſmoak, and their eyes more attentive to the ſhow, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, conſuming within leſs than an hour the whole houſe to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did periſh but *wood* and *ſtraw*, and a few forſaken cloaks."

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlaine's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8, 1613, in which this accident is likewiſe mentioned, we learn that this theatre had only two doors. "The burning of the Globe or playhouſe on the Bankſide on St. Peter's day cannot eſcape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers, (that I know not upon what occaſion were to be uſed in the play,) the tampin or ſtopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the houſe, burn'd it down to the ground in leſs than two hours, with a dwelling-houſe adjoyning; and it was a great marvaile and fair grace of God that the people had ſo little harm, having but *two narrow doors* to get out." Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 469. Not a ſingle life was loſt.

In 1613 was entered on the Stationers' books *A doleful ballad of the general conflagration of the famous theatre on the Bankſide, called the Globe*. I have never met with it.

the

the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally beſtowed upon it[4].

The exhibitions at *the Globe* ſeem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower claſs of people[5]; thoſe at

4 See Taylor's *Skuller*, p. 31, Ep. 22.

" As gold is better that's in fier try'd,
" So is the Bank-ſide *Globe*, that late was burn'd;
" For where before it had a thatched hide,
" Now to a ſtately theator 'tis turn'd."

See alſo Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1003.

5 *The Globe* theatre, being contiguous to the *Bear-Garden*, when the ſports of the latter were over, the ſame ſpectators probably reſorted to the former. The audiences at *the Bull* and *the Fortune* were, it may be preſumed, of a claſs ſtill inferior to that of *the Globe*. The latter, being the theatre of his majeſty's ſervants, muſt neceſſarily have had a ſuperior degree of reputation. At all of them, however, it appears, that noiſe and ſhew were what chiefly attracted an audience. Our author ſpeaks in *Hamlet* of " *berattling the common* [i.e. the *publick*] theatres. See alſo *A Prologue* ſpoken by a company of players who had ſeceded from *the Fortune*, p. 64, note 7; from which we learn that the performers at that theatre, " *to ſplit the ears of the groundlings*," uſed " *to tear a paſſion to tatters*."

In ſome verſes addreſſed by Thomas Carew to Mr. [afterwards Sir William] D'Avenant, " Upon his excellent Play, *The Juſt Italian*," 1630, I find a ſimilar character of the *Bull* theatre:

" Now noiſe prevails; and he is tax'd for drowth
" Of wit, that with the cry ſpends not his mouth.—
" —thy ſtrong fancies, raptures of the brain
" Dreſs'd in poetick flames, they entertain
" As a bold impious reach; for they'll ſtill ſlight
" All that exceeds RED BULL and *Cockpit* flight.
" Theſe are the men in crowded heaps that throng
" To that adulterate ſtage, where not a tongue
" Of the untun'd kennel can a line repeat
" Of ſerious ſenſe; but like lips meet like meat:
" Whilſt the true brood of actors, that alone
" Keep natural unſtrain'd action in her throne,
" Behold their benches bare, though they rehearſe
" The terſer Beaumont's or great Jonſon's verſe."

The *true brood of actors* were the performers at *Blackfriars*, where *The Juſt Italian* was acted.

See alſo *The Careleſs Shepherdeſs*, repreſented at Saliſbury-court; 4to. 1656:

" And I will haſten to the money-box,
" And take my *ſhilling* out again;—
" I'll go to THE BULL, or FORTUNE, and there ſee
" A play for *two-pence*, and a jig to boot."

Blackfriars, for a more ſelect and judicious audience. This appears from the following prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inſerted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

" Prologue at *the* GLOBE, to his Comedy called *the Doubtful Heir*, which ſhould have been preſented at *the Blackfriars*[6],

" Gentlemen, I am only ſent to ſay,
" Our author did not calculate his play
" For *this* meridian. The *Bankſide*, he knows,
" Is far more ſkilful at the ebbs and flows
" Of water than of wit; he did not mean
" For the elevation of your poles, this ſcene.
" No ſhews,—no dance,—and what you moſt delight in,
" Grave underſtanders[7], here's no target-fighting
" Upon the ſtage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
" No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
" But language clean, and, what affects you not,
" Without impoſſibilities the plot;
" No clown, no ſquibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
" You ſquirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
" Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
" Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
" But you that can contract yourſelves, and ſit,
" As you were now in the *Blackfriars* pit,
" And will not deaf us with lewd noiſe and tongues,
" Becauſe we have no heart to break our lungs,
" Will pardon our *vaſt* ſtage, and not diſgrace
" This play, meant for your perſons, not the place."

The ſuperior diſcernment of the *Blackfriars* audience may be likewiſe collected from a paſſage in the preface

[6] In the printed play theſe words are omitted; the want of which renders the prologue perfectly unintelligible. This comedy was performed for the firſt time at the Globe, June 1, 1640.

[7] The common people ſtood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the houſe which we now call the pit; which being lower than the ſtage, Shirley calls them *underſtanders*. In the private playhouſes, it appears from the ſubſequent lines, there were ſeats in the pit.

Ben Jonſon has the ſame quibble: " — the *underſtanding* gentlemen of the *ground* here."

prefixed

prefixed by Heminge and Condell to the firſt folio edition of our author's works: "And though you be a *magiſtrate of wit*, and ſit on the ſtage at *Blackfriers*, or the Cockpit, to arraigne plays dailie, know theſe plays have had their tryal already, and ſtood out all appeales."

A writer already quoted[8] informs us that one of theſe theatres was a winter, and the other a ſummer, houſe[9]. As *the Globe* was partly expoſed to the weather, and they acted there uſually by day-light, it appeared to me probable (when this Eſſay was originally publiſhed) that this was the ſummer theatre; and I have lately found my conjecture confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript. The king's company uſually began to play at the Globe in the month of May. The exhibitions here ſeem to have been more frequent[1] than at *Blackfriers*, till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bankſide* appears to have become leſs faſhionable, and leſs frequented than it formerly had been[2].

[8] Wright.

[9] His account is confirmed by a paſſage in an old pamphlet, entitled *Hollond's Leaguer*, 4to. 1632. "She was moſt taken with the report of three famous amphytheators, which ſtood ſo neere ſituated, that her eye might take view of them from her loweſt turret. One was *the Continent of the World*, becauſe *halfe the yeere* a world of beauties and brave ſpirits reſorted unto it. The other was a building of excellent *Hope*; and though wild beaſts and gladiators did moſt poſſeſſe it," &c.

[1] *King Lear*, in the title-page of the original edition, printed in 1608, is ſaid to have been performed by his majeſty's ſervants, playing *uſually* at *the Globe* on the Bankſide.—See alſo the licence granted by king James in 1603: "—and the ſaid comedies, tragedies, &c.—to ſhew—as well within their now *uſual* houſe called *the Globe*,—." No mention is made of their theatre in *Blackfriars*; from which circumſtance I ſuſpect that antecedent to that time our poet's company played *only* at the Globe, and purchaſed the Blackfriars theatre afterwards. In the licence granted by king Charles the Firſt to John Heminge and his aſſociates in the year 1625, they are authorized to exhibit plays, &c. "as well within theſe *two* their moſt uſual houſes called the Globe in the county of Surrey, and their private houſes ſituate within the precinct of the *Blackfryers*,—alſo," &c. Had they poſſeſſed the Blackfriars theatre in 1603, it would probably have been mentioned in the former licence. In the following year they certainly had poſſeſſion of it, for Marſton's *Malecontent* was acted there in 1604.

[2] See *The Works of Taylor the Water-Poet*, fol. 1st. edit. 1633.

Many

Many of our ancient dramatick pieces (as has been already obſerved) were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then firſt united themſelves in companies, erected an occaſional ſtage[3]. The form of theſe temporary playhouſes ſeems to be preſerved in our modern theatre. The galleries, in both, are ranged over each other on three ſides of the building. The ſmall rooms under the loweſt of theſe galleries anſwer to our preſent boxes; and it is obſervable that theſe, even in theatres which were built in a ſubſequent period expreſsly for dramatick exhibitions, ſtill retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms*[4], by our ancient writers. The yard bears a ſufficient reſemblance to the pit, as at preſent in uſe. We may ſuppoſe the ſtage to have been raiſed in this area, on the fourth ſide, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admiſſion was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a playhouſe not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I ſuppoſe of the other *publick* theatres, in the time of Shakſpeare, there was an open yard or area[5], where the common people ſtood

[3] Fleckno, in his *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, publiſhed in 1664, ſays, ſome remains of theſe ancient theatres were at that day to be ſeen in the inn-yards of the *Croſs-keys* in Gracechurch-ſtreet, and *the Bull* in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet.

In the ſeventeen playhouſes erected between the years 1570 and 1630, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons "five *inns* or common *oſteries* turned into play-houſes."

[4] See a prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, quoted in p. 60, n. 1. Theſe rooms appear to have been ſometimes employed, in the infancy of the ſtage, for the purpoſes of gallantry. "Theſe plays" (ſays Strype in his additions to Stowe's *Survey*) "being commonly acted on ſundays and feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the play-houſes thronged. Great inns were uſed for this purpoſe, which had ſecret chambers and places as well as open ſtages and galleries. Here maids and good citizens' children were inveigled and allured to private unmeet contracts." He is ſpeaking of the year 1574.

[5] "In the play-houſes at London, it is the faſhion of youthes to go firſt into the *yarde*, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, [illegible] the carion, thither they flye, and

ſtood to ſee the exhibition; from which circumſtance they are called by our author *groundlings*, and by Ben Jonſon "the *underſtanding* gentlemen of the *ground*."

The galleries, or *ſcaffolds*, as they are ſometimes called, and that part of the houſe which in private theatres was named the pit[6], ſeem to have been at the ſame price; and probably in houſes of reputation, ſuch as *the Globe*, and that in *Blackfriars*, the price of admiſſion into thoſe parts of the theatre was ſix-pence[7], while in ſome meaner play-

and preſs as near to the faireſt as they can." *Plays Confuted in Five ſeveral Actions*, by Stephen Goſſon, 1580. Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "The ſtage, like time, will bring you to moſt perfect light, and lay you open; neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the *ſcar-crowes* in the *yard* hoot at you, hiſs at you, ſpit at you." So, in the prologue to an old comedy called *The Hog hath loſt his Pearl*, 1614:

"We may be pelted off for what we know,
With apples, eggs, or ſtones, from *thoſe below*."

See alſo the prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, ante, p. 56:

"——and what you moſt delight in,
"Grave *underſtanders*,——."

6 The pit, Dr. Percy ſuppoſes to have received its name from one of the playhouſes having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the matter, however, ſeems to be ſomewhat queſtionable. The place where the ſeats are ranged in St. Mary's at Cambridge, is ſtill called the *pit*; and no one can ſuſpect that venerable fabrick of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phraſe was borrowed from a playhouſe to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative ſituation, and ſuch is the middle part of a theatre.

Shakſpeare himſelf uſes *cock-pit* to expreſs a ſmall confined ſituation, without any particular refereſſce:

"——Can this *cock-pit* hold
"The vaſty fields of France,—or may we cram,
"Within this wooden O, the very caſques
"That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

7 See an old collection of tales, entitled *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 4to. 1595: "When the great man had read the actors letter, he preſently, in anſwere to it, took a ſheet of paper, and folding *ſixpence* up in it, ſealed it, ſubſcribed it, and ſent it to his brother; intimating thereby, that though his brother had vowed not in ſeven years to ſee him, yet he for his *ſixpence* could come and ſee him upon the ſtage at his pleaſure."

So, in the induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, by Ben Jonſon, which was firſt repreſented in October, 1632: "Not the *faeces* or grounds of your people, that ſit in the oblique caves and wedges of your houſe, your ſinful *ſixpeny mechanicks*."

See

playhouſes it was only a penny[8], in others two-pence[9]. The price of admiſſion into the beſt *rooms* or boxes[1], was

See below, Verſes addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*.

That there were *ſixpenny* places at the *Blackfriars* playhouſe, appears from the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, which was acted at that theatre in 1637, being licenſed on the 17th of November, in that year:

" Not that he fears his name can ſuffer wrack
" From them, who *ſixpence* pay, and ſixpence crack;
" To ſuch he wrote not, though ſome parts have been
" So like here, that they to themſelves came in."

8 So, in *Wit without Money*, by Fletcher: " — peak in at plays like prentices for three a groat, and crack nuts with the ſcholars in *penny* rooms again."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: " Your *groundling* and *gallery commoner* buys his ſport by the *penny*."

Again, in *Humours Ordinarie, where a Man may be very merrie and exceeding well uſed for his Sixpence*, no date:

" Will you ſtand ſpending your invention's treaſure
" To teach ſtage-parrots ſpeak for *penny* pleaſure?"

9 " Pay thy *two-pence* to a player, in this gallery you may ſit by a harlot." *Bell-man's Night-walk*, by Decker, 1616.

Again, in the prologue to the *Woman-hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: " —to the utter diſcomfiture of all *two-penny gallery* men."

It appears from a paſſage in *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, that there was a *two-penny* gallery in the *Fortune* playhouſe: " One of them is Nip; I took him once at the *two-penny gallery* at *the Fortune*." See alſo above, p. 58, n. 5.

1 The boxes in the theatre at *Blackfriars* were probably ſmall, and appear to have been *encloſed* in the ſame manner as at preſent. See a letter from Mr. Garrard, dated January 25, 1635, *Straff. Letters*, Vol. I. p. 511: " A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a *box* at a new play in the *Blackfriars*, of which the duke had got the key; which if it had come to be debated betwixt them, as it was once intended, ſome heat or perhaps other inconvenience might have happened."

In *the Globe* and the other *publick* theatres, the boxes were of conſiderable ſize. See the prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, by Decker, acted at the *Red Bull*:

" ——————— Give me that man,
" Who, when the plague of an impoſthum'd brains,
" Breaking out, infects a theatre, and hotly reigns,
" Killing the hearers' hearts, that the *vaſt rooms*
" Stand empty, like ſo many dead men's tombs,
" Can call the baniſh'd auditor home," &c.

He

was, I believe, in our author's time, a ſhilling[2]; though afterwards it appears to have riſen to two ſhillings[3], and half a crown[4]. At the Blackfriars theatre the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe. From

He ſeems to be here deſcribing his antagoniſt B. Jonſon, whoſe plays were generally performed to a thin audience. See *Verſes* on our author, by Leonard Digges, Vol. I. Part I. p. 213.

[2] "If he have but *twelvepence* in his purſe, he will give it for the *beſt room* in a playhouſe." Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, 1614.

So, in the prologue to our author's *King Henry VIII*:

"——Thoſe that come to ſee
"Only a ſhew or two, and ſo agree
"The play may paſs, if they be ſtill and willing,
"I'll undertake may ſee away their *ſhilling*
"In two ſhort hours."

Again, in a copy of verſes prefixed to Maſſinger's *Bondman*, 1624:

"Reader, if you have diſburs'd a *ſhilling*
"To ſee this worthy ſtory,——"

Again, in the *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "At a new play you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the ſtage, becauſe the lords and you may ſeem to be hail fellow well met."

So late as in the year 1658, we find the following advertiſement at the end of a piece called *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, by Sir William D'Avenant: "Notwithſtanding the great expence neceſſary to *ſcenes* and other ornaments, in this entertainment, there is good proviſion made of places for *a ſhilling*, and it ſhall certainly begin at three in the afternoon."

In *the Scornful Lady*, which was acted by the children of the Revels at Blackfriars, and printed in 1616, *one-and-ſix-penny* places are mentioned.

[3] See the prologue to *The Queen of Arragon*, a tragedy by Habington, acted at Blackfriars in May, 1640:

"Ere we begin, that no man may repent
"*Two ſhillings* and his time, the author ſent
"The prologue, with the errors of his play,
"That who will may take his money, and away."

Again, in the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, acted at *Blackfriars*, in November, 1637:

"To them who call't reproof, to make a face,
"Who think they judge, when they frown i' the wrong place,
"Who, if they ſpeak not ill o' the poet, doubt
"They looſe by the play, nor have their *two ſhillings* out,
"He ſays," &c.

[4] See *Wit without Money*, a comedy, acted at *The Phœnix* in Drury-lane before 1620:

"And who extoll'd you into the *half-crown* boxes,
"Where you might ſit and wanton at the beauties."

In

From several passages in our old plays we learn, that spectators were admitted on the stage[5], and that the criticks and wits of the time usually sat there[6]. Some were placed on the ground[7]; others sat on stools, of which the price was either sixpence[8], or a shilling[9], according,

In the play-house called *the Hope* on the Bankside, there were five different-priced seats, from sixpence to half a crown. See the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, by Ben Jonson, 1614.

5 So, in *A Mad World by Masters*, by Middleton, 1608: "The actors have been found in a morning in less compass than their *stage*, though it were ne'er *so full of gentlemen*." See also p. 64, n. 3.

6 "——to fair attire the stage
"Helps much; for if our *other audience* see
"*You on the stage depart*, before we end,
"*Our wits go with you all*, and we are fools."

Prologue to *All Fools*, a comedy, acted at *Blackfriars*, 1605.

"By sitting on the stage, you have a sign'd patent to engrosse the whole commoditie of *censure*; may lawfully presume to be a girder, and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes." *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609.

See also the preface to the first folio edition of our author's works: —"And though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and *sit on the stage* at Blackfriars, to arraigne plays dailie,—."

7 "Being on your feet, sneake not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance *that are spred either on the rushes* or on stooles about you; and draw what troope you can from the stage after you." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So also, in Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*:

"I would not yet be pointed at as he is,
"For the fine courtier, the woman's man,
"That tells my lady stories, dissolves riddles,
"Ushers her to her coach, *lies at her feet*
"*At solemn masques*."

From a passage in *King Henry IV. P. I.* it may be presumed that this was no uncommon practice in private assemblies also:

"She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down,
"And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
"And she will sing the song that pleaseth you."

This accounts for Hamlet's sitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the representation of the play before the king and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the same situation in which probably his patrons Essex and Southampton were often seen at the feet of some celebrated beauty. What some chose from economy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

8 "By *sitting on the stage*, you may with small cost purchase the deere

cording, I ſuppoſe, to the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation. And they were attended by pages, who furniſhed them with pipes and tobacco, which was ſmoked here as well as in other parts of the houſe [1]. Yet it ſhould ſeem that perſons were ſuffered to ſit on the ſtage only in the private playhouſes, (ſuch as *Blackfriars*, &c.) where the audience was more ſelect, and of a higher claſs; and that in *the Globe* and the other publick theatres, no ſuch licence was permitted [2].

The

deere acquaintance of the boyes, have a good *ſtool for ſixpence*,—" *Guls Hornebooke.*

Again, *ibidem*: " Preſent not your ſelfe on the ſtage, (eſpecially at a new play,) untill the quaking prologue is ready to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropt out of [i. e. *off*] the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripos, or *three-legged ſtoole*, in one hand, and a *teſton* mounted between a fore-finger and a thumb in the other."

9 " Theſe are moſt worne and moſt in faſhion
" Amongſt the bever gallants, the ſtone-riders,
" The *private ſtage's audience*, the *twelve-penny-ſtools* gentlemen."
The Roaring Girl, a comedy, by Middleton and Decker, 1611.

So, in the Induction to Marſton's *Malcontent*, 1604: " By God's ſlid if you had, I would have given you *but ſixpence* for your ſtool." This therefore was the loweſt rate; and the price of the moſt commodious ſtools on the ſtage was *a ſhilling*.

1 " When young *Rogero* goes to ſee a play,
" His pleaſure is, you *place him on the ſtage*,
" The better to demonſtrate his array,
" And how he fits *attended by his page*,
" That only ſerves to fill thoſe *pipes with ſmoke*,
" For which he pawned hath his riding-cloak."
Springes for Woodcocks, by Henry Parrot, 1613.

Again, in *Skialetheia*, a collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598:
" See you him yonder, who fits o'er the ſtage,
" With the *tobacco-pipe* now at his mouth?"

This, however, was accounted " a cuſtom more honoured in the breach than the obſervance;" as appears from a ſatirical epigram by Sir John Davies, 1598:
" Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not fight?
" He that dares *take tobacco on the ſtage*;
" Dares mark a whoore at noon-day through the ſtreet;
" Dares dance in Pauls;" &c.

[2] See the induction to Marſton's *Malcontent*, 1604, which was acted by his majeſty's ſervants at *Blackfriars*:

" *Tyreman*;

The ſtage was ſtrewed with ruſhes [3], which, we learn from Hentzner and Cæius de Ephemera, was in the time of Shakſpeare the uſual covering of floors in England [4]. On ſome occaſions it was entirely matted over [5]; but this was probably very rare. The curtain which hangs in the front of the preſent ſtage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was uſed by Inigo Jones in the maſques at court,) was yet an apparatus to which the ſimple mechaniſm of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod [6]. In ſome playhouſes they were woollen, in others, made of ſilk [7]. Towards the rear of the

4 "*Tyreman.* Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you ſit here.

Sly. Why, we may ſit upon the ſtage at the *private* houſe. Thou doſt not take me for a country gentleman, doſt? Doeſt thou think I fear hiſſing? Let them that have ſtale ſuits, ſit in the galleries, hiſs at me—."

See alſo *The Roaring Girl*, by Middleton: "—*the private ſtage's* audience,—." Ante, p. 63, n. 3.

3 "On the very *ruſhes* where the comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the ſtate of Cambyſes himſelfe, muſt our feather'd eſtridge, like a piece of ordnance, be planted valiantly, becauſe impudently, beating down the mewes and hiſſes of the oppoſed raſcality." Decker's *Gul's Hornebooke.*

4 See alſo Ben Jonſon's *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1600: "Fore G—, ſweet lady, believe me I do honour the meaneſt *ruſh* in this chamber for your love."

5 See p. 54, n. 3.

6 The epilogue to *Tancred and Giſmund*, a tragedy, 1592, concludes thus:

"Now *draw the curtaines*, for our ſcene is done."

Again, in *Lady Alimony*, 1659: "Be your ſtage-*curtains* artificially drawn, and ſo covertly ſhrowded, that the ſquint-eyed groundling may not peep in."

See alſo a ſtage-direction in *The Firſt Day's Entertainment at Rutland Houſe, by Declamation and Muſick, after the manner of the Ancients*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1658:

"The ſong ended, *the curtains are drawn open* again, and the epilogue enters."

7 See *A Prologue upon removing of the late* Fortune *Players to the* Bull, by J. Tatham; *Fancies Theatre*, 1640:

"Here

the ſtage there appears to have been a balcony[8], or upper ſtage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I ſuppoſe it to have been ſupported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was ſpoken; and in the front of it curtains likewiſe were hung[9], ſo as occaſionally to conceal the perſons in it from the view of the audience.

"Here gentlemen our anchor's fixt; and we,
"Diſdaining *Fortune's* mutability,
"Expect your kind acceptance; then we'll ſing,
"(Protected by your ſmiles, our ever-ſpring,)
"As pleaſant as if we had ſtill poſſeſt
"Our lawful portion out of *Fortune's* breaſt.
"Only we would requeſt you to forbear
"Your wonted cuſtom, banding tile and pear
"Againſt our *curtains*, to allure us forth;—
"I pray, take notice, theſe are of more worth;
"Pure *Naples ſilk*, not *worſted*.—We have ne'er
"An actor here has mouth enough to tear
"Language by the ears. This forlorn hope ſhall be
"By us refin'd from ſuch gypſy injury:
"And then let your judicious loves advance
"Us to our merits, them to their ignorance."

[8] See Nabbes's *Covent Garden*, a comedy, 1639:

"Enter Dorothy and Suſan, in the *balcone*."

So, in *The Virgin Martyr*, by Maſſinger and Decker, 1622:

"They whiſpering *below*, Enter, *above*, Sapritius;—with him Artemia the princeſs, Theophilus, Spungius, and Hercius." And theſe five perſonages ſpeak from this elevated ſituation during the whole ſcene.

Again, in Marſton's *Fawne*, 1606:

"Whilſt the act [i. e. the muſick between one act and another] is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received *above* by Dulcimel, Philocalia and a prieſt: Hercules ſtays *beneath*."

See alſo the early quarto edition of our author's *Romeo and Juliet*, where we meet—"Enter *Romeo and Juliet, aloft*." So, in *The Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakſpeare's play): "Enter *aloft* the drunkard."—Almoſt the whole of the dialogue in that play between the tinker and his attendants, appears to have been ſpoken in this balcony.

In Middleton's *Family of Love* 1608, ſignat. B 2. b. it is called *the upper ſtage*.

[9] This appears from a ſtage-direction in Maſſinger's *Emperor of the Eaſt*, 1632: "The *curtaines* drawn *above*: Theodoſius and his eunuchs diſcovered." Again, in *King Henry VIII.*

"Let them alone, and *draw the curtain* cloſe."

Henry here ſpeaks from the balcony.

At each ſide of this balcony was a box, very inconveniently ſituated, which ſometimes was called the *private box*. In theſe boxes, which were at a lower price, ſome perſons ſate, either from economy or ſingularity[a].

How little the imaginations of the audience were aſſiſted by ſcenical deception, and how much neceſſity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be collected from Sir Philip Sidney, who, deſcribing the ſtate of the drama and the ſtage, in his time, (about the year 1583,) ſays, "Now you ſhall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we muſt beleeve the ſtage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of ſhipwrack in the ſame place; then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monſter with fire and ſmoke; and then the miſerable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two

[a] "Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or private play-houſe ſtand to receive the afternoons rent, let our gallant, having paid it, preſently advance himſelf to the throne of the ſtage. I mean not into *the lords' roome, which is now but the ſtages ſuburbs.*' No, thoſe boxes,—by the iniquity of cuſtom, conſpiracy of waiting-women, and gentlemen-uſhers, that there ſweat together, and the covetous ſharers,—are contemptibly thruſt into the *reare*, and much new ſatten is there dambd, by being ſmother'd to death in darkneſs." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So, in the prologue to an old comedy, of which I have loſt the title:

"The *private box* took up at a new play,
"For me and my retinue; a freſh habit
"Of a faſhion never ſeen before, to draw
"The gallants' eyes, that ſit upon the ſtage."

See alſo *Epigrams* by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed at Middleburgh, about 1598:

"*Rufus*, the courtier, at the theatre,
"Leaving the beſt and moſt conſpicuous place,
"Doth either to the ſtage himſelf transfer,
"*Or through a grate doth ſhew his double face*,
"For that the clamourous fry of innes of court,
"Fills up the private roomes of greater price;
"And ſuch a place where all may have reſort,
"He in his ſingularity doth deſpiſe."

It is not very eaſy to aſcertain the preciſe ſituation of theſe private boxes. A print prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, 1673, induces me to think that they were at each ſide of the ſtage-balcony.

armies fly in, repreſented with four ſwords and bucklers, and then what hard hart wil not receive it for a pitched field[2]."

The firſt notice that I have found of any thing like moveable ſcenes being uſed in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to king James at Oxford in Auguſt 1605, when three plays were performed in the hall of Chriſt Church, of which we have the following account by a contemporary writer. "The ſtage" (he tells us) "was built cloſe to the upper end of the hall, as it ſeemed at the firſt ſight: but indeed it was but a falſe wall faire painted, and adorned with ſtately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reaſon whereof, with the help of other *painted clothes*, their ſtage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy:" that is, in other words, there were three ſcenes employed in the exhibition of the piece. The ſcenery was contrived by Inigo Jones, who is deſcribed as *a great traveller*, and who undertook to "further his employers much, and furniſh them with rare devices, but produced very little to that which was expected[3]."

It is obſervable that the writer of this account was not acquainted even with the term, *ſcene*, having uſed *painted clothes* inſtead of it: nor indeed is this ſurpriſing, it not being then found in this ſenſe in any dictionary or vocabulary, Engliſh or foreign, that I have met with. Had the common ſtages been furniſhed with them, neither this writer, nor the makers of dictionaries, could have been ignorant of it[4]. To effect even what was done at Chriſt-

[2] *Defence of Poeſie*, 1595. Signat. H 4.

[3] Leland. *Collec.* Vol. II. pp. 631, 646. Edit. 1770. See alſo p. 639: "The ſame day, Auguſt 28, after ſupper, about nine of the clock they began to act the tragedy of *Ajax Flagellifer*, wherein the ſtage *varied three times*. They had all goodly antique apparell, but for all that, it was not acted ſo well by many degrees as I have ſeen it in Cambridge. The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and ſpoke many words of diſlike."

[4] Florio, who appears to have diligently ſtudied our cuſtoms, illuſtrating his explanations on many occaſions by Engliſh proverbs, ſayings, local deſcriptions, &c. in his Italian Dictionary, 1598, defines *Scena*, in theſe words: "A ſcene of a comedie, or tragedie. Alſo a ſtage in a theatre, or playhouſe, whereon they play; a ſkaffold, a

Chriſt-Church, the Univerſity found it neceſſary to employ two of the king's carpenters, and to have the advice of the controller of his works. The Queen's Maſque, which was exhibited in the preceding January, was not much more ſucceſsful, though above £.3000 was expended upon it. " At night," ſays Sir Dudley

pavillion, or fore part of a theatre, *where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings*, out of which they enter upon the ſtage. Uſed alſo for a comedie or a tragedie. Alſo a place where one doth ſhew and ſet forth himſelfe to the world." In his ſecond edition, publiſhed in 1611, inſtead of the words, " A ſcene of a comedie or tragedie," we find—" Any one ſcene *or entrance* of a comedie or tragedie," which more preciſely aſcertains his meaning.

In Cotgrave's French and Engliſh Dictionary printed in 1611, the word *ſcene* is not found, and if it had exiſted either in France or England, (in the ſenſe in which we are now conſidering it,) it would probably have been found. From the word *falot*, the definition of which I ſhall have occaſion to quote hereafter, the writer ſeems to have been not unacquainted with the Engliſh ſtage.

Bullokar, who was a phyſician, publiſhed an *Engliſh Expoſitor* in the year in which Shakſpeare died. From his definition likewiſe it appears, that a moveable painted ſçene was then unknown in our theatres. He defines *Scene*, " A play, a comedy, a tragedy, or the diviſion of a play into certain parts. In old time it ſignified a place covered with boughes, or the room where the players made them readie." Minſheu's large Engliſh Dictionary, which he calls *A Guide to the Tongues*, was publiſhed in the following year, 1617, and there *Scene* is nothing more than " *a theatre*." Nay, even ſo late as in the year 1656, when Cockeram's Engliſh Dictionary, or *Interpreter of hard Engliſh words* was publiſhed, *Scene* is only ſaid to be " the diviſion of a play into certain parts."

Had our Engliſh theatres in the time of Shakſpeare been furniſhed with moveable ſcenes, painted in perſpective, can it be ſuppoſed that all theſe writers ſhould have been ignorant of it?

It is obſervable that Coryate in his *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, when he is boaſting of the ſuperior ſplendour of the Engliſh theatres, compared with thoſe of Venice, makes no mention of *ſcenes*. " I was at one of their playhouſes, where I ſaw a comedie. The houſe is very beggarly and baſe in compariſon of our ſtately playhouſes in England; neither can their actors compare with us, for *apparel, ſhows, and muſicke*." *Crudities*, p. 247.

It is alſo worthy of remark that Mr. Chamberlaine, when he is ſpeaking of the fate of the performers at the Fortune theatre, when it was burnt down in 1621, laments that " their *apparel* and *play-books* were loſt, whereby thoſe poor companions were quite undone;" but ſays not a word of *ſcenes*. See alſo Sir Henry Wotton's letter on the burning of the *Globe* in 1613, p. 54, n. 3.

Carleton,

Carleton, "we had the Queen's Maſke in the Banqueting-houſe, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of ſea-horſes, (with other terrible fiſhes,) which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fiſh, and no water. At the further end was a great ſhell in form of a ſkallop, wherein were four ſeats; on the loweſt ſat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the reſt were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby [5]," &c. Such were moſt of the Maſques in the time of James the Firſt: triumphal cars, caſtles, rocks, caves, pillars, temples, clouds, rivers, tritons, &c. compoſed the principal part of their decoration. In the courtly maſques given by his ſucceſſor during the firſt fifteen years of his reign, and in ſome of the plays exhibited at court, the art of ſcenery

[5] Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, London, Jan. 1604, [i. e. 1604-5,] Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 43. This letter contains ſo curious a trait of our Britiſh Solomon, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing another paſſage from it, though foreign to our preſent ſubject. "On Saint John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Suſan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The Court was great, and for that day put on the beſt bravery.—At night there was a Maſk in the hall, which for conceit and faſhion was ſuitable to the occaſion. The preſents of plate and other things given by the noblemen [to the bride and bridegroom] were valued at 2500l.; but that which made it a good marriage, was a gift of the king's of 500l. land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council-chamber, where the king in *his ſhirt and night-gown* gave them a *reveille-matin* before they were up, and ſpent a good time *in or upon the bed*, chooſe which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever ſince the livery of the court; and at night there was ſewing into the ſheet, caſting of the bride's left hoſe, with many other petty forceries."

Our poet has been cenſured for indelicacy of language, particularly in Hamlet's converſation with Ophelia, during the repreſentation of the play before the Court of Denmark; but unjuſtly, for he undoubtedly repreſented the manners and converſation of his own day faithfully. What the decorum of thoſe times was, even in the higheſt claſs, may be conjectured from another paſſage in the ſame letter: "The night's work [the night of the queen's maſque] was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, that down went table and treſſes, before one bit was touched."—Such was the *court* of King James the Firſt.

ſeems to have been ſomewhat improved. In 1636 a piece written by Thomas Heywood, called *Love's Miſtreſs or the Queen's Maſque*, was repreſented at Denmark Houſe before their Majeſties. "For the rare decorements" (ſays Heywood in his preface) "which new apparelled it, when it came the ſecond time to the royal view, (her gracious majeſty then entertaining his highneſs at *Denmark Houſe* upon his birth-day,) I cannot pretermit to give a due character to that admirable artiſt Mr. Inigo Jones, maſter ſurveyor of the king's worke, &c. who to *every act*, nay *almoſt* to every *ſcene*, by his excellent inventions gave ſuch an extraordinary luſtre; upon every occaſion *changing the ſtage*, to the admiration of all the ſpectators." Here, as on a former occaſion, we may remark, the term *ſcene* is not uſed: the *ſtage was changed* to the admiration of all the ſpectators[6].

In Auguſt 1636, *The Royal Slave*, written by a very popular poet, William Cartwright, was acted at Oxford before the king and queen, and afterwards at Hampton-Court. Wood informs us*, that the ſcenery was an exquiſite and uncommon piece of machinery, contrived by Inigo Jones. The play was printed in 1639; and yet even at that late period, the term *ſcene*, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown to the author; for deſcribing the various ſcenes employed in this court-exhibition, he denominates them thus: "The firſt *Appearance*, a temple of the ſun.—Second *Appearance*, a city in the front, and a priſon at the ſide," &c. The three other *Appearances* in this play were, a wood, a palace, and a caſtle.

In every diſquiſition of this kind much trouble and many words might be ſaved, by defining the ſubject of diſpute. Before therefore I proceed further in this inquiry, I think it proper to ſay, that by a *ſcene*, I mean, *A* painting *in* perſpective *on a cloth faſtened to a wooden frame or roller*; and that I do *not* mean by this term,

[6] If in our author's time the publick ſtage had been *changed*, or, in other words, had the Globe and Blackfriars playhouſe been furniſhed with *ſcenes*, would they have created ſo much admiration at a royal entertainment in 1636, twenty years after his death?

* *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. 1. p. 344.

"a coffin,

" a coffin, or a tomb, or a gilt chair, or a fair chain of pearl, or a crucifix:" and I am the rather induced to make this declaration, becauſe a writer, who obliquely alluded to the poſition which I am now maintaining, ſoon after the firſt edition of this Eſſay was publiſhed, has mentioned exhibitions of this kind as a proof of the *ſcenery* of our old plays; and taking it for granted that the point is completely eſtabliſhed by this *deciſive* argument, triumphantly adds, " Let us for the future no more be told of the want of proper *ſcenes* and dreſſes in our ancient theatres [7]."

A paſſage

[7] " My preſent purpoſe," ſays this writer, " is not ſo much to deſcribe this dramatick piece, [*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, written in 1610 or 1611,] as to ſhew that it bears abundant teſtimony to the uſe of *ſcenery*, and the richneſs of the habits then worn. Theſe particulars will be ſufficiently exemplified by the following ſpeeches, and ſtage-directions:

" Enter the Tyrant agen at a farder door, which opened brings him to the tomb, where the lady lies buried. The Toombe here diſcovered, richly ſet forthe."

Some lines are then quoted from the ſame piece, of which the following are thoſe which alone are material to the preſent point:

" *Tyrant.*—Softlee, ſoftlee;—
" The vaults e'en chide our ſteps with murmuring ſounds.
" ——————— All thy ſtill ſtrength,
" Thow grey-eyde monument, ſhall not keep her from us.
" Strike, villaines, thoe the eccho raile us all
" Into ridiculous deafnes; pierce the jawes
" Of this could ponderous creature.—
" O, the moone riſes: What reflection
" Is throwne around this ſanctified buildinge!
" E'en in a twinkling how the monuments glitter,
" As if Death's pallaces were all maſſie ſylver,
" And ſcorn'd the name of marble!"

" Is it probable," (adds this writer) " that ſuch directions and ſpeeches ſhould have been hazarded, unleſs at the ſame time they could be ſupported and countenanced by correſponding ſcenery?

" I ſhall add two more of the ſtage-directions from this tragedy.—" On a ſodayne in a kinde of noyſe like a wynde, the dores clattering, the toombeſtone flies open, and a great light appears in the midſt of the toombe; his lady, as went owt, ſtanding in it before hym all in white, ſtuck with jewells, and a great crucifix on her breaſt." Again: " They bring the body in a chayre, dreſt up in black velvet, which ſetts off the paillnes of the hands and face, and a faire chayne of pearle croſs the breaſt, and the crucifix above it," &c.

A paſſage which has been produced from one of the old comedies[8], proves that the common theatres were furniſhed with ſome rude pieces of *machinery*, which were uſed when it was neceſſary to exhibit the deſcent of ſome god or fairy; but it is manifeſt from what has been already ſtated, as well as from all the contemporary accounts, that the mechaniſm of our ancient theatres ſeldom went beyond a tomb, a painted chair, a ſinking cauldron, or a trap-door, and that none of them had moveable ſcenes. When king Henry VIII. is to be diſcovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his ſtudy, the ſcenical direction in the firſt folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from playhouſe copies,) is, "*The king draws the curtain*, [i. e. draws it open] *and ſits reading penſively*;" for, beſide the principal curtains that hung in the front of the ſtage, they uſed others as ſubſtitutes for ſcenes[9], which were denominated

" Let us for the future, Mr. Baldwin, be told with leſs confidence of the want of proper *ſcenes* and dreſſes in our ancient theatres."—Letter in *The St. James's Chronicle*, May, 1780.

To all this I have only to ſay, that it never has been aſſerted, at leaſt by me, that in Shakſpeare's time a *tomb* was not repreſented on the ſtage. The monument of the Capulets was perhaps repreſented in *Romeo and Juliet*, and a wooden ſtructure might have been uſed for this purpoſe in that and other plays; of which when the door was once opened, and a proper quantity of lamps, falſe ſtones, and black cloth diſplayed, the poet might be as luxuriant as he pleaſed in deſcribing the ſurrounding inviſible *marble monuments*. This writer, it ſhould ſeem, was thinking of the epigram on Butler the poet: we aſk for *ſcenes*, and he gives us only a *ſtone*.

[8] " Of whyche the lyke thyng is uſed to be ſhewed *now adays* in *ſtage-playes*, when ſome *god* or ſome *ſaynt* is made to appere forth of a cloude; and ſuccoureth the parties which ſeemed to be towardes ſome great danger, through the Soudan's crueltie." The author's marginal abridgment of his text is—" The lyke manner uſed nowe at *our* days in ſtage-playes." *Acolaſtus*, a comedy by T. Palſgrave, chaplain to king Henry VIII. 1540.

[9] See Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*, acted at the Globe and Blackfriars, and printed in 1623: " Here is diſcovered behind a *traverſe* the artificial figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead." In *The Devil's Charter*, a tragedy, 1607, the following ſtage-direction is found: " Alexander draweth [that is, draws open] *the curtains of his ſtudie*, where he diſcovereth the devill ſitting in his pontificals."

nated *traverſes*. If a bed-chamber is to be repreſented, no change of ſcene is mentioned; but the property-man is ſimply ordered *to thruſt forth a bed*, or, the curtains being opened, a bed is exhibited. So, in the old play on which Shakſpeare formed his *King Henry VI.* P. II. when Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited dying, the ſtage-direction is—" Enter King and Saliſbury, and then *the curtaines be drawn*, [i. e. drawn open,] and the Cardinal is diſcovered in his bed, raving and ſtaring as if he were mad." When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be repreſented, we find two officers enter, " to lay cuſhions, *as it were* in the capitol." So, in *King Richard II.* Act IV. ſc. i. " Bolingbroke, &c. enter *as* to the parliament[1]." Again, in *Sir John Oldcaſtle*, 1600: " Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, *as* in a chamber." When the Citizens of Angier were to appear on the walls of their town, and young Arthur to leap from the battlements, I ſuppoſe our anceſtors were contented with ſeeing them in the Balcony already deſcribed; or perhaps a few boards were tacked together, and painted ſo as to reſemble the rude diſcoloured walls of an old town, behind which a platform might have been placed near the top, on which

cals." Again, in *Satiromaſtix*, by Decker, 1602: " Horace ſitting in his *ſtudy*, *behind a curtaine*, a candle by him burning, books lying confuſedly," &c. In Marſton's *What you will*, a com. 1607, the following ſtage-direction ſtill more deciſively proves this point: " Enter a School-maiſter,—draws [i. e. draws open] the curtains *behind*, with Battus, Nows, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holifernes Pippo, ſchool-boyes, ſitting with bookes in their handes." Again, in *Albovine*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1629: " He *drawes the Arras*, and *diſcovers* Albovine, Rhodolinda, Valdaura, dead in chaires." Again, in *The Woman in the Moon*, by Lily, 1597: " They draw *the curtins* from before Natures ſhop, where ſtands an image clad, and ſome unclad. They bring forth the cloathed image." Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, Juliet, after ſhe has ſwallowed the ſleepy potion, is ordered to " throw herſelfe on the bed, *within the curtaines*." As ſoon as Juliet has fallen on the bed, the curtains being ſtill open, the nurſe enters, then old Capulet and his lady, then the muſicians; and all on the ſame ſpot. If they could have exhibited a bed-chamber, and then could have ſubſtituted any other room for it, would they have ſuffered the muſicians and the Nurſe's ſervant to have carried on a ludicrous dialogue in one where Juliet was ſuppoſed to be lying dead?

[1] See theſe ſtage-directions in the firſt folio.

the

the citizens ſtood: but ſurely this can ſcarcely be called a *ſcene*. Though undoubtedly our poet's company were furniſhed with ſome wooden fabrick ſufficiently reſembling a tomb, for which they muſt have had occaſion in ſeveral plays, yet ſome doubt may be entertained, whether in *Romeo and Juliet* any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the ſtage. Romeo perhaps only opened with his mattock one of the ſtage trap-doors, (which might have repreſented a tomb-ſtone,) by which he deſcended to a vault beneath the ſtage, where Juliet was depoſited; and this notion is countenanced by a paſſage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded[2].

In all the old copies of the play laſt-mentioned we find the following ſtage-direction. "*They march about the ſtage, and ſerving-men come forth with their napkins.*" A more deciſive proof than this, that the ſtage was not furniſhed with ſcenes, cannot be produced. Romeo, Mercutio, &c. with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the perſons who march about the ſtage. They are in the ſtreet, on their way to Capulet's houſe, where a maſquerade is given; but Capulet's ſervants who come forth with their napkins, are ſuppoſed to be in a hall or ſaloon of their maſter's houſe: yet both the maſquers *without* and the ſervants *within* appear on the ſame ſpot. In like manner in *King Henry VIII.* the very ſame ſpot is at once the outſide and inſide of the Council-Chamber[3].

It is not, however, neceſſary to inſiſt either upon the term itſelf, in the ſenſe of a painting in perſpective on cloth or canvas, being unknown to our early writers, or upon the various ſtage-directions which are found in the

[2] "Why I *deſcend* into this bed of death,—." *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. So, in *The Tragical Hiſtory of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:

"And then our Romeus, the *vault-ſtone ſet up-right*,
"*Deſcended* downe, and in his hand he bore the candle light."

Juliet, however, after her recovery, ſpeaks and dies upon the ſtage. If therefore, the exhibition was ſuch as has been now ſuppoſed, Romeo muſt have brought her up in his arms from the vault beneath the ſtage, after he had killed Paris, and then addreſſed her,—"O my love, my wife," &c.

[3] See Vol. VII. p. 122, n. 7.

plays

plays of our poet and his contemporaries, and which afford the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence that the ſtage in his time was not furniſhed with ſcenes; becauſe we have to the ſame point the concurrent teſtimony of Shakſpeare himſelf[4], of Ben Jonſon, of every writer of the laſt age who has had occaſion to mention this ſubject, and even of the very perſon who firſt introduced ſcenes on the publick ſtage.

In the year 1629 Jonſon's comedy entitled *The New Inn* was performed at the Blackfriars theatre, and deſervedly damned. Ben was ſo much incenſed at the town for condemning his piece, that in 1631 he publiſhed it with the following title: "*The New Inne, or the light Heart*, a comedy; as it was never acted, but moſt negligently played, by ſome, the kings ſervants, and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſured by others, the kings ſubjects, 1629: And now at laſt ſet at liberty to the readers, his Ma.ties ſervants and ſubjects, to be judged, 1631." In the Dedication to this piece, the author, after expreſſing his profound contempt for the ſpectators, who were at the firſt repreſentation of this play, ſays, "What did they come for then, thou wilt aſk me. I will as punctually anſwer: to ſee and to be ſeene. To make a general muſter of themſelves in their clothes of credit, and poſſeſſe the ſtage againſt the play: to diſlike all, but marke nothing: and by their confidence of riſing between the actes in oblique lines, make affidavit to the whole houſe of their not underſtanding one ſcene. Arm'd with this prejudice, as *the ſtage furniture, or arras clothes*, they were there; as ſpectators away; for *the faces in the hangings* and they beheld alike."

The exhibition of plays being forbidden ſome time before the death of Charles I.[5], Sir William D'Avenant in

4 "In your imagination bo'd
"*This ſtage*, the ſhip, upon whoſe deck
"The ſea-toſt Pericles appears to ſpeak."

5 An Ordinance for the ſuppreſſing of all ſtage-plays and interludes, was enacted Feb. 13, 1647-8, and Oliver and his Saints ſeem to have been very diligent in enforcing it. From Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 332, we

in 1656 invented a new ſpecies of entertainment, which was exhibited at Rutland Houſe, at the upper end of Alderſgate ſtreet. The title of the piece, which was printed in the ſame year, is, *The Siege of Rhodes, made a repreſentation* by the art of proſpective in ſcenes; *and the ſtory ſung in Recitative muſick.* "The original of this muſick," ſays Dryden, "and of the *ſcenes* which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas [5]; but he heightened his characters (as I may probably imagine) from the examples of Corneille and ſome French poets." If, ſixty years before, the exhibition of the plays of Shakſpeare had been aided on the common ſtage by the advantage of moveable ſcenes, or if the term *ſcene* had been familiar to D'Avenant's audience, can we ſuppoſe that he would have found it neceſſary to uſe a periphraſtick deſcription, and to promiſe that his repreſentation ſhould be aſſiſted by *the art of proſpective in ſcenes?* "It has been often wiſhed," ſays he in his Addreſs to the Reader, "that our *ſcenes* (we having obliged ourſelves to the variety of *five changes*, according to the ancient dramatick diſtinctions made for time,) had not been confined to about eleven feet in the height and about fifteen in depth, including the places of paſſage reſerved for the muſick." From theſe words we learn that he had in that piece five ſcenes. In 1658 he exhibited at the old theatre called the Cockpit, in Drury-lane, "*The*

we learn that Captain Bethan was appointed (13 Dec. 1648,) Provoſt Martial, "with power to ſeize upon all ballad-ſingers, and to *ſuppreſs ſtage-plays.*"

"20 Dec. 1649. Some ſtage-players in Saint John's-ſtreet [the *Red Bull* theatre was in this ſtreet,] were apprehended by troopers, their cloaths taken away, and themſelves carried to priſon." Ibidem. p. 419.

"Jan. 1655. [1655-6.] Players taken in Newcaſtle, and whipt for rogues." Ibid. 619.

"Sept. 4, 1656. Sir William D'Avenant printed his Opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times." Ibidem, p. 639.

[5] Fleckno in the preface to his comedy entitled *Demoiſelles a-la-Mode*, 1667, obſerves, that "one *Italian* ſcene with four doors will do" for the repreſentation.

Cruelty

Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, expreſs'd by vocal and inſtrumental muſick, and by art of perſpective *in* ſcenes[6]." In Spring 1662, having obtained a patent from King Charles the Second, and built a new playhouſe in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, he opened his theatre with *The Firſt Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, which ſince its firſt exhibition he had enlarged. He afterwards in the ſame year exhibited *the Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, and his comedy called *The Wits*; "theſe plays," ſays Downes, who himſelf acted in *The Siege of Rhodes*, "having new *ſcenes*, and decorations, being *the firſt* that ever were introduced in England." Scenes had certainly been uſed before in the maſques at Court, and in a few private exhibitions, and by D'Avenant himſelf in his attempts at theatrical entertainments ſhortly before the death of Cromwell: Downes therefore, who is extremely inaccurate in his language in every part of his book, muſt have

[6] In "The Publick Intelligencer, communicating the chief occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England, Scotland, and Wales, from Monday, December 20, to Monday, December 27, 1658," I find the following notice taken of D'Avenant's exhibition by the new Protector, Richard:

"Whitehall, December 23.

"A courſe is ordered for taking into conſideration the *Opera*, ſhewed at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane, and the perſons to whom it ſtands referred, are to ſend for the poet and actors, and to inform themſelves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the ſame is expoſed to publick view; and they are alſo to take the beſt information they can concerning the acting of ſtage-playes, and upon the whole to make report," &c.

The Saints were equally adverſe to every other ſpecies of feſtivity as well as the Opera, and conſidered holydays, the common prayer-book, and a play-book, as equally pernicious; for in the ſame paper I find this notification:

"It was ordered by his Highneſs the Lord Protector and the Council, that effectual letters be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, and to the Juſtices of peace for Weſtminſter and the liberties thereof, Middleſex and Borough of Southwark, to uſe their endeavour for aboliſhing the uſe of the feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and other feaſts called holydaies; as alſo for preventing the uſe of the common prayer-book."

meant—

meant—the firſt ever exhibited in a *regular drama, on a publick theatre.*

I have ſaid that I could produce the teſtimony of Sir William D'Avenant himſelf on this ſubject. His prologue to *The Wits*, which was exhibited in the ſpring of the year 1662, ſoon after the opening of his theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, if every other document had periſhed, would prove deciſively that our author's plays had not the aſſiſtance of painted ſcenes. "There are ſome," ſays D'Avenant,

"——who would the world perſuade,
"That gold is better when the ſtamp is bad;
"And that an *ugly ragged* piece of eight
"Is ever true in metal and in weight;
"As if a guinny and louis had leſs
"Intrinſick value for their handſomeneſs.
"So diverſe, who outlive the former age,
"Allow* the coarſeneſs of the *plain old ſtage*,
"And think rich veſts and *ſcenes* are only fit
"Diſguiſes for the want of art and wit."

And no leſs deciſive is the different language of the licence for erecting a theatre, granted to him by King Charles I. in 1639, and the letters patent which he obtained from his ſon in 1662. In the former, after he is authorized "to entertain, govern, privilege, and keep ſuch and ſo many players to exerciſe action, muſical preſentments, ſcenes, dancing, and the like, as he the ſaid William Davenant ſhall think fit and approve for the ſaid houſe, and ſuch perſons to permit and continue at and during the pleaſure of the ſaid W. D. to act plays in ſuch houſe ſo to be by him erected, and exerciſe muſick, muſical preſentments, ſcenes, dancing, or other the like, at the ſame or other hours, or times, or after plays are ended,"—the clauſe which empowers him to take certain prices from thoſe who ſhould reſort to his theatre runs thus:

"And that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid W. D. &c. to take and receive of ſuch our ſubjects as

* i. e. approve.

as ſhall reſort to ſee or hear any ſuch *plays, ſcenes, and entertainments* whatſoever, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as is or hereafter from time to time ſhall be accuſtomed to be given or taken in other playhouſes and places for the like plays, ſcenes, preſentments, and entertainments."

Here we ſee that when the theatre was fitted up in the uſual way of that time without the decoration of ſcenery, (for *ſcenes* in the foregoing paſſages mean, not paintings, but ſhort ſtage-repreſentations or preſentments,) the uſual prices were authorized to be taken: but after the Reſtoration, when Sir W. D'Avenant furniſhed his new theatre with ſcenery, he took care that the letters patent which he then obtained, ſhould ſpeak a different language, for there the correſponding clauſe is as follows:

"And that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs, and aſſigns, to take and receive of ſuch our ſubjects as ſhall reſort to ſee or hear any ſuch plays, ſcenes, and entertainments whatſoever, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as either have accuſtomably been given and taken in the like kind, or as ſhall be thought reaſonable by him or them, in regard of the great expences of SCENES, muſick, and ſuch new decorations *as have not been formerly uſed*."

Here for the firſt time in theſe letters patent the word *ſcene* is uſed in that ſenſe in which Sir William had employed it in the printed title-pages of his muſical entertainments exhibited a few years before. In the former letters patent granted in 1639, the word in that ſenſe does not once occur.

To the teſtimony of D'Avenant himſelf may be added that of Dryden, both in the paſſage already quoted, and in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, performed at the King's Theatre in 1664:

"——— in former days
"Good prologues were as ſcarce as now good plays.—
"You now have habits, dances, *ſcenes*, and rhymes;
"High language often, ay, and ſenſe ſometimes."

And

And ſtill more expreſs is that of the author of *The Generous Enemies*, exhibited at the King's Theatre in 1672:

" I cannot chooſe but laugh, when I look back and ſee
" The ſtrange viciſſitudes of poetrie.
" Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
" And ſat knee-deep in nutſhells in the pit;
" *Courſe hangings then, inſtead of ſcenes, were worn,*
" *And Kidderminſter did the ſtage adorn:*
" But you, their wiſer offspring, did advance
" To plot of jigg, and to dramatick dance[7]," &c.

Theſe

[7] This explains what Dryden means in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, quoted above, where, with *ſcenes* and the other novelties introduced after the Reſtoration, he mentions *dance*. A dance by a *boy* was not uncommon in Shakſpeare's time; but ſuch dances as were exhibited at the Duke's and King's theatre, which are here called *dramatick dances*, were unknown.

The following prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, acted at the Duke's theatre, and printed in 1678, is more diffuſe upon this ſubject, and confirms what has been ſtated in the text:

" The old Engliſh ſtage, confin'd to plot and ſenſe,
" Did hold abroad but ſmall intelligence;
" But ſince the invaſion of the foreign *ſcene*,
" Jack-pudding farce, and thundering machine,
" Dainties to your grave anceſtors unknown,
" Who never diſlik'd wit becauſe their own,
" There's not a player but is turn'd a ſcout,
" And every ſcribbler ſends his envoys out,
" To fetch from Paris, Venice, or from Rome,
" Fantaſtick fopperies, to pleaſe at home.
" And that each act may riſe to your deſire,
" Devils and witches muſt each ſcene inſpire;
" Wit rowls in waves, and ſhowers down in fire.
" With what ſtrange eaſe a play may now be writ!
" When the beſt half's compos'd by *painting* it,
" And that in the air or dance lies all the wit.
" True ſenſe or plot would fooleries appear
" Faults, I ſuppoſe, you ſeldom meet with here,
" For 'tis no mode to profit by the ear.
" Your ſouls, we know, are ſeated in your eyes;
" An actreſs in a cloud's a ſtrange ſurpriſe,
" And you ne'er pay'd treble prices to be wiſe."

The

Theſe are not the ſpeculations of ſcholars concerning a cuſtom of a former age, but the teſtimony of perſons who were either ſpectators of what they deſcribe, or daily converſed with thoſe who had trod our ancient ſtage: for D'Avenant's firſt play, *The Cruel Brother*, was acted at the Blackfriars in January, 1626-7, and Mohun and Hart, who had themſelves acted before the civil wars, were employed in that company, by whoſe immediate ſucceſſors *The Generous Enemies* was exhibited; I mean the King's Servants. Major Mohun acted in the piece before which the lines laſt quoted were ſpoken.

I may add alſo, that Mr. Wright, the author of *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, whoſe father had been a ſpectator of ſeveral plays before the breaking out of the civil wars, expreſsly ſays, that the theatres had then *no ſcenes*[8].

The French theatre, as we learn from Scaliger, was not furniſhed with ſcenes, or even with the ornament of tapeſtry, in the year 1561. See Scaliger. *Poetices*, folio, 1561, lib. 1. c. 21. Both it, however, and the Italian ſtage, appear to have had the decoration of ſcenery before the Engliſh. In 1638 was publiſhed at Ravenna—*Pratica di fabbricar Scene e machine ne'teatri*, di Nicola Sabbatini da Peſaro. With reſpect to the French ſtage, ſee D'Avenant's Prologue to the *Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, 1663:

" ——— many travellers here as judges come,
" From Paris, Florence, Venice, and from Rome;
" Who will deſcribe, when any *ſcene we draw*,
" By each of ours all that they ever ſaw:
" Thoſe praiſing for extenſive breadth and height,
" And inward diſtance to deceive the ſight."

It is ſaid in the Life of Betterton, that " he was ſent to Paris by King Charles the Second, to take a view of the French theatre, that he might better judge of what might contribute to the improvement of our own." He went to Paris probably in the year 1666, when both the London theatres were ſhut.

[8] " Shakſpeare, (who, as I have heard, was a much better poet than player,) Burbage, Hemmings, and others of the older ſort, were dead before I knew the town; but in my time, *before the wars*, Lowin uſed to act Falſtaffe," &c.—" Though the town was then not much more than half ſo populous as now, yet then the prices were ſmall, *(there being no ſcenes,)* and better order kept among the company that came." *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo, 1699. This Eſſay is in the form of a Dialogue between *Truman*, an old Cavalier, and *Lovewit*, his friend. The account of the old ſtage, which is given by the Cavalier, Wright probably derived from his father, who was born in 1611, and was himſelf a dramatick writer.

But, ſays Mr. Steevens, (who differs with me in opinion on the ſubject before us, and whoſe ſentiments I ſhall give below,) "how happened it, that Shakſpeare himſelf ſhould have mentioned the act of *ſhifting ſcenes*, if in his time there were no ſcenes capable of being *ſhifted*? Thus in the Chorus to *King Henry V.*

"Unto Southampton do we *ſhift our ſcene.*"

"This phraſe" (he adds) "was hardly more ancient than the cuſtom it deſcribes[9]."

Who does not ſee, that Shakſpeare in the paſſage here quoted uſes the word *ſcene* in the ſame ſenſe in which it was uſed two thouſand years before he was born; that is, for the place of action repreſented by the ſtage; and not for that moveable hanging or painted cloth, ſtrained on a wooden frame, or rolled round a cylinder, which is now called a SCENE? If the ſmalleſt doubt could be entertained of his meaning, the following lines in the ſame play would remove it:

"The king is ſet from London, and the *ſcene*
"Is now *tranſported* to Southampton."

This, and this only, was the *ſhifting* that was meant; a movement from one place to another in the progreſs of the drama; nor is there found a ſingle paſſage in his plays in which the word *ſcene* is uſed in the ſenſe required to ſupport the argument of thoſe who ſuppoſe that the common ſtages were furniſhed with moveable ſcenes in his time. He conſtantly uſes the word either for a ſtage-exhibition in general, or the component part of a play, or the place of action repreſented by the ſtage[1]:

"For

[9] See Mr. Steevens's Shakſpeare, 1785, *K. John*, p. 56, n. 7.

[1] And ſo do all the other dramatick writers of his time. So, in Heywood's *Downfall of Robert earl of Huntington*, 1601:

"——— I only mean—
"Myſelf in perſon to preſent ſome *ſcenes*
"Of tragick matter, or perchance of mirth."

Again,

" For all my life has been but as a *ſcene*,
" Acting that argument." *K. Henry IV.* P. II.
" At your induſtrious *ſcenes* and acts of death."
K. John.
" What *ſcene* of death hath Roſcius now to act?"
K. Henry VI. P. III.
" Thus with imagin'd wing our ſwift *ſcene* flies,—."
K. Henry. V.
" To give our *ſcene* ſuch growing,—." *Ibid.*
" And ſo our *ſcene* muſt to the battle fly,—." *Ibid.*
" That he might play the woman in the *ſcene*."
Coriolanus.
" A queen in jeſt, only to fill the *ſcene*." *K. Rich. III.*

I ſhall add but one more inſtance from *All's well that ends well:*

" Our *ſcene* is alter'd from a ſerious thing,
" And now *chang'd* to the Beggar and the King."

from which lines it might, I conceive, be as reaſonably inferred that *ſcenes* were *changed* in Shakſpeare's time, as from the paſſage relied on in *K. Henry V.*: and perhaps by the ſame mode of reaſoning it might be proved, from a line above quoted from the ſame play, that the technical modern term, *wings*, or ſide-ſcenes, was not unknown to our great poet.

Again, in the prologue to *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, a comedy, 1611:
" But if conceit, with *quick-turn'd ſcenes*,—
" May win your favours,—."
Again, in the prologue to *Late Lancaſhire Witches*, 1634:
" ——— we are forc'd from our own nation
" To ground the *ſcene* that's now in agitation."
Again, in the prologue to Shirley's *School of Compliments*, 1629:
" ——————— This play is
" The firſt fruits of a muſe, that before this
" Never ſaluted audience, nor doth meane
" To ſwear himſelf a factor for the *ſcene*."
Again, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:
" The places ſometimes chang'd too for the *ſcene*,
" Which is tranſlated as the muſick plays," &c.

Here *tranſlating* a *ſcene* means juſt the ſame as *ſhifting a ſcene* in *K. Henry V.*

I forbear to add more inſtances, though almoſt every one of our old plays would furniſh me with many.

The various circumſtances which I have ſtated, and the accounts of the contemporary writers[2], furniſh us, in my

[2] All the writers on the ancient Engliſh ſtage that I have met with, concur with thoſe quoted in the text on this ſubject: "Now for the difference betwixt our theatres and thoſe of former times," (ſays Fleckno, who lived near enough the time to be accurately informed,) "they were but plain and ſimple, *with no other ſcenes nor decorations of the ſtage, but only old tapeſtry*, and the ſtage ſtrewed with ruſhes; with their habits accordingly." *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, 1664. In a ſubſequent paſſage indeed he adds, "For ſcenes and machines, they are no new invention; our maſques, and *ſome of our playes*, in former times, (though not ſo ordinary,) having had as good or rather better, than any we have now."—To reconcile this paſſage with the foregoing, the author muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak here, not of the exhibitions at the publick theatres, but of maſques and *private* plays, performed either at court or at noblemen's houſes. He does not ſay, "ſome of our *theatres*,"—but, "our maſques, and ſome of our *playes* having had," &c. We have already ſeen that *Love's Miſtreſs or the Queen's Maſque* was exhibited with ſcenes at Denmark-houſe in 1636. In the reign of king Charles I. the performance of plays at court, and at private houſes, ſeems to have been very common; and gentlemen went to great expence in theſe exhibitions. See a letter from Mr. Garrard to lord Strafford, dated Feb. 7, 1637; *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 150: "Two of the king's ſervants, privy-chamber men both, have writ each of them a play, Sir John Sutlin [Suckling] and Will. Barclay, which have been acted in court, and at the Black-friars, with much applauſe. Sutlin's play coſt *three or four hundred pounds* ſetting out; eight or ten ſuits of new cloaths he gave the players; an unheard-of prodigality." The play on which Sir John Suckling expended this large ſum, was *Aglaura*.

To the authority of Fleckno may be added that of Edward Phillips, who, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, [article, D'Avenant,] praiſes that poet for "the great fluency of his wit and fancy, eſpecially for what he wrote for the Engliſh ſtage, of which, having laid the foundation before by his muſical dramas, when the uſual plays were not ſuffered to be acted, *he was the firſt reviver and improver, by painted ſcenes*." Wright alſo, who was well acquainted with the hiſtory of our ancient ſtage, and had certainly converſed with many perſons who had ſeen theatrical performances before the civil wars, expreſsly ſays, as I have obſerved above, that "*ſcenes* were firſt introduced by Sir William D'Avenant, on the *publick* ſtage, at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields." "Preſently after the Reſtoration, "this writer informs us, "the king's players acted publickly at the Red Bull for ſome time, and then removed to a new-built playhouſe in Vere-ſtreet, by Clare-market. There they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the theatre-royal in Drury-lane, where they *firſt* made uſe of SCENES, *which had been a little before introduced*

my apprehenſion, with deciſive and incontrovertible proofs [3], that the ſtage of Shakſpeare was not furniſhed with

duced UPON THE PUBLICK STAGE *by Sir W. D'Avenant at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-fields*, but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. Betterton, at the new theatre in Dorſet Gardens, to the great expence and continual charge of the players." *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 10. Wright calls it the Duke's *old* theatre in Lincoln's Inn fields, though in fact in 1663 it was a new building, becauſe when he wrote, it had become old, and a new theatre had been built in Lincoln's Inn fields in 1695. He is here ſpeaking of *plays and players*, and therefore makes no account of the muſical entertainments exhibited by D'Avenant a few years before at Rutland Houſe, and at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, in which a little attempt at ſcenery had been made. In thoſe pieces, I believe, no ſtage-player performed.

3 I ſubjoin the ſentiments of Mr. Steevens, who differs with me in opinion on this ſubject; obſerving only that in general the paſſages to which he alludes, prove only that our author's plays were not exhibited without the aid of *machinery*, which is not denied; and that not a ſingle paſſage is quoted, which proves that a moveable painted ſcene was employed in any of his plays in his theatre. The lines quoted from *The Staple of News*, at the bottom of p. 88, muſt have been tranſcribed from ſome incorrect edition, for the original copy printed in 1631, reads—SCENE, not SCENES; a variation of ſome importance. The words—"*the various ſhifting of their* SCENE," denote, in my apprehenſion, nothing more than *frequent change of place in the progreſs of the drama*: and even if that were not the caſe, and theſe words were uſed in the modern ſenſe, they would not prove that ſcenes were employed on the ſtage in *Shakſpeare's* time, for *The Staple of News* was not exhibited till March, 1625-6.

"It muſt be acknowledged," ſays Mr Steevens, "that little more is advanced on this occaſion, than is fairly ſupported by the teſtimony of contemporary writers.

"Were we, however, to reaſon on ſuch a part of the ſubject as is now before us, ſome ſuſpicions might ariſe, that where machinery was diſcovered, the leſs complicated adjunct of ſcenes was ſcarcely wanting. When the column is found ſtanding, no one will ſuppoſe but that it was once accompanied by its uſual entablature. If this inference be natural, little impropriety can be complained of in one of the ſtage-directions above mentioned. Where the bed is introduced, the ſcene of a bed-chamber (a thing too common to deſerve deſcription) would of courſe be at hand. Neither ſhould any great ſtreſs be laid on the words of Sir Philip Sidney. Are we not ſtill obliged to receive the ſtage alternately as a garden, as an ocean, as a range of rocks, or as a cavern? With all our modern advantages, ſo much of *vraiſemblance* is wanting in a theatre, that the apologies which Shakſpeare offers for ſcenical

with *moveable painted ſcenes*, but merely decorated with curtains, and arras or tapeſtry hangings, which, when decayed,

deficiency, are ſtill in ſome degree needful; and be it always remembered that Sir Philip Sidney has not poſitively declared that *no* painted ſcenes were in uſe. Who that mentions the preſent ſtage, would think it neceſſary to dwell on the article of ſcenery, unleſs it were peculiarly ſtriking and magnificent? Sir Philip has not ſpoken of ſtage-habits, and are we therefore to ſuppoſe that none were worn? Beſides, between the time when Sir Philip wrote his *Defence of Poeſy*, and the period at which the plays of Shakſpeare were preſented, the ſtage in all probability had received much additional embelliſhment. Let me repeat, that if in 1529 (the date of *Acoleſtus*) machinery * is known to have exiſted, in 1592 (when Shakſpeare commenced a play-wright) a greater number of ornaments might naturally be expected, as it is uſual for one improvement to be ſoon followed by another. That the plays of Shakſpeare were exhibited with the aid of *machinery*, the following ſtage-directions, copied from the folio 1623, will abundantly prove. In *The Tempeſt*, Ariel is ſaid to enter "like a harpey, claps his wings on the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vaniſhes." In a ſubſequent ſcene of the ſame play, Juno "deſcends;" and in *Cymbeline*, Jupiter "deſcends likewiſe, in thunder and lightning, ſitting upon an eagle." In *Macbeth*, "the cauldron *ſinks*, and the apparitions *riſe*." It may be added that the dialogue of Shakſpeare has ſuch perpetual reference to objects ſuppoſed viſible to the audience, that the want of ſcenery could not have failed to render many of the deſcriptions uttered by his ſpeakers abſurd and laughable.—Macduff examines the outſide of Inverneſs caſtle with ſuch minuteneſs, that he diſtinguiſhes even the neſts which the martins had built under the projecting parts of its roof.—Romeo, ſtanding in a garden, points to the tops of fruit-trees gilded by the moon.—The prologue-ſpeaker to *the ſecond part of K. Henry IV.* expreſsly ſhews the ſpectators "*this* worm-eaten hold of ragged ſtone," in which Northumberland was lodged. Jachimo takes the moſt exact inventory of every article in Imogen's bed-chamber, from the ſilk and ſilver of of which her tapeſtry was wrought, down to the Cupids that ſupport her andirons. Had not the inſide of this apartment, with its proper furniture, been repreſented, how ridiculous muſt the action of Jachimo have appeared! He muſt have ſtood looking out of the room for the particulars ſuppoſed to be viſible within it. In one of the parts of *K. Hen. VI.* a cannon

* What happy deceptions could be produced by the aid of framework and painted canvas, we may learn from Holinſhed, and yet more ancient hiſtorians. The pageants and tournaments at the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign very frequently required that the caſtles of imaginary beings ſhould be exhibited. Of ſuch contrivances ſome deſcriptions remain. Theſe extempore buildings afforded a natural introduction to ſcenery on the ſtage.

decayed, appear to have been ſometimes ornamented with

a cannon is diſcharged againſt a tower; and converſations are held in almoſt every ſcene from different walls, turrets, and battlements. Nor is my belief in ancient ſcenery entirely founded on conjecture. In the folio editions of Shakſpeare's plays, 1623, the following traces of it are preſerved. In *King John:* "Enter, *before Angiers*, Philip king of France," &c.—"Enter a citizen *upon the walls*."—"Enter the herald of France with trumpets *to the gates*."—"Enter Arthur *on the walls*." In *K. Hen. V.* "Enter the king, &c. *with ſcaling ladders at Harfleur*."—"Enter the king with all his train *before the gates*." In *K. Hen. VI.* "Enter to the protector *at the Tower gates*," &c.—"Enter Saliſbury and Talbot *on the walls*."—"The French leap over *the walls* in their ſhirts."—"Enter Pucelle *on the top of the tower*, thruſting out a torch burning."—"Enter lord Scales *upon the tower* walking. Then enter two or three citizens below."—"Enter king and queen and Somerſet *on the terrace*."—"Enter three watchmen to guard *the king's tent*." In *Coriolanus:* "Marcius follows them *to the gates, and is ſhut in*." In *Timon:* "Enter Timon *in the woods* *."—"Enter Timon *from his cave*." In *Julius Cæſar:* "Enter Brutus *in his orchard*," &c. &c.—In ſhort, without characteriſtick diſcriminations of place, the hiſtorical dramas of Shakſpeare in particular, would have been wrapped in tenfold confuſion and obſcurity; nor could the ſpectator have felt the poet's power, or accompanied his rapid tranſitions from one ſituation to another, without ſuch guides as painted canvas only could ſupply. The audience would with difficulty have received the cataſtrophe of Romeo and Juliet as natural and affecting, unleſs the deception was confirmed to them by the appearance of a tomb. The managers who could raiſe ghoſts, bid the cauldron ſink into the earth, and then exhibit a train of royal phantoms in *Macbeth*, could with leſs difficulty ſupply the flat paintings of a cavern or a grove. The artiſts who can put the dragons of Medea in motion, can more eaſily repreſent the clouds through which they are to paſs. But for theſe, or ſuch aſſiſtances, the ſpectator, like Hamlet's mother, muſt have bent his gaze on mortifying vacancy; and with the gueſt invited by the Barmecide,

* Apemantus muſt have pointed to the ſcenes as he ſpoke the following lines:

"——— ſhame not *theſe* woods,
"By putting on the cunning of a carper."

Again:

"——— will *theſe* moiſt trees
"That have outliv'd the eagle," &c.

A piece of old tapeſtry muſt have been regarded as a poor ſubſtitute for theſe towering ſhades.

with pictures [4]: and ſome paſſages in our old dramas incline

cide, in the Arabian tale, muſt have furniſhed from his own imagination the entertainment of which his eyes were ſolicited to partake.

"It ſhould likewiſe be remembered, that the intervention of civil war would eaſily occaſion many cuſtoms of our early theatres to be ſilently forgotten. The times when Wright and Downes produced their reſpective narratives, were by no means times of exactneſs or curioſity. What they heard, might have been heard imperfectly; it might have been unſkilfully related; or their own memories might have deceived them:

"Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura."

"One aſſertion made by the latter of theſe writers, is chronologically diſproved. We may remark likewiſe, that in *private* theatres, a part of the audience was admitted on the ſtage, but that this licence was refuſed in the *publick* play-houſes. To what circumſtance ſhall we impute this difference between the cuſtoms of the one and the other? Perhaps the *private* theatres had no ſcenes, the *publick* had; and a crowded ſtage would prevent them from being commodiouſly beheld, or conveniently ſhifted *. The *freſh pictures* mentioned by Ben Jonſon in the induction to his *Cynthia's Revels* might be properly introduced to cover old tapeſtry; for to hang picturers over faded arras, was then and is ſtill ſufficiently common in antiquated manſions, ſuch as thoſe in which the ſcenes of dramatic writers are often laid. That Shakſpeare himſelf was no ſtranger to the magick of theatrical ornaments, may be inferred from a paſſage in which he alludes to the ſcenery of *pageants*, the faſhionable ſhews of his time:

"Sometimes we ſee a cloud that's dragoniſh,
"A vapour ſometimes like a lion, a bear,
"A towred citadel, a pendent rock,
"A forked mountain, or blue promontory
"With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,

"And

* To *ſhift a ſcene* is at leaſt a phraſe employed by Shakſpeare himſelf in *K. Henry V.*

"——— and not till then
"Unto Southampton do we *ſhift our ſcene.*"

and by Ben Jonſon, yet more appoſitely, in *The Staple of News*:

"*Lic.* Have you no news o' the ſtage?
"*Tho.* O yes;
"There is a legacy left to the king's players,
"Both for their *various ſhifting of their ſcenes*,
"And dextrous change of their perſons to all ſhapes
"And all diſguiſes," &c.

cline me to think, that when tragedies were performed, the ſtage was hung with black [5].

In the early part, at leaſt, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of ſcenery ſeems to have been ſupplied by the ſimple expedient of writing the

" And mock our eyes with air:—theſe thou haſt ſeen,
" They are black Veſper's *pageants* [*]." *Antony and Cleopatra.*

" To conclude, the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſcenes had been introduced to dreſs up thoſe ſpurious children of the Muſe called Maſques; nor have we ſufficient reaſon for believing that Tragedy, her legitimate offspring, continued to be expoſed in rags, while appendages more ſuitable to her dignity were known to be within the reach of our ancient managers. Shakſpeare, Burbage, and Condell, muſt have had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the mode in which both maſques, tragedies, and comedies, were repreſented in the inns of court, the halls of noblemen, and in the palace itſelf."

4 " Sir Crack, I am none of your freſh *pictures*, that uſe to beautify the decayed old *arras*, in a *publick theatre*." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonſon, 1601.

5 In the induction to an old tragedy called *A warning for fair Women*, 1599, three perſonages are introduced, under the names of *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Hiſtory*. After ſome conteſt for ſuperiority, *Tragedy* prevails; and *Hiſtory* and *Comedy* retire with theſe words:

Hiſt. " Look, *Comedie*, I mark'd it not till now,
" *The ſtage is hung with blacke*, and I perceive
" The auditors prepar'd for *tragedie*.
Com. " Nay then, I ſee ſhe ſhall be entertain'd.
" Theſe ornaments beſeem not thee and me;
" Then *Tragedie*, kill them to-day with ſorrow,
" We'll make them laugh with mirthful jeſts to-morrow."

So, in Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſs*, 1613:

" The *ſtage* of heaven is *hung* with ſolemn *black*,
" A time beſt fitting to act *tragedies*."

Again, in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, B. V. 1602:

" Let her be made the *ſable ſtage*, whereon
" Shall firſt be acted bloody *tragedies*."

Again in *K. Henry VI.* P. I.

" *Hung* be the heavens with *black*," &c.

Again, more appoſitely, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594:

" *Black ſtage* for *tragedies*, and murthers fell."

[*] After a pageant had paſſed through the ſtreets, the characters that compoſed it were aſſembled in ſome hall or other ſpacious apartment, where they delivered their reſpective ſpeeches, and were finally ſet out to view with the advantages of proper ſcenery and decoration.

names

names of the different places where the ſcene was laid in the progreſs of the play, which were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to be viſible to the audience[6].

Though the apparatus for theatrick exhibitions was thus ſcanty, and the machinery of the ſimpleſt kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old Morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were very early in uſe[7].

We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*[8], that the covering, or internal roof, of the ſtage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a ſky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were ſuſpended acroſs the ſtage, to repreſent the heavens.

It appears from the ſtage-directions[9] given in *The Spaniſh Tragedy*, that when a play was exhibited within a play,

6 "What child is there, that coming to a play and ſeeing *Thebes written upon an old door*, doth believe that it is Thebes?" *Defence of Poeſie*, by Sir Philip Sidney. Signat. G. 1595.

When D'Avenant introduced ſcenes on the publick ſtage, this ancient practice was ſtill followed. See his Introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes*, 1656: "In the middle of the freeſe was a compartement, wherein was *written*—RHODES."

7 "Here——with ſome fine conveyance, *Pleaſure* ſhall appeare from *beneathe*." *All for Money*, 1578.

So, in Marſton's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602:

"Enter Balurdo *from under the ſtage*."

In the fourth act of *Macbeth*, ſeveral apparitions ariſe from beneath the ſtage, and again deſcend.—The cauldron likewiſe ſinks:

"Why *ſinks* that cauldron, and what noiſe is this?"

In the *Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, there is a character called *Trap-door*.

8 *Apol. for Actors*, 1612. Signat. D.

9 *Spaniſh Tragedy*, 1610, Act IV. Signat. L.

"*Enter* Hieronimo. *He knocks up the curtain.*

"*Enter the duke of* Caſtile.

"*Caſt.* How now Hieronimo, where's your fellows,

"That you take all this pains?

"*Hiero.* O, ſir, it is for the author's credit

"To look that all things may go well.

a play, (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf,) as is the caſe in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed ſat in the balcony, or upper ſtage, already deſcribed; and a curtain or traverſe being hung acroſs the ſtage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on its being drawn, began their piece, addreſſing themſelves to the balcony, and regardleſs of the ſpectators in the theatre, to whom their backs muſt have been turned during the whole of the performance.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it ſhould ſeem that the ſtage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form ſimilar to thoſe now hung in churches; and from Beaumont's Verſes prefixed to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*, which was acted before the year 1611, we find that wax lights were uſed[1].

Theſe branches having been found incommodious, as they obſtructed the ſight of the ſpectators[2], gave

> "But, good my lord, let me entreat your grace,
> "To give the king the copy of the play.
> "This is the argument of what we ſhew.
> "*Caſt.* I will, Hieronimo.
> "*Hiero.* Let me entreat your grace, that when
> "*The train are paſt into the gallery*,
> "You would vouchſafe to throw me down the key.
> "*Caſt.* I will, Hieronimo.
> "*Exeunt* Balthazar, *with a chair.*
> "*Hiero.* Well done, Balthazar; hang up the tilt:
> "Our ſcene is Rhodes. What, is your beard on?"

Afterwards the tragedy of *Solyman and Perſeda* is exhibited before the king of Spain, the duke of Caſtile, &c.

[1] "Some like, if the *wax lights* be new that day."

[2] Fleckno in 1664, complains of the bad lighting of the ſtage, even at that time: "Of this curious art [ſcenery] the Italians (this latter age) are the greateſt maſters; the French good proficients; and we in England only ſcholars and learners yet, having proceeded no farther than to bare painting, and not arrived to the ſtupendous wonders of your great ingeniers; eſpecially *not knowing yet how to place our lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the ſcenes.*" *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh ſtage.*

place

place at a ſubſequent period to ſmall circular wooden frames, furniſhed with candles, eight of which were hung on the ſtage, four at either ſide: and theſe within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France in 1765, firſt introduced the preſent commodious method of illuminating the ſtage by lights not viſible to the audience.

The body of the houſe was illuminated by creſſets[3], or large open lanterns of nearly the ſame ſize with thoſe which are fixed in the poop of a ſhip.

If all the players whoſe names are enumerated in the firſt folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the ſame theatre, they compoſed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the ſame period, or always continued in the ſame houſe[4]. Many of the companies, in the infancy of the ſtage, certainly were ſo thin, that the ſame perſon played two or three parts[5]; and a battle on which the fate of an empire was ſuppoſed to depend, was decided by half a dozen com-

3 See Cotgrave's French Dictionary, 1611, in v. *Falot*: "A creſſet light, *(ſuch as they uſe in playhouſes,)* made of ropes wreathed, pitched, and put into ſmall and open cages of iron."

The Watchmen of London carried creſſets fixed on poles till 1539 (and perhaps later). Stowe's *Survey*, p. 160, edit. 1618.

4 An actor, who wrote a pamphlet againſt Mr. Pope, ſoon after the publication of his edition of Shakſpeare, ſays, he could prove that they belonged to ſeveral different companies. It appears from the MS. Regiſter of lord Stanhope, treaſurer of the chamber to king James I. that *Joſeph Taylor*, in 1613, was at the head of a diſtinct company from that of *Heminge*, called the lady Elizabeth's ſervants, who then acted at *the Hope* on the Bankſide. He was probably however, before that period, of the king's company, of which afterwards he was a principal ornament. Some of the players too, whoſe names are prefixed to the firſt folio edition of our author, were dead in the year 1600, or ſoon after; and others there enumerated, might have appeared at a ſubſequent period, to ſupply their loſs. See *the Catalogue of Actors*, poſt.

5 In the Induction to Marſton's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602, *Piero* aſks *Alberto*, what part he acts. He replies, "the neceſſity of the play forceth me to act *two parts*." See alſo the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of many of our ancient plays; and below, p. 98, n. 2.

batants.

batants[6]. It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to diſcharge ſmall pieces of ordnance on or behind the ſtage[7].

Before the exhibition began, three flouriſhes were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three ſoundings[8]. Muſick was likewiſe played between the acts[9]. The inſtruments chiefly uſed, were trumpets,

6 " And ſo our ſcene muſt to the battle fly,
" Where, O for pity! we ſhall much diſgrace
" *With four or five moſt vile and ragged foils,*
" Right ill diſpos'd, in brawl ridiculous,
" The name of Agincourt." *K. Henry V.* Act IV.

7 " Much like to ſome of the players that come to the ſcaffold with drumme and trumpet, to proffer ſkirmiſhe, and when they have ſounded alarme, off go the pieces, to encounter a ſhadow, or conquer a paper-monſter." *Schoole of Abuſe*, by Stephen Goſſon, 1579.

So, in *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt*, 1600: " Alarmes to the battaile.—York flies; then *the chambers be diſcharged*; then enter the king," &c.

8 " Come, let's bethink ourſelves, what may be found
" To deceive time with, till the *ſecond ſound*."
Notes from Black-fryars, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

See alſo the Addreſs to the readers, prefixed to Decker's *Satiro-maſtix*, a comedy, 1602: " Inſtead of the *trumpets ſounding thrice* before the play begin," &c.

9 See the Prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, a tragedy, 1637:
" The places ſometimes chang'd too for the ſcene,
" Which is tranſlated, as the muſick plays
" Betwixt the acts."

The practice appears to have prevailed in the infancy of our ſtage. See the concluding lines of the ſecond act of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575:
" In the towne will I, my frendes to vyſit there,
" And hether ſtraight again, to ſee the end of this gere:
" *In the mean time, felowes, pipe upp your fiddles*, I ſay take them,
" And let your freyndes here ſuch mirth as ye can make them."

It has been thought by ſome that our author's dramas were exhibited without any pauſes, in an unbroken continuity of ſcenes. But this appears to be a miſtake. In a copy of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the play-houſe, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin; and directions are given for muſick to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient ſtyle and hand—" *Play muſicke.*"

cornets,

cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs[1]. The band, which, I believe, did not conſiſt of more than eight or ten performers, ſat (as I have been told by a very ancient ſtage-veteran, who had his information from Boman, the contemporary of Betterton,) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the ſtage-box[2].

From Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript I learn, that the muſicians belonging to Shakſpeare's company were obliged to pay the Maſter of the Revels an annual fee for a licence to play in the theatre[3].

Not very long after our poet's death the Blackfriars' band was more numerous[4]; and their reputation was ſo high as to be noticed by Sir Bulſtrode Whitelocke, in an account which he has left of the ſplendid Maſque given by the four Inns of Court on the ſecond of February, 1633-4, entitled *The Triumph of Peace*, and intended, as he himſelf informs us, "to manifeſt the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his *Hiſtriomaſtix* againſt interludes."

[1] See the ſtage-directions in Marſton's *Sophoniſba*, acted at the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606:

"The ladies draw the curtains about Sophoniſba;—the *cornets* and *organs* playing loud full muſicke for the act. Signat. B 4.

"*Organ* mixt with *recorders* for this act. Signat. D 2.

"*Organs*, *viols*, and voices, play for this act. Signat. E 2.

"A bass *lute* and a treble viol play for this act." Signat. F 2.

[2] In the laſt ſcene of Maſſinger's *City Madam*, which was firſt acted at Blackfriars, May 25, 1632, Orpheus is introduced chanting thoſe raviſhing ſtrains with which he moved

"Charon and Cerberus, to give him way
"To fetch from hell his loſt Eurydice."

The following ſtage-direction, which is found in the preceding ſcene, ſupports what has been ſuggeſted above, concerning the ſtation of the muſicians in our ancient theatres: "Muſicians *come down*, [i. e. *are* to come down,] to make ready for the ſong at Arras." This ſong was to be ſung behind the arras.

[3] "For a warrant to the Muſitions of the king's company, this 9th of Aprill, 1627,—£. 1. 0. 0." Mſ. Herbert.

[4] In a warrant of protection now before me, ſigned by Sir Henry Herbert, and dated from the Office of the Revels, Dec. 27, 1624, Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and ſeventeen others, are mentioned as being "all imployed by the kings Ma.ties ſervants in theire quallity of playinge as muſitions, and other neceſſary attendants."

A very

A very particular account of this maſque is found in his *Memorials*; but that which Dr. Burney has lately given in his very curious and elegant *Hiſtory of Muſick*[4], from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Moreton, of the Britiſh Muſeum, contains ſome minute particulars not noticed in the former printed account, and among others an eulogy on our poet's band of muſicians.

"For the Muſicke," ſays Whitelocke, "which was particularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives, and to Mr. Lawes, 100l. a piece for their rewards: for the four French gentlemen, the queen's ſervants, I thought that a handſome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known to the queen, their miſtris, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation att St. Dunſtan's taverne, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd by him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates, they found in each of them forty pieces of gould, of their maſter's coyne, for the firſt diſh, and they had cauſe to be much pleaſed with this ſurpriſall.

"The reſt of the muſitians had rewards anſwearable to their parts and qualities; and the whole charge of the muſicke came to about one thouſand pounds. The clothes of the horſemen reckoned one with another at £. 100 a ſuit, att the leaſt, amounted to £. 10,000.—The charges of all the reſt of the maſque, which were borne by the ſocieties, were accounted to be above twenty thouſand pounds.

"I was ſo converſant with the muſitians, and ſo willing to gain their favour, eſpecially at this time, that I compoſed an aier my ſelfe, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Ives, and called it *Whitelocke's Coranto*; which being cried up, was firſt played publiquely by the Blackefryars Muſicke, *who were then eſteemed the beſt of common muſitians in London*. Whenever I came to that houſe, (as I did ſometimes in thoſe dayes, though not often,) to ſee a play, the muſitians would preſently play *Whitelocke's Coranto*; and it was ſo often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoone. The queen

[4] Vol. III. p. 376.

queen hearing it, would not be perſuaded that it was made by an Engliſhman, bicauſe ſhe ſaid it was fuller of life and ſpirit than the Engliſh aiers uſed to be; butt ſhe honoured the *Coranto* and the maker of it with her majeſtyes royall commendation. It grew to that requeſt, that all the common muſitians in this towne, and all over the kingdome, gott the compoſition of itt, and played it publiquely in all places for above thirtie years after."

The ſtage in Shakſpeare's time ſeems to have been ſeparated from the pit only by pales[5]. Soon after the Reſtoration, the band, I imagine, took the ſtation which they have kept ever ſince, in an orcheſtra placed between the ſtage and the pit[6].

The perſon who ſpoke the prologue, who entered immediately after the third ſounding[7], uſually wore a long black velvet cloak[8], which, I ſuppoſe, was conſidered as

5 "And now that I have vaulted up ſo hye,
"Above the *ſtage-rayles* of this earthen *globe*,
"I muſt turn actor." *Black Booke*, 4to. 1604.
See alſo D'Avenant's *Playhouſe to be let*:
"Monſieur, you may draw up your troop of forces
"Within *the pales*."

6 See the firſt direction in *The Tempeſt*, altered by D'Avenant and Dryden, and acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in 1667:
"The front of the ſtage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpſicals and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed *between the pit and the ſtage*." If this had not been a novel regulation, the direction would have been unneceſſary.

Cotgrave in his Dictionary, 1611, following the idea of ancient Rome, defines *Orcheſtre*, "The ſenators' or noblemen's places in a theatre, between the ſtage and the common ſeats. Alſo the ſtage itſelf." If muſicians had ſet in this place, when he wrote, or the term *orcheſtre*, in its preſent ſenſe, had been then known, there is reaſon to believe that he would have noticed it. See his interpretation of *Falot*, above, in p. 92, n. 3.

The word *orcheſtre* is not found in Minſheu's Dict. nor Bullokar's *Expoſitor*.

In Cockeram's *Interpreter of hard words*, 1655, it is defined *a ſcaffold*.

7 "Preſent not your ſelfe on the ſtage, (eſpecially at a new play) untill the quaking *prologue* hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the *trumpets* their cue, that he's upon the point to enter." Decker's *Guls Hornebook*, 1609.

8 See the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601:

as beſt ſuited to a ſupplicatory addreſs. Of this cuſtom, whatever may have been its origin, ſome traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I miſtake not, within theſe few years, the conſtant ſtage-habiliment of our modern prologue-ſpeakers. The complete dreſs of the ancient prologue-ſpeaker is ſtill retained in the play exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakſpeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at leaſt, they have not been preſerved. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Creſſida*, and *The Tempeſt*, the epilogue is ſpoken by one of the perſons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the ſpeaker; a circumſtance that I have not obſerved in the epilogues of any other author of that age. The epilogue was not always ſpoken by one of the performers in the piece; for that ſubjoined to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters frequently wore periwigs[9], which in the age of Shakſpeare were not in common

1. *Child.* "Pray you, away; why children, what do you mean?
2. *Child.* "Marry, that you ſhould not ſpeak the prologue.
1. *Child.* "Sir, I plead poſſeſſion of the *cloak*. Gentlemen, your ſuffrages, for God's ſake."

So, in the prologue to *The Coronation*, by Shirley, 1640:

"Since 'tis become the title of our play,
"A woman once in a coronation may
"With pardon ſpeak the prologue, give us free
"A welcome to the theatre, as he
"That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,
"With a ſtarch'd face and ſupple leg, hath ſpoke
"Before the plays this twelvemonth, let me then
"Preſent a welcome to theſe gentlemen."

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, by B. and Fletcher, 1607: "Gentlemen, inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verſe is as ſtale as a *black velvet cloake*, and a bay garlande."

[9] See *Hamlet*, Act III. ſc. ii. "O, it offends me to the ſoul, to hear a robuſtious *periwig*-pated fellow tear a paſſion to tatters."

mon uſe[1]. It appears from a paſſage in Puttenham's *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, that vizards were on ſome occaſions uſed by the actors of thoſe days[2]; and it may be inferred from a ſcene in one of our author's comedies, that they were ſometimes worn in his time, by thoſe who performed female characters[3]. But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewiſe appeared in maſks[4].

Both

So, in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609: "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies,—and feathers but fore-horſes, &c. *none periwigs* but *players* and pictures."

[1] In Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, Lib. III. Sat. 5, the faſhion of wearing periwigs is ridiculed as a novel and fantaſtick cuſtom:

"Late travailing along in London way,
"Mee met, as ſeem'd by his *diſguis'd* array,
"A luſtie courtier, whoſe curled head
"With abron locks was fairely furniſhed;
"I him ſaluted in our laviſh wiſe;
"He anſwers my untimely courteſies.
"His bonnet vail'd,—or ever he could think,
"The unruly winde blowes off his *periwinke*.
"He lights and runs, and quickly hath him ſped,
"To over-take his over-running head.—
"Is't not ſweet pride, when men their crownes muſt ſhade
"With that which jerks the hams of every jade;
"Or floor-ſtrow'd locks from off the barber's ſhears?
"But waxen crownes well gree with borrowed haires."

[2] "—partly (ſays he) to ſupply the want of players, when there were more parts than there were perſons."

[3] In *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*, Flute objects to his playing a woman's part, becauſe he has "a beard a coming." But his friend Quince tells him, "that's all one; you ſhall play it in a *maſk*, and you may ſpeak as ſmall as you will."

[4] "In our aſſemblies at playes in London, (ſays Goſſon, in his *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579, Signat. C.) you ſhall ſee ſuch heaving and ſhoving, ſuch ytching and ſhould'ring to fitte by women, ſuch care for their garments, that they be not trode on; ſuch eyes to their lappes, that no chippes light in them; ſuch pillows to their backes, that they take no hurte; ſuch *maſking* in their ears, I know not what; ſuch giving them pippins to paſs the time; ſuch playing at foot-ſaunte without cardes; ſuch licking, ſuch toying, ſuch ſmiling, ſuch winking, ſuch manning them home when the ſports are ended, that it is a right comedie to mark their behaviour."

So

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was ſometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres[5].

The ſtage-dreſſes, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, were much more coſtly in ſome playhouſes than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's ſervants at *The Globe* and *Blackfriars* was, we find, but ſcantily furniſhed; and

So alſo the prologue to Marſton's *Fawne*, 1606:

" ——— nor doth he hope to win
" Your laud or hand with that moſt common ſin
" Of vulgar pens, rank bawdry, that ſmells
" Even through your *maſks*, *uſque ad nauſeam*."

Again, in his *Scourge of Villainie*, 1599:

" ——— Diſguiſed Meſſaline,
" I'll teare thy *maſke*, and bare thee to the eyne
" Of hiſſing boyes, if to the *theatres*
" I find thee once more come for lecherers."

Again, in B. Jonſon's verſes, addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*:

" The wiſe and many-headed bench that ſits
" Upon the life and death of plays and wits,
" Compos'd of gameſter, captain, knight, knights man,
" *Lady* or *puſil*, that wears *maſke* or fan,
" Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark
" With the ſhops foreman, or ſome ſuch brave ſparke,
" (That may judge for his *ſixpence*) had, before
" They ſaw it half, damn'd thy whole play."

After the Reſtoration, maſks, I believe, were chiefly worn in the theatre, by women of the town. Wright complains of the great number of maſks in his time: " Of late the play-houſes are ſo extremely peſtered with vizard-*maſks* and their trade, (occaſioning continual quarrels and abuſes) that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and ſhun the theatre as they would a houſe of ſcandal." *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* 1699, p. 6.

Ladies of unblemiſhed character, however, wore maſks in the boxes, in the time of Congreve. In the epilogue to Durfey's comedy called *The old mode and the new*, (no date) the ſpeaker points to the maſks in the *ſide boxes*: but I am not ſure whether what are now called the balconies were not meant.

[5] " I aſſure you, ſir, we are not ſo officiouſly befriended by him, [the author,] as to have his preſence in the tiring-houſe, to prompt us aloud, ſtamp at the *book-holder*, ſwear for our properties, curſe the poor *tiremen*, rayle the muſicke out of tune," &c. Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601.

our author's dramas derived very little aid from the ſplendour of exhibition[6].

It is well known, that in the time of Shakſpeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were repreſented ſolely by boys or young men. Naſhe in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1592, ſpeaking in defence of the Engliſh ſtage, *boaſts* that the players of his time were "not as the players beyond ſea, a ſort of ſquirting bawdie comedians, that have whores and common curtizans to play women's parts[7]." What Naſhe conſidered as an high eulogy on his country, Prynne has made one of his principal charges againſt the Engliſh ſtage; having employed ſeveral pages in his bulky volume, and quoted many hundred authorities, to prove that "thoſe playes wherein any men act women's parts in woman's apparell muſt needs be ſinful, yea, abominable unto chriſtians[8]." The grand baſis of his argument is a text in ſcripture; *Deuteronomy*, ch. xxii. v. 5. "The woman ſhall not wear that which pertaineth unto man, neither ſhall a man put on a woman's garment:" a precept, which Sir Richard Baker has juſtly remarked, is no part of the moral law, and ought not to be underſtood literally. "Where (ſays Sir Richard) finds he this precept? Even in the ſame place where he finds alſo that we muſt not weare cloaths of

[6] See the induction to Ben Jonſon's *Staple of News*, acted by the king's ſervants, in 1625:

"O *Curioſity*, you come to ſee who wears the new ſuit to-day; whoſe cloaths are beſt pen'd, whatever the part be; which actor has the beſt leg and foot; what king plays *without cuffs*, and his queen *without gloves*: who rides poſt *in ſtockings*, and dances *in boots*."

It is, however, one of Prynne's arguments againſt the ſtage, in the invective which he publiſhed about eight years after the date of this piece, that "the ordinary theatrical interludes were uſually acted in *over-coſtly*, effeminate, fantaſtick, and *gawdy* apparel." *Hiſtriomaſt.* p. 216. But little credit is to be given to that voluminous zealot, on a queſtion of this kind. As the frequenters of the theatre were little better than *incarnate devils*, and the muſick in churches the *bleating of brute beaſts*, ſo a piece of coarſe ſtuff trimmed with tinſel was probably in his opinion a moſt ſplendid and *ungodly* dreſs.

[7] *Pierce Pennileſs his Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592.

[8] *Hiſtriomaſtix*, 4to. 1633, p. 179.

linſey-

linſey-woolſey: and ſeeing we lawfully now wear cloaths of linſey-woolſey, why may it not be as lawful for men to put on women's garments[9]?"

It may perhaps be ſuppoſed that Prynne, having thus vehemently inveighed againſt men's repreſenting female characters on the ſtage, would not have been averſe to the introduction of women in the ſcene; but ſinful as this zealot thought it in *men* to aſſume the garments of the other ſex, he conſidered it as not leſs abominable in *women* to tread the ſtage in their own proper dreſs: for he informs us, that "ſome Frenchwomen, or *monſters* rather, in Michaelmas term, 1629, attempted to act a French play at the playhouſe in Blackfriers," which he repreſents as "an impudent, ſhameful, unwomaniſh, graceleſs, if not more then *wheriſh* attempt[1]." There

9 *Theatrum Triumphans*, 8vo. 1670, p. 16. Martin Luther's comment on this text is as follows: "Hic non prohibetur quin ad vitandum periculum, aut ludendum joco, vel ad fallendum hoſtes, mulier poſſit gerere arma viri, et vir uti veſti muliebri; ſed ut ſerio et uſitato habitu talia non fiant, ut decora utrique ſexui ſervetur dignitas." And the learned Jeſuit, Lorin, concurs with him: "Diſſimulatio veſtis poteſt interdum ſine peccato fieri, vel ad repreſentandam comice tragiceve perſonam, vel ad effugiendum periculum, vel in caſu ſimili." Ibid. p. 19.

1 *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 414. He there calls it only an *attempt*, but in a former page (215) he ſays, "they have now their female players in Italy and other foreigne parts, as they had ſuch French women actors in a play not long ſince perſonated in Blackfriers playhouſe, to *which there was great reſort*." In the margin he adds—"in Michaelmas terme, 1629." His account is confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, in which I find the following notice of this exhibition:

"For the allowinge of a French company to playe a farſe at Blackfryers, this 4 of November, 1629,—£. 2. 0. 0."

The ſame company attempted an exhibition both at the Red Bull and the Fortune theatres, as appears from the following entries:

"For allowinge of the Frenche [company] at the Red Bull for a daye, 22 Novemb. 1629,—[£. 2. 0. 0.]

"For allowinge of a Frenche companie att the Fortune to play one afternoone, this 14 of Decemb. 1629,—£. 1. 0. 0.

"I ſhould have had another peece, but in reſpect of their ill fortune, I was content to beſtow a peece back." Mſ. Herbert.

Prynne, in conformity to the abſurd notions which have been ſtated in the text, inſerted in his Index theſe words: "*Women actors notori-*

Soon after the period he ſpeaks of, a regular Fren theatre was eſtabliſhed in London, where with doubt women acted[2]. They had long before appear on the Italian as well as the French ſtage. Wh Cory

ons *whores*:" by which he ſo highly offended the king and queen, t he was tried in the Star-chamber, and ſentenced to be impriſoned life, fined £. 5000, expelled Lincoln's Inn, diſbarred and diſqu fied to practiſe the law, degraded of his degree in the univerſity, to ſet on the pillory, his ears cut off, and his book burnt by the hand the common hangman, "which *rigorous* ſentence," ſays Whitelo "was as rigorouſly executed." I quote theſe words as given by Burney from Whitelocke's Manuſcript. It is remarkable that in printed MEMORIALS the word *rigorous* is omitted; from which th is reaſon to believe that the editor in 1682 took ſome liberties with manuſcript from which that book was printed. The words there a "—*which ſentence* was as *ſeverely* executed."

In p. 708 of Prynne's book is the following note, the inſertion which probably incenſed their majeſties, who often performed in court-maſques, not leſs than what has been already mentioned:

"It is *infamous* in this author's judgment [Dion Caſſius] for e perors or perſons of quality to *dance upon a ſtage*, or act a play."

[2] In the Office-book of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgo ry, I find a warrant for payment of £. 10. "to Joſias Floridor for hi ſelfe and the reſt of the French players, for a tragedy by them a before his Majeſtie in Dec. laſt." Dated Jan. 8, 1635-6. Their ho had been licenſed, April 18, 1635. I find alſo "£. 10. paid to Jo Navarro for himſelf and the reſt of the company of *Spaniſh* players, a play preſented before his Majeſtie, Dec. 23, 1635."

We have already ſeen that Henrietta Maria had a precedent for troducing the comedians of her own country into England, K Henry the Seventh having likewiſe had a company of French player

Sir Henry Herbert's manuſcript furniſhes us with the following tices on this ſubject:

"On tueſday night the 17 of February, 1634, [1634-5] a Frenc company of players, being aproved of by the queene at her houſe nights before, and commended by her majeſty to the kinge, were mitted to the Cockpitt in Whitehall, and there preſented the king queene with a Frenche comedy called *Meliſe*, with good aprobatio for which play the king gives them ten pounds.

"This day being friday, and the 20 of the ſame monthe, the kin tould mee his pleaſure, and commanded mee to give order that t Frenche company ſhould playe the too ſermon daies in the week during their time of playinge in Lent, and in the houſe of Drury-la where the queenes players uſually playe.

"The kings pleaſure I ſignifyed to Mr. Beeſton, [the Manager Drury-lane theatre] the ſame day, who obeyd readily.

"T

Coryate was at Venice, [July 1608,] he tells us, he was at one of their playhouſes, and ſaw a comedy acted. "The

"The houſe-keepers are to give them by promiſe the benefit of their intereſt for the too days of the firſt weeke.

"They had the benefitt of playinge on the ſermon daies, and gott two hundred pounds at leaſt; beſides many rich clothes were given them.

"They had freely to themſelves the whole weeke before the weeke before Eaſter, which I obtaynd of the king for them.

"The 4 Aprill, on Eaſter monday, they playd the *Trompeur puny*, with better approbation than the other.

"On Wenſday night the 16 Aprill, 1635, the French playd *Alcimeder* with good aprobation."

In a marginal note Sir Henry Herbert adds, "The Frenche offered mee a preſent of £. 10; but I refuſed itt, and did them many other curteſys, *gratis*, to render the queene my miſtris an acceptable ſervice."

It appears from a ſubſequent paſſage, that in the following month a theatre was erected expreſsly for this troop of comedians.

"A warant granted to Joſias d'Aunay, Hurfries de Lau, and others, for to act playes at a new houſe in Drury-lane, during pleaſure, ye 5 may, 1635.

"The king was pleaſed to commande my Lord Chamberlain to direct his warrant to Monſieur Le Fevure, to give him a power to contract with the Frenchemen for to builde a playhouſe in his manage-houſe, which was done accordinglye by my adviſe and allowance."

"Thes Frenchmen," Sir Henry adds in the margin, "were commended unto mee by the queene, and have paſt through my handes, *gratis*."

They did not however paſs quite free, for from a ſubſequent entry it appears, that "they gave Blagrave [Sir Henry's deputy] three pounds for his paines."

In the following December the French paſtoral of *Florimene* was acted at court by the young ladies who attended the queen from France.

"The paſtorall of *Florimene*, (ſays Sir Henry) with the deſcription of the ſceanes and interludes, as it was ſent mee by Mr. Inigo Jones, I allowed for the preſs, this 14 of Decemb. 1635. The paſtorall is in French, and 'tis the argument only, put into Engliſh, that I have allowed to be printed.

"Le paſtorale de Florimene fuſt repreſenté devant le roy et la royne, le prince Charles, et le prince Palatin, le 21 Decem. jour de St. Thomas, par les filles Françoiſe de la royne, et firent tres bien, dans la grande ſale de Whitehall, aux depens de la royne." Mſ. Herbert.

houſe, (he adds) is very beggarly and baſe, in compari of our ſtately playhouſes in England; neither can th actors compare with us for apparell, ſhewes, and m ſicke. Here I obſerved certaine things that I never before; for I ſaw women act, a thing that I never before, though I have heard that it hath been fo times uſed in London; and they performed it with good a grace, action, geſture, and whatſoever con nient for a player, as ever I ſaw any maſculine actor

The practice of men's performing the parts of wo in the ſcene is of the higheſt antiquity. On the Grec ſtage no women certainly ever *acted*. From Plutarc Life of Phocion, we learn, that in his time (about th hundred and eighteen years before the Chriſtian era) performance of a tragedy at Athens was interrupted ſome time by one of the actors, who was to perſon a *queen*, refuſing to come on the ſtage, becauſe he l not a ſuitable maſk and dreſs, and a train of attenda richly habited; and Demoſthenes in one of his oratio mentions Theodorus and Ariſtodemus as having of repreſented the Antigone of Sophocles [5]. This fact is aſcertai

3 Coryate's *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, p. 247. I have found no gro for this writer's aſſertion, that female performers had appeared on Engliſh ſtage before he wrote.

4 De fals. leg. tom. ii. p. 199, edit. Taylor.

5 See alſo Lucian. de Salt. II. 285, edit. Hemſterhuſii. "Cauſe" (ſays that lively writer) "at firſt you preferred tragedy comedy and vagrant fidlers and ſinging to the harpe, before danc calling them truly exerciſes, and therefore commendable, let u pray, compare them ſeverally with dancing. Where, if it pleaſe we will paſs the pipe and harpe as parts and inſtruments of danc and conſider tragedy as it is; firſt, according to its propertyes dreſs. What a deformed and frightfull ſight is it, to ſee a man ra to a prodigious length, ſtalking upon exalted buſkins, his face diſgu with a grimme vizard, widely gaping, as if he meant to devour ſpectators? I forbear to ſpeake of his ſtuft breſts, and fore-bell which make an adventitious and artificial corpulency, leſt his natural length ſhould carry diſproportion to his ſlenderneſſe: as his clamour from within, when he breakes open and unlockes himſe when he howles iambicks, and moſt ridiculouſly ſings his own ſ ferings, and renders himſelf by his very tone odious. For as for reſt, they are inventions of ancient poets. Yet as long as he pe nates only ſome *Andromache* and *Hecuba*, his ſinging is tolerable.

aſcertained by an anecdote preſerved by Aulus Gellius. A very celebrated actor, whoſe name was Polus, was appointed to perform the part of Electra in Sophocles's play; who in the progreſs of the drama appears with an urn in her hands, containing, as ſhe ſuppoſes, the aſhes of Oreſtes. The actor having ſome time before been deprived by death of a beloved ſon, to indulge his grief, as it ſhould ſeem, procured the urn which contained the aſhes of his child, to be brought from his tomb; which affected him ſo much, that when he appeared with it on the ſcene, he embraced it with unfeigned ſorrow, and burſt into tears[6].

That on the Roman ſtage alſo female parts were repreſented by men in tragedy, is aſcertained by one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he ſpeaks of Antipho[6], who performed the part of Andromache; and by a paſſage in Horace, who informs us, that Fuſius Phocæus being to perform the part of Ilione, the wife of Polymneſtor, in a tragedy written either by Accius or Pacuvius,

for a Hercules to enter doleſully finging, and to forget himſelf, and neither to regard his lyons ſkinne, nor clubbe, muſt needs appear to any judging man a ſoleciſme. And whereas you diſlike that in dancing men ſhould act women; this is a reprehenſion, which holds for tragedies and comedyes too, in which are more womens parts, then mens." *Dialogue on dancing*, tranſlated by Jaſper Mayne, folio, 1664.

[6] Hiſtrio in terra Græcia fuit fama celebri, qui geſtus et vocis claritudine et venuſtate cæteris anteſtabat. Nomen fuiſſe aiunt Polum; tragœdias poetarum nobilium ſcite atque aſſeverate actitavit. Is Polus unice amatum filium morte amiſit. Eum luctum quum ſatis viſus eſt eluxiſſe, rediit ad quæſtum artis. In eo tempore Athenis Electram Sophoclia acturus, geſtare urnam quaſi cum Oreſti oſſibus debebat. Ita compoſitum fabulæ argumentum eſt, ut veluti fratris reliquias ferens Electra comploret commiſeraturque interitum ejus, qui per vim extinctus exiſtimatur. Igitur Polus lugubri habitu Electræ indutus oſſa atque urnam a ſepulchro tulit filii, et quaſi Oreſti amplexus opplevit omnia non ſimulachris neque imitamentis, ſed luctu atque lamentis veris et ſpirantibus. Itaque quum agi fabula videretur, dolor actus eſt." Aul. Gel. Lib. VII. c. 7.

Olivet in a note on one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, (l. iv. c. 15.) mentions a ſimilar anecdote of an actreſs called *Seia*, ſed luctu atque lamentis veris et ſpirantibus, for which he quotes the authority of Plutarch; but no ſuch perſon is mentioned by that writer. Seia, according to Olivet, performed the part of Andromache. I ſuſpect he meant to cite *Petrarch*.

[6] Epiſtol. ad Atticum, Lib. IV. c. 15.

and

and being in the courſe of the play to be awakened of ſleep by the cries of the ſhade of Polydorus, go drunk, that he fell into a real and profound ſleep, fi which no noiſe could rouſe him[7].

Horace indeed mentions a female performer, c ed Arbuſcula[8]; but as we find from his own autho that men perſonated women on the Roman ſtage, probably was only an *emboliaria*, who performed in interludes and dances exhibited between the acts and the end of the play. Servius[9] calls her *mima*, but t may mean nothing more than one who acted in *mimes*, or danced in the pantomime dances[*]; and t ſeems the more probable from the manner in which ſhe mentioned by Cicero, from whom we learn that the par Andromache was performed by a male actor on that v day when Arbuſcula exhibited with the higheſt applau

The ſame practice prevailed in the time of the emp ors; for in the liſt of parts which Nero, with a prepoſt ous ambition, acted in the publick theatre, we find t of Canace, who was repreſented in labour on the ſtag

In the interludes exhibited between the acts undou edly women appeared. The elder Pliny informs that a female named Lucceia acted in theſe interlu for an hundred years; and Galeria Copiola for abo ninety years; having been firſt introduced on the ſce in the fourteenth year of her age, in the year of Ro 672, when Caius Marius the younger and Cneius Ca were conſuls, and having performed in the 104th y of her age, ſix years before the death of Auguſtus,

7 "Non magis audivit quam Fuſius ebrius olim,
"Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
"*Mater te appellat*, clamantibus." Sat. Lib. II. Sat. 3. Compare Cicero, *Tuſculan.* I. 44.

8 "—fatis eſt equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
"Contemptis aliis exploſa *Arbuſcula* dixit." Lib. I. Sat.

9 In Eclog. x.

* Sunt *Mimi*, ut ait Claudianus, qui lætis ſalibus facete riſum m vent; *Pantomimi* vero, ut idem ait, "nutu manibuſque loquace Vet. Schol.

1 Epiſtol. ad Atticum, l. iv. c. 15.

2 Sueton. in Nerone, c. 21.

t

the conſulate of C. Poppæus and Quintus Sulpicius, A. U. C. 762[3].

Eunuchs alſo ſometimes repreſented women on the Roman ſtage, as they do at this day in Italy; for we find that Sporus, who made ſo conſpicuous a figure in the time of Nero, being appointed in the year 70, [A. U. C. 823] to perſonate a nymph, who, in an interlude exhibited before Vitellius, was to be carried off by a raviſher, rather than endure the indignity of wearing a female dreſs on the ſtage, put himſelf to death[4]: a ſingular end for one, who about ten years before had been publickly eſpouſed to Nero, in the hymeneal veil, and had been carried through one of the ſtreets of Rome by the ſide of that monſter, in the imperial robes of the empreſſes, ornamented with a profuſion of jewels.

Thus ancient was the uſage, which, though not adopted in the neighbouring countries of France and Italy, prevailed in England from the infancy of the ſtage. The prejudice againſt women appearing on the ſcene continued ſo ſtrong, that till near the time of the Reſtoration boys conſtantly performed female characters; and, ſtrange as it may now appear, the old practice was not deſerted without many apologies for the *indecorum* of the novel uſage. In 1659 or 1660, in imitation of the foreign theatres, women were firſt introduced on the ſcene. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, the wife of Mr. Edward Coleman, repreſented *Ianthe* in the Firſt Part of D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*; but the little ſhe had to ſay was ſpoken in recitative. The firſt woman that appeared in any regular drama on a publick ſtage, performed the part of Deſdemona; but who the lady was, I am unable to aſcertain. The play of *Othello* is enumerated by Downes as one of the ſtock-plays of the king's company on their opening their theatre in Drury-lane in April 1663; and it appears from a paper found with Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, and indorſed by him[5],

3 Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. 48.

4 Xiphilini Vitel. p. 209, edit. H. Stephani, folio, 1592.

5 See the liſt of plays belonging to the Red Bull, in a ſubſequent page, *ad ann.* 1660.

that

that it was one of the stock-plays of the same company from the time they began to play without a patent at the Red Bull in St. John-street. Mrs. Hughs performed the part of Desdemona in 1663, when the company removed to Drury-lane, and obtained the title of the king's servants; but whether she performed with them while they played at the Red Bull, or in Vere-street near Claremarket, has not been ascertained. Perhaps Mrs. Saunderson made her first essay there, though she afterwards was enlisted in D'Avenant's company. The received tradition is, that she was the first English actress[3]. The verses which were spoken by way of introducing a female to the audience, were written by Thomas Jordan, and being only found in a very scarce miscellany[4], I shall here transcribe them:

"*A Prologue, to introduce the first woman that came to act on the stage, in the tragedy called* The Moor of Venice.

"I come, unknown to any of the rest,
"To tell you news; I saw the lady drest:
"The woman plays to day: mistake me not,
"No man in gown, or page in petticoat:
"A woman to my knowledge; yet I can't,
"If I should die, make affidavit on't.

[3] Mrs. Saunderson (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) played Juliet, Ophelia, and, I believe, Cordelia.

It should seem from the 22d line of the Epilogue spoken on the occasion, that the lady who performed Desdemona was an unmarried woman. Mrs. Hughs was married. The principal unmarried actress in the King's company appears to have been Mrs. Marshall, who is said to have been afterwards seduced under a pretence of marriage by Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and who might have been the original female performer of Desdemona. At that time every unmarried woman bore the title of Mistress.

It is said in a book of no authority, (Curl's *History of the Stage*,) and has been repeated in various other compilations, that Mrs. Norris, the mother of the celebrated comedian known by the name of *Jubilee Dick*, was the first actress who appeared on the English stage: but this is highly improbable. Mrs. Norris, who was in D'Avenant's company, certainly had appeared in 1662, but she was probably not young; for she played *Goody Tell* in *Town Shifts*, a comedy acted in 1671, and the *Nurse* in *Reformation*, acted in 1675.

[4] *A Royal Arbour of Loyal Poesie*, by Thomas Jordan, no date, but printed, I believe, in 1662. Jordan was an actor as well as a poet.

"Do

" Do you not twitter, gentleman? I know
" You will be cenſuring: do it fairly though.
" 'Tis *poſſible* a virtuous woman may
" Abhor all ſorts of looſeneſs, and yet play;
" Play on the ſtage,—where all eyes are upon her:—
" Shall we count that a crime, France counts an honour?
" In other kingdoms huſbands ſafely truſt 'em;
" The difference lies only in the cuſtom.
" And let it be our cuſtom, I adviſe;
" I'm ſure this cuſtom's better then th' exciſe,
" And may procure *us* cuſtom: hearts of flint
" Will melt in paſſion, when a woman's in't.

" But gentlemen, you that as judges ſit
" In the ſtar-chamber of the houſe, the pit,
" Have modeſt thoughts of her; pray, do not run
" To give her viſits when the play is done,
" With '*damn me, your moſt humble ſervant, lady*;'[a]
" She knows theſe things as well as you, it may be:
" Not a bit there, dear gallants, ſhe doth know
" Her own deſerts,—and your temptations too.—
" But to the point:—In this reforming age
" We have intents to civilize the ſtage.
" Our women are defective, and ſo fiz'd,
" You'd think they were ſome of the guard diſguis'd;
" For, to ſpeak truth, men act, that are between
" Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen;
" With bone ſo large and nerve ſo incompliant,
" When you call DESDEMONA, enter GIANT.—
" We ſhall purge every thing that is unclean,
" Laſcivious, ſcurrilous, impious, or obſcene;
" And when we've put all things in this fair way,
" BAREBONES himſelf may come to ſee a play[5]."

The

[5] See alſo the Prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, (acted in April, 1662,) which was ſpoken by a woman:

" Hope little from our poet's wither'd wit,
" From infant players, ſcarce grown puppets yet;
" Hope from our women leſs, whoſe baſhful fear
" Wonder'd to ſee me dare to enter here:

" Each

The Epilogue which conſiſts of but twelve lines, is in the ſame ſtrain of apology:

" And how do you like her? Come, what is't ye drive at?
" She's the ſame thing in publick as in private;
" As far from being what you call a whore,
" As Deſdemena, injur'd by the Moor:
" Then he that cenſures her in ſuch a caſe,
" Hath a ſoul blacker than Othello's face.
" But, ladies, what think *you?* for if you tax
" Her freedom with diſhonour to your ſex,
" She means to act no more, and this ſhall be
" No other play but her own tragedy.
" She will ſubmit to none but your commands,
" And take commiſſion only from your hands."

From a paper in Sir Henry Herbert's handwriting I find that *Othello* was performed by the Red-Bull company, (afterwards his Majeſties ſervants,) at their new theatre in Vere-ſtreet, near Claremarket, on Saturday December 8, 1660, for the firſt time that winter. On that day therefore it is probable an actreſs firſt appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. This theatre was opened on Thurſday November 8, with the play of *K. Henry the Fourth.* Moſt of Jordan's prologues and epilogues appear to have been written for that company.

It is certain, however, that for ſome time after the Reſtoration men alſo acted female parts[6]; and Mr. Kynaſton

" Each took her leave, and wiſh'd my danger paſt,
" And though I come back ſafe and undiſgrac'd,
" Yet when they ſpy the wits here, then I doubt
" No amazon can make them venture out;
" Though I adviſ'd them not to fear you much,
" For I preſume not half of you are ſuch."

[6] In a prologue to a play repreſented before King Charles the Second very ſoon after his Reſtoration, of which I know not the title, are theſe lines, from which it appears that ſome young men acted the parts of women in that piece:

" ——————— we are ſorry
" We ſhould this night attend on ſo much glory
" With ſuch weak worth; or your clear ſight engage
" To view the remnants of a ruin'd ſtage:
" For doubting we ſhould never play again,
" We have play'd all our women into men;

" That

Kynaſton even after women had aſſumed their proper rank on the ſtage, was not only endured, but admired, if we may believe a contemporary writer; who aſſures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete ſtage beauty, performing his parts ſo well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaura*) that it has ſince been diſputable among the judicious, whether any woman that ſucceeded him, touched the audience ſo ſenſibly as he[7]."

In D'Avenant's company, the firſt actreſs that appeared was probably Mrs. Saunderſon, who performed *Ianthe* in *The Siege of Rhodes* on the opening of his new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in April 1662[8]. It does not appear from Downes's account, that while D'Avenant's company performed at the Cockpit in Drury-lane during the years 1659, 1660 and 1661, they had any female performer among them: or that *Othello* was acted by them at that period.

In the infancy of the Engliſh ſtage it was cuſtomary in every piece to introduce a Clown, "by his mimick geſtures to breed in the leſs capable mirth and laughter[9]." The privileges of the Clown were very extenſive; for, between the acts, and ſometimes between the ſcenes, he claimed a right to enter on the ſtage, and to excite merriment by any ſpecies of buffoonery that ſtruck him. Like the Harlequin of the Italian Comedy, his wit was

> "That are of ſuch large ſize for fleſh and bones,
> "They'll rather be taken for amazons
> "Than tender maids; but your mercy doth pleaſe
> "Daily to paſs by as great faults as theſe:
> "If this be pardon'd, we ſhall henceforth bring
> "Better oblations to my lord the king."
>
> *A Royal Arbour*, &c. p. 12.

The author of *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* ſays, that Major Mohun played *Bellamante* in Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*, after the Reſtoration; and Cibber mentions, that Kynaſton told him he had played the part of *Evadne* in *the Maid's Tragedy*, at the ſame period, with ſucceſs. The apology made to King Charles the Second for a play not beginning in due time, ("that the *queen* was not *ſhaved*,") is well known. The queen is ſaid (but on no good authority) to have been Kynaſton.

[7] *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 19.

[8] In the following year ſhe married Mr. Betterton, and not in 1670, as is erroneouſly aſſerted in the *Biographia Britannica*. She acted by the name of Mrs. Betterton in *The Slighted Maid*, in 1663.

[9] Heywood's *Hiſt. of Women*, 1624.

often

often extemporal, and he ſometimes entered into a conteſt of raillery and ſarcaſm with ſome of the audience[1]. He generally threw his thoughts into hobbling doggrel verſes, which he made ſhorter or longer as he found convenient; but, however irregular his metre might be, or whatever the length of his verſes, he always took care to tag them with words of correſponding ſound: like Dryden's DOEG,

"He fagotted his notions as they fell,
"And if they rhym'd and rattled, all was well."

Thomas Wilſon and Richard Tarleton, both ſworn ſervants to Queen Elizabeth, were the moſt popular performers of that time in this department of the drama, and are highly praiſed by the Continuator of Stowe's Annals, for "their wondrous, plentiful, pleaſant, and *extemporal* wit[2]." Tarleton, whoſe comick powers were ſo

[1] In Brome's *Antipodes*, which was performed at the theatre in Salisbury-court, in 1638, a *by-play*, as he calls it, is repreſented in his comedy; a word for the application of which we are indebted to this writer, there being no other term in our language that I know of, which ſo properly expreſſes that ſpecies of interlude which we find in our poet's *Hamlet* and ſome other pieces. The actors in this *by-play* being called together by Lord Letoy, he gives them ſome inſtructions concerning their mode of acting, which prove that the clowns in Shakſpeare's time frequently held a dialogue with the audience:

"*Let.* ——— Go; be ready.—
"But you, ſir, are incorrigible, and
"Take licence to yourſelf to add unto
"Your parts your own free fancy; and ſometimes
"To alter or diminiſh what the writer
"With care and ſkill compos'd, and when you are
"To ſpeak to your co-actors in the ſcene,
"*You hold interlocution with the audients.*
"*Bip.* That is a way, my lord, hath been allow'd
"On elder ſtages, to move mirth and laughter.
"*Let.* Yes, in the days of *Tarleton* and *Kempe*,
"Before the ſtage was purg'd from barbariſm,
"And brought to the perfection it now ſhines with.
"Then fools and jeſters ſpent their wit, becauſe
"The poets were wiſe enough to ſave their own
"For profitabler uſes."

[2] Howes's edition of Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1631, p. 698.

See alſo Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, 4to. 1592, p. 9: "Who in London hath not heard of—his fond diſguiſinge of a Maſter of Artes

ſo great, that, according to Sir Richard Baker, "he delighted the ſpectators before he had ſpoken a word," is thus deſcribed in a very rare old pamphlet[3]: "The next, by his ſute of ruſſet, his buttoned cap, his taber, his ſtanding on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or reſemblance of Tarlton, who living, for his pleaſant conceits was of all men liked, and, dying, for mirth left not his like." In 1611 was publiſhed a book entitled his *Jeaſts*, in which ſome ſpecimens are given of the extempore wit which our anceſtors thought ſo excellent. As he was performing ſome part "at the Bull in Biſhops-gate-ſtreet, where the Queenes players oftentimes played," while he was "kneeling down to aſke his fathers bleſſing," a fellow in the gallery threw an apple at him, which hit him on the cheek. He immediately took up the apple, and advancing to the audience, addreſſed them in theſe lines:

"Gentlemen, this fellow, with his face of mapple[4],
"Inſtead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple;
"But as for an apple he hath caſt a crab,
"So inſtead of an honeſt woman God hath ſent him a drab.

"The

with ruffianly haire, unſeemely apparell, and more unſeemely company; his vaineglorious and Thraſonicall bravery; his piperly *extemporiſing* and *Tarletonizing?*" &c.

[3] *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, by Henry Chettle, 4to. no date, but publiſhed in Dec. 1592.

[4] This appears to have been formerly a common ſarcaſm. There is a tradition yet preſerved in Stratford, of Shakſpeare's comparing the carbuncled face of a drunken blackſmith to a *maple*. The blackſmith accoſted him, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with

"Now, Mr. Shakspeare, tell me, if you can,
"The difference between a youth and a young man."

to which our poet immediately replied,

"Thou ſon of fire, with *thy face like a maple*,
"The ſame difference as between a ſcalded and a coddled apple."

This anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratford by a perſon then above eighty years of age, whoſe father might have been contemporary with Shakſpeare. It is obſervable that a ſimilar imagery may be traced in the *Comedy of Errors*:

"Though now this *grained face* of mine be hid," &c.

The bark of the maple is uncommonly rough, and the grain of one

" The people," ſays the relater, " laughed heartily; for the fellow had a quean to his wife."

Another of theſe ſtories, which I ſhall give in the author's own words, eſtabliſhes what I have already mentioned, that it was cuſtomary for the clown to talk to the audience or the actors *ad libitum*.

" At the Bull at Biſhops-gate, was a play of *Henry the V.* [the performance which preceded Shakſpeare's,] wherein the judge was to take a box on the eare; and becauſe *he* was abſent that ſhould take the blow, Tarlton himſelfe, ever forward to pleaſe, tooke upon him to play the ſame judge, beſides his own part of the clowne; and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarlton a ſound box indeed, which made the people laugh the more, becauſe it was he: but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarlton in his clownes cloathe comes out, and aſks the actors, *What news?* O, ſaith one, had'ſt thou been here, thou ſhouldeſt have ſeen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the eare. What, man, ſaid Tarlton, ſtrike a judge! It is true, i'faith, ſaid the other. No other like, ſaid Tarlton, and it could not be but terrible to the judge, when the report ſo terrifies me, that methinks the blowe remains ſtill on my cheeke, that it burnes again. The people laught at this mightily, and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvell, for he had many of theſe. But I would ſee *our clownes in theſe days* doe the like. No, I warrant ye; and yet they thinke well of themſelves too."

The laſt words ſhew that this practice was not diſcontinued in the time of Shakſpeare, and we here ſee that he had abundant reaſon for his precept in *Hamlet*: " Let thoſe that play your *clowns, ſpeak no more than is ſet down for them*; for there be of them, that will themſelves laugh, to ſet on ſome quantity of barren ſpectators to laugh too; though *in the mean time ſome neceſſary queſtion of the play be then to be conſider'd.*"

of the ſorts of this tree (according to Evelyn) is " undulated and criſped into variety of curls."

This

This practice was undoubtedly coeval with the Engliſh ſtage; for we are told that Sir Thomas More, while he lived as a page with Archbiſhop Moreton, (about the year 1490,) as the Chriſtmas plays were going on in the palace, would ſometimes ſuddenly ſtep upon the ſtage, "without ſtudying for the matter," and exhibit a part of his own, which gave the audience much more entertainment than the whole performance beſides[5].

But the peculiar province of the Clown was to entertain the audience after the play was finiſhed, at which time *themes* were ſometimes given to him by ſome of the ſpectators, to deſcant upon[6]; but more commonly the audience were entertained by a *jig*. A jig was a ludicrous metrical compoſition, often in rhime, which was ſung by the Clown, who likewiſe, I believe, occaſionally danced, and was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe[7]. In theſe jigs more perſons than one were

5 Roper's *Life and Death of More*, 8vo. 1716, p. 3.

6 "I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's uſe was, the play being done, every one ſo pleaſed *to throw up his theame:* amongſt all the reſt one was read to this effect, word by word:

"Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes,
"Then I pr'ythee tell how thou cam'ſt by thy flat noſe," &c.

To this challenge Tarleton immediately replied in four lines of looſe verſe. *Tarlton's Jeaſts*, 4to. 1611.

7 "Out upon them, [the players,] they ſpoile our trade,—they open our croſſe-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our ſnares, our ſubtilties; for no ſooner have we a tricke of deceipt, but they make it common, *ſinging gigs*, and making jeaſts of us, that every boy can point out our houſes as they paſſe by".

Kind-Hartes Dreame, Signat. E 3. b.

See alſo *Pierce Pennileſſe*, &c. 1592:

"——like the queint comedians of our time,
"That when the play is done, do fall to rhime," &c.

So, in *A ſtrange Horſe-race*, by Thomas Decker, 1613:

"Now as after the cleare ſtream hath glided away in his owne current, the bottom is muddy and troubled; and as I have often ſeen *after the finiſhing of ſome worthy tragedy* or cataſtrophe in the open theatres, that the ſceane, after the epilogue, hath been more black, about a naſty bawdy *jigge*, then the moſt horrid ſcene in the play was; the ſtinkards ſpeaking all things, yet no man underſtanding any thing; a mutiny being amongſt them, yet none in danger; no tumult, and yet

were ſometimes introduced. The original of the entertainment which this buffoon afforded our anceſtors between

no quietneſs; no miſchiefe begotten, and yet miſchiefe borne; the ſwiftneſs of ſuch a torrent, the more it over-whelms, breeding the more pleaſure; ſo after theſe worthies and conquerors had left the field, another race was ready to begin, at which, though the perſons in it were nothing equal to the former, yet the ſhoutes and noyſe at theſe was as great, if not greater."

The following lines in Hall's *Satires*, 1597, ſeem alſo to allude to the ſame cuſtom:

" One higher pitch'd, doth ſet his ſoaring thought
" On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,
" Or ſome upreared high-aſpiring ſwaine,
" As it might be, the Turkiſh *Tamburlaine.*
" Then weeneth he his baſe drink-drowned ſpright
" Rapt to the three-fold loft of heaven hight,
" When he conceives upon his fained ſtage
" The ſtalking ſteps of his great perſonage;
" Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,
" That his poor hearers' hayre quite upright ſets.
" Such ſoone as ſome brave-minded hungrie youth
" Sees fitly frame to his wide-ſtrained mouth,
" He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred ſtage,
" With high-ſet ſteps, and princely carriage:—
" There if he can with termes Italianate,
" Big-ſounding ſentences, and words of ſtate,
" Faire patch me up his pure iambick verſe,
" He raviſhes the gazing ſcaffolders.—
" Now leaſt ſuch frightful ſhowes of fortunes fall,
" And bloudy tyrant-' rage, ſhould chance appall
" The dead-ſtruck audience, *midſt the ſilent rout*
" *Comes leaping in a ſelfe-miſformed lout,*
" *And laughes, and grins, and frames his mimick face,*
" *And juſtles ſtraight into the princes place:*
" *Then doth the theatre eccho all aloud*
" *With gladſome noyſe of that applauding croud.*
" *A goodly boch-poch, when vile ruffettings*
" *Are matcht with monarchs and with mightie kings!*" &c.

The entertainments here alluded to were probably " the fond and frivolous jeſtures," deſcribed in the preface to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, 1590, which the printer ſays, he omitted, " as farre unmeete for the matter, though they have been of ſome vaine conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were ſhewed upon the ſtage in their graced deformities."

It ſhould ſeem from D'Avenant's prologue to *The Wits*, when acted at

between the acts and after the play, may be traced to the ſatyrical interludes of Greece[8], and the Atellans and Mimes of the Roman ſtage[9]. The *Exodiarii* and *Emboliariæ* at the Duke's theatre, in 1662, that this ſpecies of entertainment was not even then entirely diſuſed:

" So country *jigs* and farces, mixt *among*
" Heroick ſcenes, make plays continue long."

Blount in his *Gloſſographia*, 1681, 5th edit. defines a farce, " A fond and diſſolute play or comedy. Alſo the *jig* at the end of an interlude, wherein ſome pretty knavery is acted."

Kempe's *Jigg of the Kitchin-ſtuffe-woman*, and *Philips his Jigg of the Slyppers*, were entered on the Stationers' books in 1595; but I know not whether they were printed. There is, I believe, no *jig* now extant in print.

8 " Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
" Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit, et aſper
" Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
" Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus
" Spectator, functuſque ſacris, et potus et exlex."
HOR. *de Arte Poetica.*

9 " Urbicus exodio riſum movet *Atellanæ*
" Geſtibus Autonoes;—." Juv. Sat. VI. 71.

" *Exodiarius* in fine ludorum apud veteres intrabat, quod ridiculus foret; ut quicquid lacrymarum atque triſtitiæ coegiſſent ex tragicis affectibus, hujus ſpectaculi riſus detergeret." *Vet. Schol.* " As an old commentator on Juvenal affirms, the *Exodiarii*, which were ſingers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light ſongs and mimical geſtures, that they might not go away oppreſſed with melancholy from theſe ſacred pieces of the theatre." Dryden's *Dedication* to his Tranſlation of Juvenal. See alſo Liv. lib. vii. c. 2. Others contend that the *Exodia* did not ſolely ſignify the ſongs, &c. at the concluſion of the play, but thoſe alſo which were ſung in the middle of the piece; and that they were ſo called, becauſe they were introduced ἐξοδικῶς, that is, incidentally, and unconnected with the principal entertainment. Of this kind undoubtedly were the ἐμβόλια or epiſodes, introduced between the acts, as the ᾠδία were the ſongs ſung at the opening of the play.

The Atellan interludes were ſo called from Atella, a town in Italy, from which they were introduced to Rome: and in proceſs of time they were acted ſometimes in the middle, and ſometimes at the end, of more ſerious pieces. Theſe, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters, gave way about the time of Julius Cæſar's death to the *Mimi*, which conſiſted of a groſſer and more licentious pleaſantry than the Atellan interludes. " Nunc venio," ſays Cicero, " ad jocationes tuas, cum tu ſecundùm Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim

Embolieria of the Mimes are undoubtedly the remote progenitors of the Vice and Clown of our ancient dramas [1].

No

ſolebat, Atellanum, ſed *ut nunc eſt*, mimum introduxiſti." *Epiſt. ad Fam.* IX. 16. The Atellan interludes, however, were not wholly diſuſed after the introduction of the Mimes; as is aſcertained by a paſſage in Suetonius's Life of Nero, c. 39.

"Mirum et vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tuliſſe; neque in ullos leniorem quam qui ſe dictis ante aut carminibus laceſſiſſent, extitiſſe.—Tranſeuntem eum Iſidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret, ſua bona male diſponeret. Et Datus *Atellanarum* hiſtrio, in cantico quodam, ὑγαιν πάτερ, ὑγαιν μῆτερ, ita demonſtraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum ſcilicet Claudii Agrippinæque ſignificans; et in noviſſima clauſula, *Orcus vobis ducit pedes*, ſenatum geſtu notaret. Hiſtrionem et philoſophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque ſubmovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiæ, vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia." See alſo Galb. c. 13.

I do not find that the ancient French theatre had any exhibition exactly correſponding with this, for their SOTTIE rather reſembled the Atellan farces, in their original ſtate, when they were performed as a diſtinct exhibition, unmixed with any other interlude. An extract given by Mr. Warton from an old ART OF POETRY publiſhed in 1548, furniſhes us with this account of it: "The French farce contains nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor ſcenes, which would ſerve only to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true ſubject of the French farce or SOTTIE is every ſort of foolery, which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The ſubject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French ſtage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our MORALITIES hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy, but our farces are really what the Romans called *Mimes* or *Priapees*, the intended end and effect of which was exceſſive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kind of licentiouſneſs, as our farces do at preſent. In the mean time their pleaſantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight ſyllables." HIST. OF ENG. POETRY, Vol. III. p. 350. Scaliger expreſsly mentions the two ſpecies of drama above deſcribed, as the popular entertainments of France in his time. "Sunto igitur duo genera, quæ etiam vicatim et oppidatim per univerſam Galliam mirificis artificibus circumferuntur; MORALE, et RIDICULUM." *Poetices* lib. 1. c. x. p. 17, edit. 1561.

[1] The exact conformity between our Clowns and the *Exodiarii* and *Embolliariæ* of the Roman ſtage is aſcertained, not only by what I

No writer that I have met with, intimates that in the time of Shakſpeare it was cuſtomary to exhibit more than a ſingle dramatick piece on one day[2]. Had any ſhorter pieces, of the ſame kind with our modern farces, (beſide the *jigs* already mentioned,) been preſented after the principal performance, ſome of them probably would have been printed; but there are none extant of an earlier date than the time of the Reſtoration[3]. The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas ſucceſſively in the ſame afternoon, we may be aſſured, was not eſtabliſhed before that period. But though our ancient audiences were not gratified by the repreſentation of more than one drama in the ſame day, the entertainment in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was diverſified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, ſlight of hand, and morrice-dancing[4]; and in the time of

have ſtated in the text, but by our author's contemporary Philemon Holland, by whom that paſſage in Pliny which is referred to in a former page,—"Lucceïa *mima* centum annis in ſcena pronuntiavit. Galeria Copiola, *embolíaria*, reducta eſt in ſcenam,—annum centeſſimum quartum agens,"—is thus tranſlated: "Lucceia, a common VICE in a play, followed the ſtage, and acted thereupon 100 yeeres. Such another VICE, *that plaied the foole, and made ſporte betweene whiles in interludes*, named Galeria Copiola, was brought to act on the ſtage,—when ſhe was in the 104th yeere of her age."

[2] *The Yorkſhire Tragedy, or All's One*, indeed, appears to have been one of four pieces that were repreſented on the ſame day; and Fletcher has alſo a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably theſe were either exhibited on ſome particular occaſion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new ſpecies of amuſement; for we do not find any other inſtances of the ſame kind.

[3] In 1663, as I learn from Sir Henry Herbert's Mſs. Sir William D'Avenant produced *The Playhouſe to be let*. The fifth act of this heterogeneous piece is a mock tragedy, founded on the actions of Cæſar, Anthony, and Cleopatra. This, Langbaine ſays, uſed to be acted at the theatre in Dorſet Garden, (which was not opened till November 1671,) after the tragedy of *Pompey*, written by Mrs. Catharine Phillips; and was, I believe, the firſt farce that appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. In 1677, *The Cheats of Scapin* was performed, as a ſecond piece, after *Titus and Berenice*, a play of three acts, in order to furniſh out an exhibition of the uſual length: and about the ſame time farces were produced by Duffet, Tate, and others.

[4] "For the eye, beſides the beautie of the houſes and the ſtages,

of Shakſpeare, by the extemporaneous buffoonery of the Clown, whenever he choſe to ſolicit the attention of the audience; by ſinging and dancing between the acts, and either a ſong or the metrical jig already deſcribed at the end of the piece[5]: a mixture not more heterogene-

ous

he [the devil] ſendeth in gariſh apparell, maſques, *vaulting*, *tumbling*, *dauncing of gigges*, *galiardes*, *moriſces*, *bobby-horſes*, *ſhewing of juggling caſtes*,—nothing forgot, that might ſerve to ſet out the matter with pompe, or raviſh the beholders with variety of pleaſure." *Playes Confuted in five actions*. By Stephen Goſſon. Signat. E.

[5] See Beaumont's Verſes to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*:

"Nor want there thoſe, who, as the *boy* does *dance*
"Between the acts, will cenſure the whole play."

So alſo, in Sir John Davies's EPIGRAMS, no date, but printed in 1598:

"For as we ſee at all the play-houſe doores,
"When ended is the play, the *dance*, and *ſong*,
"A thouſand townſmen," &c.

Hentzner obſerves, that the dances, when he was in London in 1598, were accompanied with exquiſite muſick. See the paſſage quoted from his ITINERARY, in p. 45, n. 1.

That in the ſtage-dances boys in the dreſs of women ſometimes joined, appears to me probable from Prynne's invective againſt the theatre: "Stage-playes," ſays he, "by our own modern experience are commonly attended with *mixt* effeminate amorous dancing." *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 259. From the ſame author we learn that ſongs were frequently ſung between the acts. "By our owne moderne experience there is nothing more frequent in all our ſtage-playes then amorous paſtoral or obſcene laſcivious love-ſongs, moſt melodiouſly chanted out upon the ſtage betweene each ſeveral action; both to ſupply that chaſme or vacant interim which the tyring-houſe takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for ſome other part in the enſuing ſcene,—as likewiſe to pleaſe the itching eares, if not to inflame the outrageous luſts, of lewde ſpectators." Ibidem, p. 262.

In another place the author quotes the following paſſage from Euſebius. "What ſeeth he who runnes to play-houſes? Diabolical ſongs, dancing wenches, or, that I may ſpeake more truely, girles toſſed up and downe with the furies of the devil." ["*A good deſcription* (adds Prynne) *of our dancing females.*"] "For what doth this dancereſſe? She moſt impudently uncovers her head, which Paul hath commanded to be always covered; ſhe turnes about her necke the wrong way; ſhe throweth about her haire hither and thither. Even theſe things verily are done by her whom the Devill hath poſſeſſed." Ibidem, p. 534.

It does not appear whether the puritanical writer of this treatiſe alludes

ous than that with which we are now daily preſented, a tragedy and a farce. In the dances, I believe, not only men, but boys in women's dreſſes, were introduced: a practice which prevailed on the Grecian ſtage [6], and in France till late in the laſt century [7].

The amuſements of our anceſtors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While ſome part of the audience entertained themſelves with reading [8], or playing at cards [9], others were employed in leſs refined occupations; in drinking ale [1], or ſmoking

alludes in the obſervation inſerted in crotchets to boys dancing on the ſtage in women's cloaths, or to female dancers in *private* houſes. The ſubject immediately before him ſhould rather lead to the former interpretation. *Women* certainly did not dance on the ſtage in his time.

[6] See p. 104, n. 5.

[7] "Dans le ballet de *Triomphe de l'Amour* en 1681, on vît pour la premiere fois de danſeuſes ſur le theâtre de l'Opera: auparavant c'etoient deux, quatre, ſix, ou huit danſeurs qu'on habilloit en femmes." *Oeuvres de M. De Saint-Foix*, tom. iii. p. 416.

[8] So, in Fitz-Jeoffery's *Satires*, 1617:

"Ye worthy worthies! none elſe, might I chuſe,
"Doe I deſire my *poeſie peruſe*,
"For to ſave charges *ere the play begin*,
"Or when the lord of liberty comes in."

Again, in a ſatire at the concluſion of *The Maſtive, or young Whelpe of the old Dogge,—Epigrams and Satires*, printed by Thomas Creede:

[The author is ſpeaking of thoſe who will probably purchaſe his book.]

"Laſt comes my ſcoffing friend, of ſcowring wit,
"Who thinks his judgment 'bove all arts doth fit.
"He buys the booke, and haſtes him to the *play*;
"Where when he comes and *reads*, "here's ſtuff," doth ſay:
"Becauſe the lookers on may hold him wiſe,
"He laughs at what he likes, and then will riſe,
"And takes tobacco; then about will looke,
"And more diſlike the play than of the booke;
"At length is vext he ſhould with charge be drawne
"For ſuch ſlight ſights to lay a ſute to pawne."

[9] "Before the play begins, fall to *cardes*." *Guls Horne-book*, 1609.

[1] See *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, by B. and Fletcher, 1607: "There is no poet acquainted with more ſhakings and quakings towards

ing tobacco[2]: with theſe and nuts and apples they were furniſhed by male attendants, of whoſe clamour a ſatirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains[3]. In 1633 when Prynne publiſhed his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, women ſmoked tobacco in the playhouſes, as well as men[4].

It was a common practice to carry table-books[5] to the theatre, and either from curioſity, or enmity to the author, or ſome other motive, to write down paſſages of

wards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that caſe that he ſtands peeping between the curtains, ſo fearfully, that a *bottle of ale* cannot be opened, but he thinks ſome body hiſſes."

[2] "Now, ſir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in;—I have my three ſorts of *tobacco* in my pocket; *my light by me*;—and thus I begin." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonſon, 1601.

So, in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614: "He looks like a fellow that I have ſeen accommodate gentlemen with *tobacco* at our theatres."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Horne-book*: "By ſitting on the ſtage, you may with ſmall coſt purchaſe the deare acquaintance of the boyes; have a good ſtool for ſixpence;—*get your match lighted*," &c.

[3] "——Pr'ythee, what's the play?
"——I'll ſee't, and ſit it out whate'er.—
"Had Fate fore-read me in a crowd to die;
"To be made adder-deaf with *pippin-cry*."
Notes from Black-fryers, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

[4] In a note on a paſſage in Goſſon's *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579, "Inſtead of pomegranates they give them pippins," &c. quoted by Prynne, he informs us, "Now they offer them [the female part of the audience] *the tobacco-pipe*, which was then unknowne." *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 363.

[5] See the induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, a comedy, 1604: "I am one that hath ſeen this play often, and can give them [Heminge, Burbage, &c.] intelligence for their action; I have moſt of the jeſts here in my *table-book*."

So, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:
"——Nor ſhall he in pluſh,
"That, from the poet's labours, in the pit
"Informs himſelf, for the exerciſe of his wit
"At taverns, *gather notes*."—

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, 1607:
"If there be any lurking among you in corners, with *table-books*, who have ſome hopes to find fit matter *to feed his malice on*, let them claſp them up, and ſlink away, or ſtay and be converted."

Again, in *Every man in his Humour*, 1601:
"But to ſuch, wherever they ſit concealed, let them know, the author defies them and their *writing-tables*."

the

the play that was repreſented; and there is reaſon to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of one or two of Shakſpeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down by the ear or in ſhort-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemen's houſes and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed[6], prayed for the health and proſperity of their patrons; and in the publick theatres, for the king and queen[7]. This prayer ſometimes made part of the epilogue[8]. Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has obſerved, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina*, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon[9]; and the exhibition was ſometimes finiſhed

[6] See *A Mad World, my Maſters*, a comedy, by Middleton, 1608: "Some ſherry for my lord's players there, ſirrah; why this will be a true feaſt;—a right *Mitre* ſupper;—*a play and all.*"

The night before the inſurrection of the gallant and unfortunate earl of Eſſex, the play of *King Henry IV.* (not Shakſpeare's piece) was acted at his houſe.

[7] See the notes on the epilogue to *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* Vol. V. p. 443.

[8] See *Cambyſes*, a tragedy, by Thomas Preſton; *Locrine*, 1595; and *K. Henry IV.* P. II.

[9] "Fuſcus doth riſe at ten, and at eleven
"He goes to Gyls, where he doth eat till *one*,
"Then ſees *a play*.—

Epigrams by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed about 1598.

Others, however, were actuated by a ſtronger curioſity, and, in order to ſecure good places, went to the theatre without their dinner. See the prologue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir William D'Avenant, firſt performed at Blackfriars in April, 1638:

"—You are grown exceſſive proud,
"Since ten times more of wit than was allow'd
"Your ſilly anceſtors in twenty year,
"You think in *two ſhort hours* to ſwallow here.
"For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
"*Ere they had din'd*, to take up the beſt room;
"There ſat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
"And graciouſly did vail their high-crown'd hats
"To every half-dreſs'd player, as he ſtill
"Through hangings peep'd, to ſee the galleries fill.

"Good

finiſhed in two hours[1]. Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock[2]. About thirty years afterwards, (in 1696,) theatrical entertainments began an hour later[3].

We have ſeen that in the infancy of our ſtage Myſteries were uſually acted in churches; and the practice of exhibiting religious dramas in buildings appropriated to the ſervice of religion on the Lord's-day certainly continued after the Reformation.

" Good eaſy-judging ſouls, with what delight
" They would expect a jig or target-fight!
" A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
" Was weakly writ, if it were ſtrongly fought;
" Laugh'd at a clinch, the ſhadow of a jeſt,
" And cry'd—*a paſſing good one, I proteſt.*"

From the foregoing lines it appears that, anciently, places were not taken in the beſt *rooms* or boxes, before the repreſentation. Soon after the Reſtoration, this practice was eſtabliſhed. See a prologue to a revived play, in *Covent Garden Drollery*, 1672:

" Hence 'tis, that at *new* plays you come ſo ſoon,
" Like bridegrooms hot to go to bed ere noon;
" Or if you are detain'd ſome little ſpace,
" *The ſtinking footman's ſent to keep your place.*
" But if a play's *reviv'd*, you ſtay and dine,
" And drink till *three*, and then come dropping in."

Though Sir John Davies, in the paſſage above quoted, mentions *one o'clock* as the hour at which plays commenced, the time of beginning the entertainment about eleven years afterwards (1609) ſeems to have been later; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-booke* makes his gallant go to the ordinary at *two* o'clock, and from thence to the play.

When Ben Jonſon's *Magnetick Lady* was acted, (in 1632,) plays appear to have been over at five o'clock. They probably at that time did not begin till between two and three o'clock.

[1] See p. 123, n. 9. See alſo the prologue to *King Henry VIII.* and that to *Romeo and Juliet.*

[2] See *The Demoiſelles a la Mode*, by Fleckno, 1667:

1. *Actor.* " Hark you, hark you, whither away ſo faſt?

2. *Actor.* " Why, to the theatre, 'tis paſt *three o'clock*, and the play is ready to begin." See alſo note 9, above.

After the Reſtoration, (we are told by old Mr. Cibber) it was a frequent practice of the ladies of quality, to carry Mr. Kynaſton the actor, in his female dreſs, *after the play*, in their coaches to Hyde Park.

[3] See the Epilogue to *The She Gallants*, printed in that year.

During

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth plays were exhibited in the publick theatres on Sundays, as well as on other days of the week[4]. The licence granted by that queen to James Burbage in 1574, which has been already printed in a former page[5], ſhews that they were then repreſented on that day, *out of the hours of prayer*.

We are told indeed by John Field in his *Declaration of God's Judgment at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580 "the magiſtrates of the city of London obtained from Queene Elizabeth, that all heatheniſh playes and enterludes ſhould be baniſhed upon ſabbath dayes." This prohibition, however, probably laſted but a ſhort time; for her majeſty, when ſhe viſited Oxford in 1592, did not ſcruple to be preſent at a theatrical exhibition on Sunday night, the 24th of September in that year[6]. During the reign of James the Firſt, though dramatick

4 "Theſe, [the players] becauſe they are allowed to play every *Sunday*, make four or five *Sundays*, at leaſt, every week." *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579.

"In former times, (ſays Strype in his Additions to Stowe's *Survey of London,)* ingenious tradeſmen and gentlemen's ſervants would ſometimes gather a company of themſelves, and learn interludes, to expoſe vice, or to repreſent the noble actions of our anceſtors. Theſe they played at feſtivals, in private houſes, at weddings, or other entertainments. But in proceſs of time it became an occupation, and theſe plays being *commonly* acted on *Sundays* and other feſtivals, the churches were forſaken, and the playhouſes thronged."

See alſo *A Sermon preached at Paules Croſſe on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24. of Auguſt*, 1578, *By John Stockwood*:—"Will not a fylthie playe with the blaſt of a trumpette ſooner call thyther [to the country] a thouſande, than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the ſermon a hundrèd? Nay, even heere in the citie, without it be at this place, and ſome other certaine ordinarie audience, where ſhall you find a reaſonable company? Whereas if you reſorte to *the Theatre, the Curtaine*, and other places of playes in the citie, you ſhall on the *Lord's day* have theſe places, with many other that I can reckon, ſo full as poſſible they can throng."

See alſo Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuſes*, 1583, in pref.; and *The Mirrour of Magiſtrates for Cities*, 1584, p. 24.

5 P. 37.

6 Peck's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, No. IV. p. 15.

entertainments

entertainments were performed at court on Sundays[7], I believe, no plays were *publickly* repreſented on that day[8]; and by the ſtatute 3 Car. I. c. i. their exhibition

[7] This is aſcertained by the following account of "REVELLS and PLAYES performed and acted at Chriſtmas in the court at Whitehall, 1622;" for the preſervation of which we are indebted to Sir John Aſtley, then Maſter of the Revels:

"Upon St. Steevens daye at night *The Spaniſh Curate* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted *The Beggars Buſh* by the kings players.

"Upon Childermas daye no playe.

"Upon the *Sonday* following *The Pilgrim* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon New-years day at night *The Alchemiſt* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon Twelfe night, the Maſque being put off, the play called *A Fowre and a good one* was acted by the princes ſervants.

"Upon *Sonday*, being the 19th of January, the Princes Maſque appointed for Twelfe daye, was performed. The ſpeeches and ſongs compoſed by Mr. Ben. Johnſon, and the ſcene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three times changed during the tyme of the maſque: where in the firſt that was diſcovered was a proſpective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting Houſe; the ſecond was the Maſquers in a cloud; and the third a forreſt. The French embaſſador was preſent.

"The Antemaſques of tumblers and jugglers.

"The Prince did leade the meaſures with the French embaſſadors wife.

"The meaſures, braules, corrantos, and galliards, being ended, the Maſquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 contrey daunces, namely *The Soldiers Marche*, and *Huff Hamukin*, where the French Embaſſadors wife and Mademoyſala St. Luke did [daunce].

"At Candlemas *Malvolio* was acted at court, by the kings ſervants.

"At Shrovetide, the king being at Newmarket, and the prince out of England, there was neyther maſque nor play, nor any other kind of Revells held at court." MS. Herbert.

[8] In the *Refutation of the Apologie for Actors*, by J. G. quarto, 1615, it is aſked, "If plays do ſo much good, why are they not ſuffered on the *Sabbath*, a day ſelect whereon to do good?" From hence it appears that plays were not permitted to be publickly acted on Sundays in the time of *James I.*

Yet Beard in his *Theatre of God's Judgment*, p. 212, edit. 1631, tells us, that in the year 1607, "at a towne in Bedfordſhire called Riſley, the floore of a chamber wherein many were gathered together

to

tion on the Sabbath day was abſolutely prohibited: yet, notwithſtanding this act of parliament, both plays and maſques were performed at court on ſundays, during the firſt fixteen years of the reign of that king[9], and certainly in private houſes, if not on the publick ſtage.

It

to ſee a ſtage-play *on the ſabbath day*, fell downe." But this was a private exhibition.—From a paſſage alſo in Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 243, it appears that plays had been ſometimes repreſented on Sundays in the time of James the Firſt, though the practice was then not common. "Dancing therefore on the Lords day is an unlawful paſtime puniſhable by the ſtatute 1 Caroli, c. 1. which intended to ſuppreſſe dancing on the lords day, as well as beare-bayting, bull-bayting, *enterludes and common playes*, which were not ſo rife, ſo common, as dancing, when this law was firſt enacted."

It is uncertain whether this writer here alludes to publick or private exhibitions.

9 May, in his *Hiſtory of the Parliament of England*, 1646, taking a review of the conduct of king Charles and his miniſters from 1628 to 1640, mentions that plays were uſually repreſented at *court* on *Sundays* during that period.

There were during this period ſimilar exhibitions on Sundays elſewhere as well at court, notwithſtanding the ſtatute made in the beginning of this reign: but whether they were permitted then in the publick theatres, I am unable to aſcertain. Prynne in his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, p. 645, has the following paſſage: "Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, ſee maſques or playes on *Lords-day nights, (as too many do,)* becauſe the Lords day is then ended," &c. and in p. 717, he inſinuates that the ſtatute 3 Car. I. c. 4. (which prohibited the exhibition of any interlude or ſtage-play on the Lord's-day,) was not very ſtrictly enforced: "If it were as diligently executed as it was piouſly enacted, it would ſuppreſſe many great abuſes, *that are yet continuing among us*, to Gods diſhonour and good chriſtians' griefe in too many places of our kingdom; which our juſtices, our inferiour magiſtrates, might ſoon reforme, would they but ſet themſelves ſeriouſly about it, as ſome *here and there* have done."

See alſo Withers's *Britaines Remembrancer*, Canto VI. p. 197, b. edit. 1628:

"And ſeldom have they leiſure for a play
"Or maſque, except upon God's holiday."

In John Spencer's *Diſcourſes of diverſe petitions*, &c. 4to. 1641, (as I learn from Oldys's Manuſcript notes on Langbaine,) it is ſaid, that "John Wilſon, a cunning muſician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a *Sunday* night after that John biſhop of Lincoln had conſecrated the earl of Cleaveland's ſumptuous chapel, the ſaid John Spencer

It has been a queſtion, whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horſeback to the playhouſe; a circumſtance that would ſcarcely deſerve conſideration, if it were not in ſome ſort connected with our author's hiſtory [1], a plauſible ſtory having been built on this foundation, relative to his firſt introduction to the ſtage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at preſent, ſeem to have been various; ſome going in coaches [2], others on horſeback [3], and many by

Spencer (newly made the biſhop's commiſſary general) did preſent the ſaid biſhop at Huntingdon for ſuffering the ſaid comedy to be acted in his houſe on a *Sunday*, though it was nine o'clock at night; alſo Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hatley and his lady, Maſter Wilſon, and others, actors of the ſame: and becauſe they did not appear, he ſentenced the biſhop to build a ſchool at Eaton, and endow it with 20l. a year for a maſter; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five chairs to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the cenſure, (ſays he) ſtands yet unrepealed."

[1] See Vol. I. Part I. p. 154.

[2] "A pipe there, tirran; no ſophiſticate;
"Villaine, the beſt,—whate'er you prize it at.
"Tell yonder lady with the yellow fan,
"I ſhall be proud to usher her anon;
"My *coach* ſtands ready."——

Notes from Black-fryers, 1617.

The author is deſcribing the behaviour of a *gallant* at the *Black-friars theatre*.

[3] See the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601: "Beſides, they could wiſh, your poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jeſts, and to way-lay all the ſtale apothegms or old books they can hear of, in print or otherwiſe, to farce their ſcenes withal:—again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own but what they have twice or thrice cook'd, they ſhould not wantonly give out, how ſoon they had dreſt it, nor how many *coaches* came to carry away the broken meat, beſides *hobby-horſes*, and *foot-cloth nags*."

"By this time," (ſays Decker, deſcribing an ordinary,) "the parings of fruit and cheeſe are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie ſtinking in the fire, the gueſts are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French lacquey and Iriſh footboy ſhrugging at the doores, *with their maſters' hobby-horſes, to ride to the new play*; that's the randevous, thither they are gallopt in poſt; let us take a paire of oares and row luſtily after them." *Guls Hornebooke*, 4to. 1609.

water,

water[4]. To *the Globe* playhouſe the company probably

4 In the year 1613, the Company of Watermen petitioned his majeſty, "that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouſe in London or in Middleſex, within four miles of the city on that ſide of the Thames." From Taylor's *True Cauſe of the Watermen's Suit concerning Players, and the reaſons that their playing on London ſide, is their* [i. e. the Watermen's] *extreme hindrance*, we learn, that the theatres on the Bankſide in Southwark were once ſo numerous, and the cuſtom of going thither by water ſo general, that many thouſand watermen were ſupported by it.—As the book is not common, and the paſſage contains ſome anecdotes relative to the ſtage at that time, I ſhall tranſcribe it:

"Afterwards," [i. e. as I conjecture, about the year 1596,] ſays Taylor, who was employed as an advocate in behalf of the watermen, "the players began to play on *the Bankſide*, and to leave playing in London and Middleſex, *for the moſt part*. Then there went ſuch great concourſe of people by water, that the ſmall number of watermen remaining at home [the majority being employed in the Spaniſh war] were not able to carry them, by reaſon of the court, the tearms, the players, and other employments. So that we were inforced and encouraged, hoping that this golden ſtirring world would have laſted ever, to take and entertaine men and boyes, which boyes are grown men, and keepers of houſes; ſo that the number of watermen, and thoſe that live and are maintained by them, and by the only labour of the oare and the ſcull, betwixt the bridge of Windſor and Graveſend, cannot be fewer than *forty thouſand*; the cauſe of the greater halfe of which multitude hath bene the players playing on *the Bankſide*; for I have known three companies, beſides the bear-baiting, at once there; to wit, *the Globe*, *the Roſe*, and *the Swan*.

"And now it hath pleaſed God in this peaceful time, [from 1604 to 1613,] that there is no employment at the ſea, as it hath bene accuſtomed, ſo that all thoſe great numbers of men remaines at home; and the players have all (except the kings men) left their uſual reſidency on *the Bankſide*, and doe play in Middleſex, far remote from the Thames; *ſo that every day in the weeke they do draw unto them three or four thouſand people*, that were uſed to ſpend their monies by water.—

"His majeſties players did exhibit a petition againſt us, in which they ſaid, that our ſuit was unreaſonable, and that we might as juſtly remove the Exchange, the walkes in Pauls, or Moorfields, to the Bankſide, for our profits, as to confine them."

The affair appears never to have been decided. "Some (ſays Taylor) have reported that I took bribes of the players, to let the ſuit fall, and to that purpoſe I had a ſupper of them, at *the Cardinal's hat*, on the Bankſide." *Works* of Taylor the water-poet, p. 171, edit. 1633.

were conveyed by water[5]; to that in *Blackfriars*, the gentry went either in coaches[6], or on horſeback; and the common people on foot[7].

Plays

[5] See an epilogue to a vacation-play at *the Globe*, by Sir William D'Avenant; *Works*, p. 245:

"For your own ſakes, poor ſouls, you had not beſt
"Believe my fury was ſo much ſuppreſt
"I' the heat of the laſt ſcene, as now you may
"Boldly and ſafely too cry down our play;
"For if you dare but murmur one falſe note,
"Here in the houſe, or going to *take boat*;
"By heaven I'll mow you off with my long ſword,
"*Yeoman* and *ſquire*, *knight*, *lady*, and her *lord*."

So in the *Gulls Hornebook*, 1609: "If you can either for love or money, provide your ſelfe a lodging by the water-ſide;—it adds a kind of ſtate to you to be carried from thence to the *ſtaires of your play-houſe*."

[6] See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 175: "Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and *the Black-fryars*, to command all that reſort to the playhouſe there, to ſend away their *coaches*, and to diſperſe abroad in *Paul's Church-yard*, *Carter Lane*, *the Conduit* in *Fleet Street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company; but they muſt trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—'twas kept very ſtrictly for two or three weeks, but now, I think, it is diſordered again."—It ſhould, however, be remembered that this was written above forty years after Shakſpeare's firſt acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of queen Elizabeth were poſſeſſed but by very few. They were not in ordinary uſe till after the year 1605. See Stowe's *Annals*, p. 867.

In *A pleaſant Dialogue between Coach and Sedan*, 4to. 1636, it is ſaid, that "the firſt coach that was ſeen in England was that preſented to Queen Elizabeth by the earl of Arundel, in which ſhe went from Somerſet-Houſe to St. Paule's Croſſe, to hear a ſermon on the victory obtained againſt the Spaniards in 1588."

"I wonder in my heart," (ſays the writer, who was born in 1578,) "why our nobilitie cannot in faire weather walke the ſtreets as they were wont; as I have ſeene the earles of Shrewſbury, Darbie, Suſſex, Cumberland, Eſſex, &c.—beſides thoſe inimitable preſidents of courage and valour, Sir Frances Drake, Sir P. Sydney, Sir Martin Forbiſher, &c. with a number of others,—when a coach was almoſt as rare as an elephant."

Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. Theſe, as appears from another letter in the ſame collection, were eſtabliſhed a few months afterwards. "I cannot

Plays in the time of King James the Firſt, (and probably afterwards,) appear to have been performed every day at each theatre during the winter ſeaſon[6], except in

(ſays Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongſt us, though never ſo trivial. Here is one captain Baily; he hath been a ſea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, ſome *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to ſtand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them inſtructions at what rates to carry men into ſeveral parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other hackney-men ſeeing this way, they flocked to the ſame place, and perform their journeys at the ſame rate. So that ſometimes there is twenty of them together, which diſperſe up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-ſide. Every body is much pleaſed with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards hackney chairs were introduced: "Here is alſo another project for carrying people up and down in *cloſe chairs*, for the ſole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a penſioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for uſe." Ibid. p. 336.

This ſpecies of conveyance had been uſed long before in Italy, from whence probably this *traveller* introduced it. See Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598, in v. *Carriuola*: "A kinde of chaire covered, uſed in *Italie* for to carrie men up and downe by porters, unſeene of any bodie." In his ſecond edition, 1611, he defines it, "A kind of covered chaire uſed in Italy, wherein men and women are carried by porters *upon their ſhoulders*."

[7] See p. 128, n. 3. In an epigram by Sir John Davies, perſons of an inferior rank are ridiculed for preſuming to imitate noblemen and gentlemen in riding to the theatre:

"Fauſtus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wiſe, nor old,
"To every place about the town doth *ride*;
"He *rides* into the fields, *plays to behold*;
"He rides to take boat at the water-ſide."

Epigrams, printed at Middleburg, about 1598.

[8] See Taylor's *Suit of the Watermen*, &c. Works, p. 171. "But my love is ſuch to them, [the players,] that whereas they do play but once a day, I could be content they ſhould play twice or thrice a day." "The players have all (except the Kings men,) left their uſual reſidency on the Bankſide, and doe play in Middleſex far remote from the Thames, ſo that *every day* in the week they do draw unto them three or four thouſand people." *Ibidem*.

in the time of Lent, when they were not permitted on the ſermon days, as they were called, that is, on Wedneſday and Friday; nor on the other days of the week, except by ſpecial licence; which however was obtained by a fee paid to the Maſter of the Revells. In the ſummer ſeaſon the ſtage exhibitions were continued, but during the long vacation they were leſs frequently repeated. However, it appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, that the king's company uſually brought out two or three new plays at the Globe every ſummer[9].

Though, from the want of newſpapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not ſo ſpeedily circulated in former times as at preſent, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any diſadvantage in this reſpect; for the players printed and expoſed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit[1], which, however, did not contain a liſt of the characters,

In 1598, Hentzner ſays, plays were performed in the theatres which were then open, *almoſt* every day. "Sunt porro Londini extra urbem theatra aliquot, in quibus hiſtriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias ſingulis fere diebus in magna hominum frequentia agunt." *Itin.* 4to. 1598.

9 In D'Avenant's Works we find "an Epilogue to a *vacation* play at the Globe." See alſo the Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to *Andromache*, a tragedy acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1675: "This play happening to be in my hands in the *long vacation*, a time when the playhouſes are willing to catch at any reed to ſave themſelves from ſinking, to do the houſe a kindneſs, and to ſerve the gentleman who it ſeemed was deſirous to ſee it on the ſtage, I willingly peruſed it.—The play deſerved a better liking than it found; and had it been acted in the good well meaning times, when the *Cid*, *Heraclius*, and other French playes met ſuch applauſe, this would have paſſed very well; but ſince our audiences have taſted ſo plentifully the firm Engliſh wit, theſe thin *regalios* will not down."

1 "They uſe to ſet up their billes upon poſts ſome certaine days before, to admoniſh the people to make reſort to their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furniſhed, and the people prepared to fill their purſes with their treaſures." *Treatiſe againſt Idleneſs, vaine Playes and Interludes*, bl. let. (no date).

The antiquity of this cuſtom likewiſe appears from a ſtory recorded by Taylor the water-poet, under the head of *Wit and Mirth*. 30. "Maſter Field, the player, riding up Fleet-ſtreet a great pace, a gentleman called him, and aſked him, what play was played that day. He being angry to be ſtaied on ſo frivolous a demand, anſwered, that he might

characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were repreſented[2].

The long and whimſical titles which are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, were undoubtedly either written by bookſellers, or tranſcribed from the play-bills of the time[3]. They were equally calculated

might ſee what play was to be plaied [upon every *poſte*. I cry you mercy, ſaid the gentleman, I took you for a *poſte*, you rode ſo faſt." Taylor's *Works*, p. 183.

Ames, in his *Hiſtory of Printing*, p. 342, ſays, that James Roberts [who publiſhed ſome of our author's dramas] printed *bills for the players*.

It appears from the following entry on the Stationers' books that even the right of printing play-bills was at one time made a ſubject of monopoly:

"Oct. 1587. John Charlewoode.] Lycenced to him by the whole conſent of the aſſiſtants, the *onlye* ymprinting of all manner of *billes for players*. Provided that if any trouble ariſe herebye, then *Charlewoode* to beare the charges."

[2] This practice did not commence till the beginning of the preſent century. I have ſeen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expreſſed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be repreſented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, ſimilar to thoſe now daily publiſhed, firſt appeared in the original edition of the *Spectators* in 1711. In theſe early theatrical advertiſements our author is always ſtyled the *immortal* Shakſpeare. Hence Pope:

"Shakſpeare, whom you and every *play-houſe bill*
"Style the *divine*, the matchleſs, what you will,—."

[3] Since the firſt edition of this eſſay I have found ſtrong reaſon to believe that the former was the caſe. Naſhe in the ſecond edition of his *Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592, complains that the *printer* had prefixed a pompous title to the firſt impreſſion of his pamphlet, (publiſhed in the ſame year,) which he was much aſhamed of, and rejected for one more ſimple. "Cut off," ſays he to his printer, "that long-tayld title, and let mee not in the fore-front of my booke make a tedious mountebanks oration to the reader." The printer's title, with which Naſhe was diſpleaſed, is as follows: "*Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Divell, deſcribing the over-ſpreading of Vice and ſuppreſſion of Vertue. Pleaſantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofes.* Written by Thomas Naſhe, Gent. 1592." There is a ſtriking reſemblance between this and the titles prefixed to ſome of the copies of our author's plays, which are given at length in the next note. In the title-page of our author's *Merry Wives of Windſor*, 4to. 1602, (ſee the next note,) *Sir Hugh* is called the

lated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a crowd about ſome vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raiſe the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the modeſt Shakſpeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, ſhould in his manuſcripts have entitled any of his dramas *moſt excellent and pleaſant* performances[4].

It

Welch *knight*; a miſtake into which Shakſpeare could not have fallen.

Inſtead of the ſpurious title above given, Naſhe in his ſecond edition, printed apparently under his own inſpection, (by Abel Jeffes, for John Buſbie,) calls his book only—*Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Divell.*

[4] The titles of the following plays may ſerve to juſtify what is here advanced:

"The *moſt excellent* Hiſtorie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Jewe towards the ſayd Merchant, in cutting a juſt pound of his fleſh, and obtayning of Portia by the choyſe of three caſkets. As it hath been diverſe times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakeſpeare. 1600."

"Mr. William Shak-ſpeare his True Chronicle Hiſtorie of the Life and Death of King LEAR and his three Daughters. With the unfortunate life of Edgar, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Gloſter, and his ſullen aſſumed humor of TOM of bedlam: As it was played before the Kings Majeſtie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens Night in Chriſtmaſs Holli-dayes. By his Majeſties Servants playing uſually at the Globe on the Bank-ſide. 1608."

"A moſt *Pleaſant* and *Excellent Conceited* Comedie of Syr John Falſtaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windſor. Entermixed with ſundrie variable and pleaſing Humors of Sir Hugh, the Welch Knight, Juſtice Shallow, and his wife couſin, Mr. Slender. With the Swaggering Vaine of ancient Piſtoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakeſpeare. As it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants; both before her Majeſtie and elſewhere. 1602."

"The Hiſtory of Henrie the Fourth; With the Battel at Shrewſ-burie, betweene the King and Lord Henrie Percy, ſurnamed Henry Hot-ſpur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir John Falſtaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakeſpeare. 1598."

The

It is uncertain at what time the uſage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece, commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuſcripts, intimates that dramatick poets had anciently their benefit on the firſt day that a new play was repreſented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to ſome of the ephemeral productions of modern times. I have found no authority which proves this to have been the caſe in the time of Shakſpeare; but at the beginning of the preſent century it appears to have been cuſtomary in Lent for the *players* of the theatre in Drury-lane to divide the profits of the firſt repreſentation of a new play among them [5].

From D'Avenant, indeed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the ſecond day [6]. As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakſpeare, to ſell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in ſuch caſes, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what aroſe from the ſale of it. Sometimes, however, he found

"The Tragedie of King Richard The Third. Containing his treacherous Plots againſt his brother Clarence: The pitiful Murther of his innocent Nephews: his tiranous uſurpation: with the whole courſe of his deteſted Life, and moſt deſerved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. By William Shakeſpeare. 1597."

"The late and *much-admired* Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Hiſtorie, adventures, and fortunes, of the ſaid Prince: As alſo, the no leſs ſtrange and worthy accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter *Mariana*. As it hath been divers and ſundry times acted by his Majeſties Servants at the Globe on the Bank-ſide. By William Shakeſpeare. 1609."

[5] Gildon's *Compariſon between the Stages*, 1702, p. 9.

[6] See *The Play-Houſe to be Let*:

"*Player.* —— There is an old tradition,
"That in the times of mighty *Tamberlane*,
"Of conjuring *Fauſtus* and the *Beauchamps bold*,
"You poets us'd to have the *ſecond* day;
"This ſhall be ours, ſir, and to-morrow yours.
"*Poet.* I'll take my venture; 'tis agreed,"

it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did ſo, I ſuppoſe he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which ſeems to have been the uſual mode during a great part of the laſt century, was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, ſpeaks of the poet's *third day*[7].

The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it ſeems, he was ſometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted[8]. Southerne was the firſt dramatick

7 "It is not praiſe is ſought for now, but pence,
"Though dropp'd from greaſy-apron'd audience.
"Clapp'd may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
"With ſuch foul hands, and with ſquint eyes doth gaze
"On Pallas' ſhield, not caring, ſo he gains
"A cram'd *third day*, what filth drops from his brains!"
Prologue to *If this be not a good play, the Devil's in't*, 1612.

Yet the following paſſages intimate, that the poet at a ſubſequent period had ſome intereſt in the *ſecond* day's exhibition:

"Whether their ſold ſcenes be diſlik'd or hit,
"Are cares for them who eat by the ſtage and wit;
"He's one whoſe unbought muſe did never fear
"An empty *ſecond* day, or a thin ſhare."
Prologue to *The City Match*, a comedy, by J. Mayne, acted at Blackfriars in 1639.

So, in the prologue to *The Sophy*, by Sir John Denham, acted at Blackfryars in 1642:

"——— Gentlemen, if you diſlike the play,
"Pray make no words on't till the *ſecond day*
"Or *third* be paſt; for we would have you know it,
"The loſs will fall on us, not on the poet,
"For he writes not for money."—

In *other* caſes, then, it may be preſumed, the loſs, either of the *ſecond* or *third* day, *did* affect the author.

Since the above was written, I have learned from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, that between the year 1625 and 1641, benefits were on the ſecond day of repreſentation.

8 "But which amongſt you is there to be found,
"Will take his *third day's pawn*, for fifty pound?"
Epilogue to *Caius Marius*, 1680.

writer

writer who obtained the emoluments ariſing from two repreſentations[9]; and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted[1]; but this appears to have been a particular favour to that gentleman; for for ſeveral years afterwards dramatick poets had only the benefit of the third and ſixth performance[2].

The profit of three repreſentations did not become the eſtabliſhed right of authors till after the year 1720*.

To the honour of Mr. Addiſon, it ſhould be remembered, that he firſt diſcontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of diſtributing tickets, and ſoliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights[3].

9 "I muſt make my boaſt, though with the moſt acknowledging reſpect, of the favours of the fair ſex—in ſo viſibly promoting my intereſt on thoſe days chiefly, (the *third* and the *ſixth*,) when I had the tendereſt relation to the welfare of my play."
Southerne's *Dedication* of *Sir Antony Love*, a comedy, 1691.
Hence Pope:

"May Tom, whom heaven ſent down to raiſe
"The price of prologues and of plays," &c.

It ſhould ſeem, however, to have been ſome time before this cuſtom was uniformly eſtabliſhed; for the author of *The Treacherous Brothers*, acted in 1696, had only one benefit:

"See't but three days, and fill the houſe, the *laſt*,
"He ſhall not trouble you again in haſte." *Epilogue.*

1 On the repreſentation of *The Conſtant Couple*, which was performed fifty-three times in the year 1700. Farquhar, on account of the extraordinary ſucceſs of that play, is ſaid by one of his biographers, to have been allowed by the managers, the profits of *four* repreſentations.

2 "Let this play live; then we ſtand bravely fixt!
"But let none come his *third* day, nor the *ſixth*."
Epilogue to *The Iſland Princeſs*, 1701.

"But ſhould this fail, at leaſt our author prays,
"A truce may be concluded for *ſix* days."
Epilogue to *The Perplex'd Lovers*, 1712.

In the preface to *The Humours of the Army*, printed in the following year, the author ſays, "It would be impertinent to go about to juſtify the play, becauſe a prodigious full third night and a very good *ſixth* are prevailing arguments in its behalf."

* Cibber in his Dedication to *Ximena* or *the Heroick Daughter*, printed in 1719, talks of bad plays lingering through *ſix* nights. At that time therefore poets certainly had but two benefits.

3 Southerne, by this practice, is ſaid to have gained ſeven hundred pounds by one play.

When

When an author ſold his piece to the ſharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company[4], and remained for ſeveral years unpubliſhed[5]; but, when that was not the caſe, he printed it

[4] "Whereas William Bieſton, gent. governor of the kings and queenes young company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, hee repreſented unto his majeſty, that the ſeverall playes hereafter mentioned, viz. *Wit without Money*: *The Night-Walkers*: *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle*: *Father's owne Sonne*: *Cupids Revenge*: *The Bondman*: *The Renegado*: *A new Way to pay Debts*: *The great Duke of Florence*: *The Maid of Honour*: *The Traytor*: *The Example*: *The Young Admiral*: *The Opportunity*: *A witty fayre One*: *Loves Cruelty*: *The Wedding*: *The Maids Revenge*: *The Lady of Pleaſure*: *The Schoole of Compliment*: *The grateful Servant*: *The Coronation*: *Hide Parke*: *Philip Chabot, Admiral of France*: *A Mad Couple well met*: *All's loſt by Luſt*: *The Changeling*: *A fayre Quarrel*: *The Spaniſh Gipſie*: *The World*: *The Sunnes Darling*: *Loves Sacrifice*: *'Tis pity ſhe's a Whore*: *George a Greene*: *Loves Miſtreſs*: *The Cunning Lovers*: *The Rape of Lucrece*: *A Trick to cheat the Divell*: *A Foole and her Maydenhead ſoone parted*: *King John and Matilda*: *A City Night-cap*: *The Bloody Banquet*: *Cupids Revenge*: *The conceited Duke*: and *Appius and Virginia*, doe all and every of them properly and of right belong to the ſayd houſe, and conſequently that they are all in his propriety. And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London ſhall not preſume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the ſayd William Bieſton and his company, his majeſty hath ſignifyed his royal pleaſure unto mee, thereby requiring mee to declare ſoe much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any wayes to intermeddle with or act any of the above-mentioned playes. Whereof I require all maſters and governours of playhouſes, and all others whom it may concerne, to take notice, and to forbeare to impeach the ſayd William Bieſton in the premiſes, as they tender his majeſties diſpleaſure, and will anſwer the contempt. Given, &c. Aug. 10. 1639." *MS.* in the Lord Chamberlain's office, entitled in the margin, *Cockpitt playes appropried*.

[5] Sometimes, however, an author, after having ſold his piece to the theatre, either publiſhed it, or ſuffered it to be printed; but this appears to have been conſidered as diſhoneſt. See the pref. to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1638: "I had rather ſubſcribe in that to their ſevere cenſure, than, by ſeeking to avoid the imputation of weakneſs, to incur a great ſuſpicion of honeſty; for though ſome have uſed a *double ſale* of their labours, firſt to the ſtage, and after to the preſſe," &c.

How careful the proprietors were to guard againſt the publication of the plays which they had purchaſed, appears from the following admonition,

it for ſale, to which many ſeem to have been induced from an apprehenſion that an imperfect copy might be iſſued

monition, directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain.

"After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was heretofore preſented to my dear brother and predeceſſor, by his majeſties ſervants, the players, that ſome of the company of printers and ſtationers had procured, publiſhed, and printed, diverſe of their books of comedyes and tragedyes, chronicle hiſtoryes, and the like, which they had (for the ſpecial ſervice of his majeſtye and for their own uſe) bought and provided at very dear and high rates. By meanes whereof, not only they themſelves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, to the injury and diſgrace of the authors. And thereupon the maſter and wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers were adviſed by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the ſtay of any further impreſſion of any of the playes or interludes of his majeſties ſervants without their conſents; which being a caution given with ſuch reſpect, and grounded on ſuch weighty reaſons, both for his majeſties ſervice and the particular intereſt of the players, and ſoe agreeable to common juſtice and that indifferent meaſure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been preſumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the buſineſs, notwithſtanding which, I am informed that ſome copies of playes belonging to the king and queenes ſervants, the players, and purchaſed by them at dear rates, having beene lately ſtollen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed, and that ſome of them are at the preſs, and ready to be printed; which, if it ſhould be ſuffered, would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudice, and to the diſenabling them to do their majeſties ſervice: for prevention and redreſſe whereof, it is deſired that order be given and entered by the maſter and wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers, that if any playes be already entered, or ſhall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes ſervants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong; and that none bee ſuffered to be printed untill the aſſent of their majeſties' ſaid ſervants be made appear to the Maſter and Wardens of the company of printers and ſtationers, by ſome certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joſeph Taylor, for the kings ſervants, and of Chriſtopher Beeſton for the king and queenes young company, or of ſuch other perſons as ſhall from time to time have *the direction* of theſe companies; which is a courſe that can be hurtfull unto none but ſuch as are about unjuſtly to peravayle themſelves of others' goods, without reſpect of order or good government; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your ſpecial care.

And

iſſued from the preſs without their conſent[6]. The cuſtomary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakſpeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence[7]. The play when printed

And if you ſhall have need of any further authority or power either from his majeſtye or the counſell-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourſelves or the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto, which ſhall be requiſite. And ſoe I bidd you very heartily farewell, and reſt

Your very loving friend,

June 10, 1637. P. and M.

" To the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers."

6 " One only thing affects me; to think, that ſcenes invented merely to be ſpoken, ſhould be inforcively publiſhed to be read; and that the leaſt hurt I can receive, is, to do myſelf the wrong. But ſince others otherwiſe would do me more, the leaſt inconvenience is to be accepted: I have therefore myſelf ſet forth this comedie." Marſton's pref. to the *Maleconcent*, 1604.

7 See *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592: " Maſter R. G. [Robert Greene] would it not make you bluſh—if you ſold *Orlando Furioſo* to the queenes players for *twenty nobles*, and when they were in the country, ſold the ſame play to Lord Admirals men, for as much more? Was not this plain coneycatching, M. G.?"

Oldys, in one of his manuſcripts, ſays, that Shakſpeare received but *five pounds* for his *Hamlet*; whether from the players who firſt acted it, or the printer or bookſeller who firſt publiſhed it, is not diſtinguiſhed. I do not believe he had any good authority for this aſſertion.

In the latter end of the laſt century, it ſhould ſeem, an author did not uſually receive more from his bookſeller for a dramatick performance than 20l. or 25l. for, Dryden in a letter to his ſon, written about the year 1698, mentions, that the whole emoluments which he expected from a new play that he was about to produce, would not exceed one hundred pounds. Otway and Lee got but that ſum by *Venice Preſerved*, *The Orphan*, *Theodoſius*, and *Alexander the Great*; as Gildon, their contemporary, informs us. The profits of the third night were probably ſeventy pounds; the dedication produced either five or ten guineas, according to the munificence of the patron; and the reſt aroſe from the ſale of the copy.

Southerne, however, in conſequence of the extraordinary ſucceſs of his *Fatal Marriage* in 1694, ſold the copy of that piece for thirty-ſix pounds, as appears from a letter which has been kindly communicated to me by my friend, the Right Hon.ble Mr. Windham, and which, as it

printed was ſold for ſixpence[8]; and the uſual preſent from

it contains ſome new ſtage anecdotes, I ſhall print entire. This letter has been lately found by Mr. Windham among his father's papers, at Felbrigge in Norfolk; but, the ſignature being wanting, by whom it was written has not been aſcertained:

"Dear Sir, London, March the 22, 1693-4.

"I received but 10 days ſince the favour of your obliging letter, dated January the laſt, for which I return you a thouſand thanks. I wiſh my ſcribbling could be diverting to you, I ſhould oftner trouble you with my letters; but there is hardly any thing now to make it acceptable to you, but an account of our winter diverſions, and chiefly of the new plays which have been the entertainment of the town.

"The firſt that was acted was Mr. Congreve's, called *The Double Dealer*. It has fared with that play, as it generally does with beauties officiouſly cried up; the mighty expectation which was raiſed of it made it ſink, even beneath its own merit. The character of the Double Dealer is artfully writt, but the action being but ſingle, and confined within the rules of true comedy, it could not pleaſe the generality of our audience, who reliſh nothing but variety, and think any thing dull and heavy which does not border upon farce.—The criticks were ſevere upon this play, which gave the authour occaſion to laſh 'em in his Epiſtle Dedicatory, in ſo defying or hectoring a ſtyle, that it was counted rude even by his beſt friends; ſo that 'tis generally thought he has done his buſineſs, and loſt himſelf: a thing he owes to Mr. Dryden's treacherous friendſhip, who, being jealous of the applauſe he had gott by his *Old Batchelour*, deluded him into a fooliſh imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces.

"The 2d play is Mr. Dryden's, called *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail*. It is a tragi-comedy, but in my opinion one of the worſt he ever writt, if not the very worſt; the comical part deſcends beneath the ſtyle and ſhew of a Bartholomew-fair droll. It was damn'd by the univerſal cry of the town, *nemine contradicente*, but the conceited poet. He ſays in his prologue, that this is the laſt the town muſt expect from him: he had done himſelf a kindneſs, had he taken his leave before.

"The 3d is Mr. Southern's, calld *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery*. It is not only the beſt that authour ever writt, but is generally admired for one of the greateſt ornaments of the ſtage, and the moſt entertaining play has appeared upon it theſe 7 years. The plot is taken out of Mrs. Behn's novel, calld *The Unhappy Vow-Breaker*. I never ſaw Mrs. Barry act with ſo much paſſion as ſhe does in it; I could not forbear being moved even to tears to ſee her act. Never was poet better rewarded or incouraged by the town; for beſides an extraordinary full houſe, which brought him about 140l. 50 noblemen, among whom my lord Winchelſea was one, gave him guineas apiece, and the printer 36l. for his copy.

"This kind uſage will encourage deſponding minor poets, and vex huffing Dryden and Congreve to madneſs.

"We

from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings[9].

"We had another new play yeſterday, called *The Ambitious Slave, or a generous Revenge*. Elkanah Settle is the authour of it, and the ſucceſs is anſwerable to his reputation. I never ſaw a piece ſo wretched, nor worſe contrived. He pretends 'tis a Perſian ſtory, but not one body in the whole audience could make any thing of it; 'tis a meer babel, and will ſink for ever. The poor poet, ſeeing the houſe would not act it for him, and give him the benefit of the third day, made a preſent of it to the women in the houſe, who act it, but without profit or incouragement."

In 1707 the common price of the copy-right of a play was fifty pounds; though in that year Lintot the bookſeller gave Edmund Smith ſixty guineas for his *Phædra and Hippolitus*.

In 1715, Sir Richard Steele ſold Mr. Addiſon's comedy, called *The Drummer*, to J. Tonſon for fifty pounds: and in 1721, Dr. Young received the ſame price for his tragedy of *The Revenge*. Two years before, however, (1719) Southerne, who ſeems to have underſtood author-craft better then any of his contemporaries, ſold his *Spartan Dame* for the extraordinary ſum of 120l.; and in 1726 Lintot paid the celebrated plagiary, James Moore Smyth, one hundred guineas for a comedy, entitled *The Rival Modes*. From that time, this appears to have been the cuſtomary price for ſeveral years; but of late, (though rarely) one hundred and fifty pounds have been given for a new play. The fineſt tragick poet of the preſent age, Mr. JEPHSON, received that price for two of his admirable tragedies.

[8] See the preface to the quarto edition of *Troilus and Creſſida*, 1609: "Had I time, I would comment upon it, though it needs not, for ſo much as will make you think your *teſterne* well beſtowed, but for ſo much worth as even poor I know to be ſtuft in it," &c.

See alſo the preface to Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, a comedy, 1632: "Courteous reader, I beg thy pardon, if I put thee to the expence of a *ſixpence*, and the loſs of half an hour."

[9] "I did determine not to have *dedicated* my play to any body, becauſe *forty ſhillings* I care not for; and above, few or none will beſtow on theſe matters." Dedication to *A Woman's a Weathercock*, a comedy, by N. Field, 1612.

See alſo *the Author's Epiſtle popular*, prefixed to *Cynthia's Revenge*, 1613: "Thus do our pie-bald naturaliſts depend upon poor wages, gape after the drunken harveſt of *forty ſhillings*, and ſhame the worthy *benefactors of Helicon*."

Soon after the Revolution, five, and ſometimes ten, guineas ſeems to have been the cuſtomary preſent on theſe occaſions. In the time of George the Firſt, it appears from one of Swift's Letters that twenty guineas were uſually preſented to an author for this piece of *flattery*.

On

On the firſt day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admiſſion appear to have been raiſed [1], ſometimes to double, ſometimes to treble, prices [2]; and this ſeems to have been occaſionally practiſed on the benefit-nights of authors, and on the repreſentation of expenſive plays, to the year 1726 in the preſent century [3].

Dramatick poets in ancient times, as at preſent, were admitted gratis into the theatre [4].

It

1 This may be collected from the following verſes by J. Mayne, to the memory of Ben Jonſon:

"He that writes well, writes quick, ſince the rule's true,
"Nothing is ſlowly done, that's always new;
"So when thy *Fox* had ten times acted been,
"Each *day* was *firſt*, but that 'twas *cheaper ſeen.*"

2 See the laſt line of the Prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, 1672, quoted in p. 80, n. 7.

3 Downes, ſpeaking of *the Squire of Alſatia*, acted in 1688, ſays, "the poet received for his third day in the houſe in Drury Lane at *ſingle prices*, 130l. which was the greateſt receipt they ever had at *ſingle prices.*" Hence it appears that the prices were ſometimes raiſed; and after the Reſtoration the additional prices were, I believe, demanded during what is called in the language of the theatre the firſt run of a new piece. At leaſt this was the caſe in the preſent century. See the Epilogue to *Hecuba*, a tragedy, 1726:

"What, a new play, without new ſcenes and cloaths!
"Without a friendly party from the Roſe!
"And what againſt *a run* ſtill prepoſſeſſes,
"'Twas on the bills put up at *common prices.*"

See alſo the Epilogue to *Love at firſt ſight*:

"Wax tapers, gawdy cloaths, *rais'd prices* too,
"Yet even the play thus garniſh'd would not do."

In 1702 the prices of admiſſion were in a fluctuating ſtate. "The people," ſays Gildon, "never were in a better humour for plays, nor were the houſes ever ſo crowded, though *the rates have run very high*, ſometimes to a ſcandalous exceſs; never did printed plays riſe to ſuch a price,—never were ſo many poets preferred as in the laſt ten years." *Compariſon between the two ſtages*, 1702. The price of a printed play about that time roſe to eighteen-pence.

4 See verſes by J. Stephens, "to his worthy friend," H. Fitz-Jeoffery, on his *Notes from Black-fryers*, 1617:

"——————————I muſt,
"Though it be a player's vice to be unjuſt
"To verſe not yielding coyne, let players know,
"They cannot recompence your labour, though
"They grace you with a chayre upon the ſtage,
"*And take no money of you, nor your page.*"

So

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book that the king's company between the years 1622 and 1641 produced either at Blackfriars or the Globe at leaſt four new plays every year. Every play, before it was repreſented on the ſtage, was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels, for which he received in the time of Queen Elizabeth but a noble, though at a ſubſequent period the ſtated fee on this occaſion roſe to two pounds.

Neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the Firſt, nor Charles the Firſt, I believe, ever went to the publick theatre; but they frequently ordered plays to be performed at court, which were repreſented in the royal theatre called the Cockpit, in Whitehall: and the actors of the king's company were ſometimes commanded to attend his majeſty in his ſummer's progreſs, to perform before him in the country[5]. Queen Henrietta Maria, however,

So, in *The Play-houſe to be let*, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

"*Poet.* Do you ſet up for yourſelves, and profeſs wit,
"Without help of your authors? Take heed, ſirs,
"You'll get few cuſtomers.
"*Houſekeeper.* Yes, we ſhall have the *poets*.
"*Poet.* 'Tis *becauſe they pay nothing for their entrance.*"

[5] "Whereas William Pen, Thomas Hobbes, William Trigg, William Patrick, Richard Baxter, Alexander Gough, *William Hart*, and Richard Hawley, together with ten more or thereabouts of their fellows, his majeſties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Blackfryers, London, are commaunded to attend his majeſtie, and be nigh about the court this ſummer progreſs, in readineſs, when they ſhall be called upon to act before his majeſtie: for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto, his majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed that they ſhall, as well before his majeſties ſetting forth on his maine progreſſe, as in all that time, and after, till they ſhall have occaſion to returne homewards, have all freedome and liberty to repayre unto all towns corporate, mercate townes, and other, where they ſhall thinke fitt, and there in their common halls, mootehalls, ſchool-houſes or other convenient roomes, act playes, comedyes, and interludes, without any lett, hinderance, or moleſtation whatſoever (behaving themſelves civilly). And herein it is his majeſties pleaſure, and he does expect, that in all places where they come, they be treated and entertayned with ſuch due reſpect and courteſie as may become his majeſties loyal and loving ſubjects towards his ſervants. In teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeale at arms. Dated at Whitehall, the 17th of May, 1636.

To all Mayors, &c. P. and M."

Mſ. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

This

however, went ſometimes to the publick theatre at Blackfriars[6]. I find from the Council-books that in the time of Elizabeth ten pounds was the payment for a play performed before her; that is, twenty nobles, or ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four-pence, as the regular and ſtated fee; and three pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight-pence, by way of bounty or reward. The ſame ſum, as I learn from the manuſcript notes of lord Stanhope, Treaſurer of the Chamber to king James the Firſt, continued to be paid during his reign: and this was the ſtated payment during the reign of his ſucceſſor alſo. Plays at court were uſually performed at night, by which means they did not interfere with the

This is entitled in the margin—*A Player's Paſs.*

William Hart, whoſe name occurs in the foregoing liſt, and who undoubtedly was the eldeſt ſon of Joan Hart, our poet's ſiſter, is mentioned in another warrant, with ten others, as *a dependant* on the players,—"employed by his Majeſties ſervants of the Blackfryers, and of ſpecial uſe unto them, both on the ſtage and otherwiſe."

This paper having eſcaped my memory, when a former part of this work was printing, [ſee Vol. I. P. I. p. 162, n. 1. and p. 179, n. 1.] I ſuggeſted that *Michael* Hart, our poet's youngeſt nephew, was probably the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian; but without doubt his father was William, (the elder brother of Michael,) who, we find, ſettled in London, and was an actor. It is highly probable that he left Stratford before his uncle Shakſpeare's death, at which time he was ſixteen years old; and in conſequence of that connexion found an eaſy introduction to the ſtage. He probably married in the year 1625, and his ſon Charles was, I ſuppoſe, born in 1626. Before the acceſſion of Charles the Firſt, the chriſtian name of Charles was ſo uncommon, that it ſcarcely ever occurs in our early pariſh-regiſters. Charles Hart was a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Dalliſon in Prince Rupert's regiment, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, at which time, according to my ſuppoſition, he was but ſeventeen years old; but ſuch early exertions were not at that time uncommon. William Hart, who has given occaſion to the preſent note, died in 1639, and was buried at his native town of Stratford on the 28th of March in that year.

[6] "The 13 May, 1634, the Queene was at Blackfryers, to ſee Meſſengers playe."—The play which her majeſty honoured with her preſence was *The Tragedy of Cleander*, which had been produced on the 7th of the ſame month, and is now loſt, with many other pieces of the ſame writer.

regular exhibition at the publick theatres, which was early in the afternoon; and thus the royal bounty was for ſo much a clear profit to the company: but when a play was commanded to be performed at any of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood of London, by which the actors were prevented from deriving any profit from a publick exhibition on the ſame day, the fee, as appears from a manuſcript in the Lord Chamberlain's office, was, in the year 1630, and probably in Shakſpeare's time alſo, twenty pounds[7]; and this circumſtance I formerly ſtated, as ſtrongly indicating that the ſum laſt mentioned was a very conſiderable produce on any one repreſentation at the Blackfriars or Globe playhouſe. The office-book which I have ſo often quoted, has fully confirmed my conjecture.

The cuſtom of paſſing a final cenſure on plays at their firſt exhibition[8], is as ancient as the time of our author; for

7 "Whereas by virtue of his majeſties letters patent bearing date the 16th of June, 1625, made and graunted in confirmation of diverſe warrants and privy ſeales unto you formerly directed in the time of our late ſoveraigne king James, you are authorized (amongſt other things) to make payment for playes acted before his majeſty and the queene. Theis are to pray and require you, out of his majeſties treaſure in your charge, to pay or cauſe to be payed unto *John Lowing*, in the behalfe of himſelfe and the reſt of the company his majeſties players, the ſum of two hundred and ſixty pounds; that is to ſay, *twenty pounds* apiece for foure playes acted at Hampton Court, in reſpect and conſideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there; and the like ſomme of *twenty pounds* for one other play which was acted in *the daytime* at Whitehall, by meanes whereof the players loſt the benefit of their houſe for *that day*; and *ten pounds* apiece for ſixteen other playes acted before his majeſty at Whitehall: amounting in all unto the ſum of two hundred and ſixty pounds for one and twenty playes his majeſties ſervaunts acted before his majeſtie and the queene at ſeverall times, between the 30th of Sept. and the 21ſt of Feb. laſt paſt. As it may appeare by the annexed ſchedule.

"And theis, &c. March 17, 1630-1."

Mſ. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

8 The cuſtom of expreſſing diſapprobation of a play, and interrupting the drama, by the noiſe of *catcals*, or at leaſt by imitating the tones of a cat, is probably as ancient as Shakſpeare's time; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-book*, counſels the gallant, if he wiſhes to diſgrace the poet,

for no leſs than three plays[9] of his rival, Ben Jonſon, appear to have been deſervedly damned[1]; and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdeſs*[2], and *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the ſame fate[3].

It is not eaſy to aſcertain what were the emoluments of a ſucceſsful actor in the time of Shakſpeare. They

poet, "to *whew* at the children's action, to whiſtle at the ſongs, and *mew* at the paſſionate ſpeeches." See alſo the induction to *The Iſle of Gulls*, a comedy, 1606: "Either ſee it all or none; for 'tis grown into a cuſtom at plays, if any one riſe, (eſpecially of any faſhionable ſort,) about what ſerious buſineſs ſoever, the reſt, thinking it in diſlike of the play, (though he never thinks it,) cry—"*mew*,—by Jeſus, vile,"—and leave the poor heartleſs children to ſpeak their epilogue to the empty ſeats."

[9] *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and *The New Inn*. Of the two former Jonſon's *Ghoſt* is thus made to ſpeak in an epilogue to *Every Man in his Humour*, written by Lord Buckhurſt, about the middle of the laſt century:

"Hold, and give way, for I myſelf will ſpeak:
"Can you encourage ſo much inſolence,
"And add new faults ſtill to the great offence
"Your anceſtors ſo raſhly did commit,
"Againſt the mighty powers of art and wit,
"When they condemn'd thoſe noble works of mine,
"*Sejanus*, and my beſt-lov'd *Catiline*?"

The title-page of *The New Inn*, is a ſufficient proof of its condemnation. Another piece of this writer does not ſeem to have met with a very favourable reception; for Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden (Jonſon's friend) informs us, that "when the play of *The Silent Woman* was firſt acted, there were found verſes, after, on the ſtage, againſt him, [the author,] concluding, that that play was well named The *Silent* Woman, becauſe there was never one man to ſay *plaudite* to it." Drummond's *Works*, fol. p. 226.

[1] The term, as well as the practice, is ancient. See the epilogue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1643:

"——————Our poet—
"——will never wiſh to ſee us thrive,
"If by an humble epilogue we ſtrive
"To court from you that privilege to-day,
"Which you ſo long have had, to *damn a play*."

[2] See in p. 99 (n. 4.) Verſes addreſſed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdeſs*.

[3] See the epiſtle prefixed to the firſt edition of *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle*, in 1613.

had not then annual benefits, as at preſent[4]. The clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting the nightly expences for lights, men occaſionally hired for the evening, &c. which in Shakſpeare's houſe was but forty-five ſhillings, were divided into ſhares, of which part belonged to the proprietors, who were called houſekeepers, and the remainder was divided among the actors, according to their rank and merit. I ſuſpect that the whole clear receipt was divided into forty ſhares, of which perhaps the houſe-keepers or proprietors had fifteen, the actors twenty-two, and three were devoted to the purchaſe of new plays, dreſſes, &c. From Ben Jonſon's *Poetaſter*, it ſhould ſeem that one of the performers had ſeven ſhares and a half[5]; but of what integral ſum is not mentioned. The perſon alluded to, (if any perſon was alluded to, which is not certain,) muſt, I think, have been a proprietor, as well as a principal actor. Our poet in his *Hamlet* ſpeaks of a *whole ſhare*, as no contemptible emolument; and from the ſame play we learn that ſome of the performers had only half a ſhare[6]. Others probably had ſtill leſs.

It

4 Cibber ſays in his *Apology*, p. 96, "Mrs. Barry was the firſt perſon whoſe merit was diſtinguiſhed by the indulgence of having an annual benefit-play, which was granted to her alone, if I miſtake not, firſt in king James's time; and which became not common to others, till the diviſion of this company, after the death of king William's queen Mary."

But in this as in many other facts he is inaccurate; for it appears from an agreement entered into by Dr. D'Avenant, Charles Hart, Thomas Betterton, and others, dated October 14, 1681, that the actors had *then* benefits. By this agreement five ſhillings, apiece, were to be paid to Hart and Kynaſton the players, "for every day there ſhall be any tragedies or comedies or other repreſentations acted at the Duke's theatre in Saliſbury Court, or wherever the company ſhall act, during the reſpective lives of the ſaid Charles Hart and Edward Kynaſton, *excepting the days the young men or young women play for their own profit only*." Gildon's *Life of Betterton*, p. 8.

5 "*Tucca*. Fare thee well, my honeſt penny-biter: commend me to *ſeven ſhares and a half*, and remember to-morrow.—If you lack a *ſervice*, you ſhall play in my name, raſcal; [alluding to the cuſtom of actors calling themſelves the *ſervants* of certain noblemen,] but you ſhall buy your own cloth, and I'll have *two ſhares* for my countenance." *Poetaſter*, 1602.

6 "Would not this, ſir, and a foreſt of feathers, (if the reſt of my

It appears from a deed executed by Thomas Killigrew and others, that in the year 1666, the whole profit ariſing from acting plays, maſques, &c. at the king's theatre, was divided into *twelve ſhares and three quarters*[7], of which Mr. Killigrew, the manager, had two ſhares

my fortunes turn Turk with me,) with two Provencial roſes on my raſed ſhoes, get me a fellowſhip in a cry of players, ſir?

"*Hor.* Half a ſhare.

"*Ham.* A whole ſhare, I." *Hamlet*, Act III. ſc. ii.

In a poem entitled *I would and I would not*, by B. N. 1614, the writer makes a player utter a wiſh to poſſeſs *five ſhares* in every play; but I do not believe that any performer derived ſo great an emolument from the ſtage, unleſs he were alſo a proprietor. The ſpeaker ſeems to wiſh for excellence that was never yet attained, (to be able to act every part that was ever written,) that he might gain an emolument *ſuperior* to any then acquired by the moſt popular and ſucceſsful actor:

"I would I were a player, and could act
"As many partes as came upon a ſtage,
"And in my braine could make a full compact
"Of all that paſſeth betwixt youth and age;
"That I might have *five ſhares* in every play,
"And let them laugh that bear the bell away."

The actors were treated with leſs reſpect than at preſent, being ſometimes interrupted during their performance, on account of ſuppoſed perſonalities; for the ſame author adds—

"And yet I would not; for then do I feare,
"If I ſhould gall ſome *gooſe-cap* with my ſpeech,
"That he would freat, and fume, and chafe, and ſwear,
"As if ſome flea had bit him by the breech;
"And in ſome paſſion or ſtrange agonie
"Diſturb both mee and all the companie."

On ſome occaſions application was made by individuals to the Maſter of the Revels, to reſtrain this licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; as appears from the following note:

"Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewſter to the ſecond part of *The City Shuffler*, which gave mee occaſion to ſtay the play, till the company [of Saliſbury Court] had given him ſatisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hande he did certifye mee that he was ſatisfyed." *Mſ. Herbert.*

[7] In an indenture tripartite, dated December 31, 1666, (which I have ſeen) between Thomas Killigrew and Henry Killigrew, his ſon and heir, of the firſt part, Thomas Porter, Eſq. of the ſecond part, and Sir John Sayer and Dame Catharine Sayer, his wife, of the third part, it is recited, (*inter alia*,) that the profits ariſing by acting of plays, maſques, &c. then performed by the company of actors called the king and queen's players, were by agreement amongſt themſelves and

ſhares and three quarters; and if we may truſt to the ſtatement in another very curious paper, inſerted below, (which however was probably exaggerated,) each ſhare produced, at the loweſt calculation, about 250l.[8] per ann. *net*; and the total clear profits conſequently were about 3187l. 10s. 0d.

Theſe ſhares were then diſtributed among the proprietors of the theatre, who at that time were not actors, the performers, and the dramatick poets, who were retained in the ſervice of the theatre, and received a part of the annual produce as a compenſation for the pieces which they produced[9].

In

Thomas Killigrew, divided into *twelve ſhares and three quarters*, and that Thomas Killigrew was to have two full ſhares and three quarters. And by agreement between Henry and Thomas, Henry was to have four pounds *per* week, out of the two ſhares of Thomas, except ſuch weeks when the players did not act.

In 1682, when the two companies united, the profits of acting, we are told by Colley Cibber, were divided into *twenty ſhares*, ten of which went to the proprietors or patentees, and the other moiety to the actors, in different diviſions proportioned to their merit.

[8] Wright ſays in his *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica* that he had been aſſured by an old actor, that "for ſeveral years next after the Reſtoration every whole ſharer in Mr. Hart's company, [that is, the King's ſervants,] got 1000l. *per ann.*" But his informer was undoubtedly miſtaken, as is proved by the petition or memorial printed below, (ſee n. 9.) and by Sir Henry Herbert's ſtatement of Thomas Killigrew's profits. If every whole ſharer had got 1000l. *per ann.* then the annual receipts muſt have been near 13000l. In 1743, after Mr. Garrick had appeared, the theatre of Drury-lane did not receive more than 15000l. *per ann.*

[9] Gildon in his *Laws of Poetry*, 8vo. 1721, obſerves, that "after the Reſtoration, when the two houſes ſtruggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were ſecured to either houſe by a ſort of retaining fee, which ſeldom or never amounted to more than forty ſhillings a week, nor was that of any long continuance." He appears to have under-rated their profits; but the fact to which he alludes is inconteſtably proved by the following paper, which remained long in the hands of the Killigrew family, and is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Reed of Staple-Inn, by whom it was obligingly communicated to me ſome years ago. The ſuperſcription is loſt, but it was probably addreſſed to the Lord Chamberlain, or the King, about the year 1678:

"Whereas upon Mr. Dryden's binding himſelf to write three playes a yeere, hee the ſaid Mr. Dryden was admitted and continued as a ſharer in the king's playhouſe for diverſe years, and received for his *ſhare and a quarter* three or four hundred pounds, *communibus annis*; but

In a paper delivered by Sir Henry Herbert to Lord Clarendon and the Lord Chamberlain, July 11, 1662, which will be found in a ſubſequent page, he ſtates the

but though he received the moneys, we received not the playes, not one in a yeare. After which, the houſe being burnt, the company in building another contracted great debts, ſo that ſhares fell much ſhort of what they were formerly. Thereupon Mr. Dryden complaining to the company of his want of proffit, the company was ſo kind to him that they not only did not preſſe him for the playes which he ſo engaged to write for them, and for which he was paid beforehand, but they did alſo at his earneſt requeſt give him a third day for his laſt new play called *All for Love*; and at the receipt of the money of the ſaid third day, he acknowledged it as a guift, and a particular kindneſſe of the company. Yet notwithſtanding this kind proceeding, Mr. Dryden has now, jointly with Mr. Lee, (who was in penſion with us to the laſt day of our playing, and ſhall continue,) written a play called *Oedipus*, and given it to the Duke's company, contrary to his ſaid agreement, his promiſe, and all gratitude, to the great prejudice and almoſt undoing of the company, they being the only poets remaining to us. Mr. Crowne, being under the like agreement with the duke's houſe, writt a play called *The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*, and being forced by their refuſall of it, to bring it to us, the ſaid company compelled us, after the ſtudying of it, and a vaſt expence in ſcenes and cloathes, to buy off their clayme, by paying all the penſion he had received from them, amounting to one hundred and twelve pounds paid by the king's company, beſides neere forty pounds he the ſaid Mr. Crowne paid out of his owne pocket.

"Theſe things conſidered, if, notwithſtanding Mr. Dryden's ſaid agreement, promiſe, and moneys freely given him for his ſaid laſt new play, and the many titles we have to his writings, this play be judged away from us, we muſt ſubmit.

(Signed) Charles Killigrew.
Charles Hart.
Rich. Burt.
Cardell Goodman.
Mic. Mohun."

It has been thought very extraordinary that Dryden ſhould enter into a contract to produce three new plays every year; and undoubtedly that any poet ſhould formally *ſtipulate* that his genius ſhould be thus productive, is extraordinary. But the exertion itſelf was in the laſt age not uncommon. In ten years, from the death of Beaumont in 1615 to the year 1625, I have good reaſon to believe that Fletcher produced near thirty plays. Maſſinger between 1623 and 1638 brought out nearly the ſame number; and Shirley in fifteen years furniſhed various theatres with forty plays. Thomas Heywood was ſtill more prolifick.

emolument which Mr. Thomas Killigrew then derived (from his two ſhares and three quarters,) at £19. 6. 0. *per* week; according to which ſtatement each ſhare in the king's company produced but two hundred and ten pounds ten ſhillings a year. In Sir William D'Avenant's company, from the time their new theatre was opened in Portugal-row near Lincoln's Inn fields, (April 1662,) the total receipt (after deducting the nightly charges of "men hirelings and other cuſtomary expences,") was divided into fifteen ſhares, of which it was agreed by articles previouſly entered into [1], that ten ſhould belong to D'Avenant; viz. two "towards the houſe-rent, buildings, ſcaffolding, and making of frames for ſcenes; one for a proviſion of habits, properties, and ſcenes, for a ſupplement of the ſaid theatre; and ſeven to maintain all the women that are to perform or repreſent women's parts, in tragedies, comedies, &c. and in conſideration of erecting and eſtabliſhing his actors to be a company, and his pains and expences for that purpoſe for many years." The other five ſhares were divided in various proportions among the reſt of the troop.

In the paper above referred to it is ſtated by Sir Henry Herbert, that D'Avenant "drew from theſe ten ſhares two hundred pounds a week;" and if that ſtatement was correct, each ſhare in his playhouſe then produced annually ſix hundred pounds, ſuppoſing the acting ſeaſon to have then laſted for thirty weeks.

Such were the emoluments of the theatre ſoon after the Reſtoration; which I have ſtated here, from authentick documents, becauſe they may aſſiſt us in our conjectures concerning the profits derived from ſtage-exhibitions at a more remote and darker period.

From the prices of admiſſion into our ancient theatres in the time of Shakſpeare, which have been already noticed, I formerly conjectured that about twenty pounds was a conſiderable receipt at the Blackfriars and Globe theatre, on any one day; and my conjecture is now confirmed by indiſputable evidence. In Sir Henry Her-

[1] Theſe articles will be found in a ſubſequent page.

bert's

bert's Office-book I find the following curious notices on this ſubject, under the year 1628:

"The kinges company with a generall conſent and alacritye have given mee the benefitt of too dayes in the yeare, the one in ſummer, thother in winter, to bee taken out of the ſecond daye of a revived playe, att my owne choyſe. The houſekeepers have likewyſe given their ſhares, their dayly charge only deducted, which comes to ſome 2l. 5s. this 25 May, 1628.

"The benefitt of the firſt day, being a very unſeaſonable one in reſpect of the weather, comes but unto £.4. 15. 0."

This agreement ſubſiſted for five years and a half, during which time Sir Henry Herbert had ten benefits, the moſt profitable of which produced ſeventeen pounds, and ten ſhillings, *net*, on the 22d of Nov. 1628, when Fletcher's *Cuſtom of the Country* was performed at Blackfriars; and the leaſt emolument which he received was on the repreſentation of a play which is not named, at the Globe, in the ſummer of the year 1632, which produced only the ſum of one pound, and five ſhillings, after deducting from the total receipt in each inſtance the nightly charge above mentioned. I ſhall give below the receipt taken by him on each of the ten performances; from which it appears that his clear profit at an average, on each of his nights, was £.8. 19. 4.[2] and the total nightly receipt was at an average—£.11. 4. 4.

On

[2] 1628. May 25, [the play not named,]—£.4. 15. 0.
"The benefitt of the winters day, being the ſecond day of an old play called *The Cuſtome of the Cuntrye*, came to £.17. 10. 0. this 22 of Nov. 1628. From the Kinges company att the Blackfryers.

1629. "The benefitt of the ſummers day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of *The Prophetеſs*, comes to, this 21 of July, 1629,—£.6. 7. 0.
"The benefitt of the winters day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of *The Moore of Veniſe*, comes, this 22 of Nov. 1629, unto—£.9. 16. 0.

1630. [*No play this ſummer, on account of the plague.*]
"Received of Mr. Taylor and Lowins, in the name of their company, for the benefitt of my winter day, upon the ſecond

On the 30th of October, 1633, the managers of the king's company agreed to pay him the fixed ſum of ten pounds

day of Ben Jonſon's play of *Every man in his humour*, this 18 of February, 1630, [1630-31]—£. 12. 4. 0.

1631. "Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of their ſummer day, upon y^e ſecond daye of *Richard ye Secunde*, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—£. 5. 6. 6.

"Received of Mr. Blagrave, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of my winter day, taken upon *The Alchemiſte*, this 1 of Decemb. 1631,—£. 13. 0. 0.

1632. "Received for the ſummer day of the kings company ye 6 Novemb. 1632,—£. 1. 5. 0.

"Received for the winter day upon *The Wild goſe chaſe*, y^e ſame day,—£. 15. 0. 0.

1633. "R. of ye kings company, for my ſummers day, by Blagrave, the 6 of June 1633, y^e ſomme of £. 4. 10. 0.

I likewiſe find the following entry in this book:

"Received of Mr. Benfielde, in the name of the kings company, for a gratuity for ther liberty gaind unto them of playinge, upon the ceſſation of the plague, this 10 of June, 1631,—£. 3. 10. 0."—"This (Sir Henry Herbert adds) was taken upon *Pericles* at the Globe."

In a copy of a play called *A Game at Cheſs*, 1624, which was formerly in poſſeſſion of Thomas Pearſon, Eſq. is the following memorandum in an old hand: "After nine days, wherein I have heard ſome of the actors ſay they took fifteen hundred pounds, the Spaniſh faction, being prevalent, got it ſuppreſſed, and the author Mr. Thomas Middleton committed to priſon." According to this ſtatement, they received above 166l. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts ſhew, that there is not even a ſemblance of truth in this ſtory. In the year 1685, when the London theatres were much enlarged, and the prices of admiſſion greatly increaſed, Shadwell received by his third day on the repreſentation of *The Squire of Alſatia*, only 130l. which Downes the prompter ſays was the greateſt receipt had been ever taken at Drury lane playhouſe at ſingle prices. *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 41.

The uſe of Arabick figures has often occaſioned very groſs errors to paſs current in the world. I ſuppoſe the utmoſt receipt from the performance of Middleton's play for nine days, (if it was performed ſo often,) could not amount to more than one hundred and fifty pounds. To the ſum of 150l. which perhaps this old actor had ſeen as the profit made by this play, his fancy or his negligence added a cipher, and thus made fifteen hundred pounds.

The play of *Holland's Leaguer* was acted ſix days ſucceſſively at Salliſbury Court, in December 1631, and yet Sir Henry Herbert received on account of the ſix repreſentations but *one pound nineteen ſhillings*, in virtue of the *ninth* ſhare which he poſſeſſed as one of the proprietors of

pounds every Chriſtmas, and the ſame ſum at Midſummer, in lieu of his two benefits, which ſums they regularly pay'd him from that time till the breaking out of the civil wars.

From the receipts on theſe benefits I am led to believe that the prices were lower at the Globe theatre, and that therefore, though it was much larger than the winter theatre at Blackfriars, it did not produce a greater ſum of money on any repreſentation. If we ſuppoſe twenty pounds, clear of the nightly charges already mentioned, to have been a very conſiderable receipt at either of theſe houſes, and that this ſum was in our poet's time divided into forty ſhares, of which fifteen were appropriated to the houſekeepers or proprietors, three to the purchaſe of copies of new plays, ſtage-habits, &c. and twenty-two to the actors, then the performer who had two ſhares on the repreſentation of each play, received, when the theatre was thus ſucceſsful, twenty ſhillings. But ſuppoſing the *average* nightly receipt (after deducting the nightly expences) to be about nine pounds, which we have ſeen to be the caſe, then his nightly dividend would be but nine ſhillings, and his weekly profit, if they played five times a week, two pounds five ſhillings. The acting ſeaſon, I believe, at that time laſted forty weeks. In each of the companies then ſubſiſting there were about twenty perſons, ſix of whom probably were principal, and the others ſubordinate; ſo that we may ſuppoſe *two ſhares* to have been the reward of a principal actor; ſix of the ſecond claſs perhaps enjoyed a whole ſhare each; and each of the remaining eight half a ſhare. On all theſe *data*, I think it may be ſafely concluded, that the performers of the firſt claſs did not derive from their profeſſion more than ninety pounds a year at the utmoſt[3]. Shakſpeare, Heminge, Condell, Burbadge,

that houſe. Suppoſing there were twenty-one ſhares divided among the actors, the piece, though performed with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, did not produce more than *ſix pounds ten ſhillings* each night, excluſive of the occaſional nightly charges already mentioned.

3 "The verye hyerlings of ſome of our plaiers," [i. e. men occaſionally hired by the night] ſays Stephen Goſſon in the year 1579, "which

Burbadge, Lowin, and Taylor, had without doubt other ſhares as proprietors or leaſeholders; but what the different proportions were which each of them poſſeſſed in that right, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain. According to the ſuppoſition already ſtated, that fifteen ſhares out of forty were appropriated to the proprietors, then was there on this account a ſum of ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds annually to be divided among them. Our poet, as author, actor, and proprietor, probably received from the theatre about two hundred pounds a year.—Having after a very long ſearch lately diſcovered the will of Mr. Heminge, I hoped to have derived from it ſome information on this ſubject; but I was diſappointed. He indeed more than once mentions his ſeveral parts or *ſhares held by leaſe in the Globe and Blackfriars playhouſes*[4]; but uſes no expreſſion by which the value of each of thoſe ſhares can be aſcertained. His books of account, which he appears to have regularly kept, and which, he ſays, will ſhew that his ſhares yielded him "*a good yearly profit*," will probably, if they ſhall ever be found, throw much light on our early ſtage hiſtory.

Thus ſcanty and meagre were the apparatus and accommodations of our ancient theatres, on which thoſe dramas were firſt exhibited, that have ſince engaged the attention of ſo many learned men, and delighted ſo many thouſand ſpectators. Yet even then, we are told by a writer of that age[5], "dramatick poeſy was ſo lively

"which ſtand at reverſion of vi s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemens noſes in ſutes of ſilke." *Schoole of Abuſe*, p. 22.

Hart, the celebrated rragedian, after the Reſtoration had but three pounds a week as an *actor*, that is, about ninety pounds a year; for the acting ſeaſon did not, I believe, at that time exceed thirty weeks; but he had beſides, as a proprietor, ſix ſhillings and three-pence every day on which there was any performance at the king's theatre, which produced about £.56. 5. 0. more. Betterton even at the beginning of the preſent century had not more than five pounds a week.

[4] See his Will in a ſubſequent page.

[5] Sir George Buc. This writer, as I have already obſerved, wrote an expreſs treatiſe concerning the Engliſh ſtage, which was never printed, and, I fear, is now irrecoverably loſt. As he was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, I hoped to have found the Manuſcript in the Cottonian

lively expreſſed and repreſented on the publick ſtages and theatres of this city, as Rome in the *auge* of her pomp and glory, never ſaw it better performed; in reſpect of the action and art, not of the coſt and ſumptuouſneſs."

Of the actors on whom this high encomium is pronounced, the original performers in our author's plays were undoubtedly the moſt eminent. The following is the only information that I have obtained concerning them.

tonian library, but was diſappointed. "Of this art," [the dramatick] ſays Sir George, "have written largely *Petrus Victorius*, &c. as it were in vaine for me to ſay any thing of the art, beſides that *I have written thereof a particular treatiſe.*" *The third Univerſity of England*, printed originally in 1615, and re-printed at the end of Howes' edition of Stowe's *Annals*, folio, 1631, p. 1082. It is ſingular that a ſimilar work on the Roman ſtage, written by Suetonius, (*De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum,*) has alſo periſhed. Some little account of their ſcenery, and of the ſeparation of the mimes and pantomimes from comedies, in which they were originally introduced, are the only particulars of this treatiſe that have been preſerved; for which we are indebted to Servius, and Diomedes the grammarian. The latter fragment is curious, as it exhibits an early proof of that competition and jealouſy, which, from the firſt riſe of the ſtage to the preſent time, has diſturbed the peace of theatres:

"Latinæ vero comœdiæ chorum non habent, ſed duobus tantum membris conſtant, diverbio, et cantico. Primis autem temporibus, ut aſſerit Tranquillus, omnia quæ in ſcena verſantur, in comœdia agebantur. Nam Pantomimus et Pithaules et Choraules in comœdia canebant. Sed quia non poterant omnia ſimul apud omnes artifices pariter excellere, ſi qui erant inter actores comœdiarum pro facultate et arte potiores, principatum ſibi artificii vindicabant. Sic factum eſt, ut nolentibus cedere Mimis in artificio ſuo cæteris, ſeperatio fieret reliquorum. Nam dum potiores inferioribus, qui in omni ergaſterio erant, ſervire dedignabantur, ſeipſos a comœdia ſeparaverunt: ac ſic factum eſt, ut, exemplo ſemel ſumpto, unuſquiſque artis ſuæ rem exequi cæperit, neque in comœdiam venire."

Grammaticæ Linguæ Auctores Antiqui, Putſchii, p. 489. Hanov. 1605.

I have ſaid in a former page (47) that I believed Sir George Buc died ſoon after the year 1622, and I have ſince found my conjecture confirmed. He died, as I learn from one of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, on the 20th of September, 1623.

NAMES

Names of the Original Actors in the Plays of Shakspeare.

From the folio, 1623.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Having now once more occaſion to mention our poet, I ſhall take this opportunity to correct an error into which I ſuſpect I have fallen, in a note on the Account of his Life; and to add ſuch notices as I have obtained relative either to him or his friends, ſince that Account was printed off; to which the preſent article is intended as a ſupplement.

The words in our poet's will, "Provided that if ſuch huſband as ſhe ſhall at the end of the ſaid three years be married unto," &c. ſeemed to me to afford a preſumptive proof that Shakſpeare, when he made his will, did not know of the marriage of his daughter Judith, (the perſon there ſpoken of,) which had been celebrated about a month before: a circumſtance, however, which, even when I ſtated it, appeared to me very extraordinary, and highly improbable. On further conſideration I am convinced that I was miſtaken, and that the words above-cited were intended to comprehend her then huſband, and any other to whom within three years ſhe might be married. The word *diſcharge* in the bequeſt to Judith, which had eſcaped my notice,—"One hundred pounds in diſcharge of her marriage portion,"—ſhews that he muſt have been apprized of this marriage, and that he had previouſly *covenanted* to give her that ſum.

In the tranſcript of the inſtrument by which a coat of arms was granted in 1599 to John Shakſpeare, our poet's father [6], the original has been followed with a

[6] Vol. I. Part I. p. 182.

ſcrupulous

ſcrupulous fidelity; but on peruſing the rough draughts of the former grant of arms in 1596, I am ſatisfied that there is an error in the later grant, in which the following unintelligible paragraph is found:

"Wherefore being ſolicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakſpeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the counte of Warwick, gent. whoſe pa-
great grandfather
late
rent ^A and ^A anteceſſor for his faithefull and approved ſervice to the late moſt prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advaunced with lands and tenements, geven to him in thoſe parts of Warwickſhere, where they have continewed by ſome deſcents in good reputation and credit," &c.

On reviewing this inſtrument, it appeared not very eaſy to aſcertain who the perſon here alluded to was, if only one was meant; nor is it at all probable that the *great grandfather* of John Shakſpeare ſhould have been his late or immediate predeceſſor; to ſay nothing of the word *parent*, which, unleſs it means *relation* in general, is as unintelligible as the reſt. On examining the two rough draughts of the grant of arms to John Shakſpeare in 1596, I found that in one of theſe, (apparently the more perfect of the two,) the correſponding words run thus: "—whoſe *parents and late anteceſſors were* for their valour and faithful ſervices to the late moſt prudent prince king Henry VII." &c. In the other thus: "—whoſe *parents* [and] late anteceſſors for their faithful and valiant ſervice," &c. The word *their* is in this paper obliterated, and *his* written over it; and over *anteceſſors* the word *grandfather* is written. The draughtſman however forgot to draw a line through the word for which *grandfather* was to be ſubſtituted. He evidently was in doubt which of the two expreſſions he ſhould retain; but we may preſume he meant to reject the words "—*whoſe parents and late anteceſſors*," and to ſubſtitute inſtead of them, "—whoſe *grandfather for his*," &c.

In the grant of 1599, we have ſeen, the words originally ſtood, "—whoſe *parent and anteceſſor was*," and the words *great grandfather* and *late* are interlineations.

The

The writer forgot to eraſe the original words, but undoubtedly he did not mean that both thoſe and the ſubſtituted words ſhould be retained, but that the paragraph ſhould ſtand thus: "—whoſe great grandfather for his faithful and approved ſervice," &c. and, inſtead of "*great grandfather*," the earlier inſtrument induces me to think that he ought to have written, "—whoſe *late* grandfather."

A minute examination of theſe inſtruments led me to inquire what grounds the heralds had for their aſſertion that our poet's anceſtor had been rewarded by a grant of lands from king Henry the Seventh. But it ſhould ſeem that they were ſatisfied with very ſlight evidence of this fact; for after a very careful examination in the chapel of the Rolls[7], from the beginning to the endof that reign, it appears, that no ſuch grant was made. If any ſuch had been made by that king, out of the forfeited eſtates of the adherents of king Richard the Third, or otherwiſe, it muſt have paſſed the great ſeal, and would have been on record. As therefore it is not found on the rolls, we may be aſſured that no ſuch grant was made. However, from the words of the early inſtruments in the heralds-office, which have been already quoted, "—for his faithful and *valiant* ſervice," &c. it is highly probable, that our poet's great grandfather diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Boſworth field on the ſide of king Henry, and that he was rewarded for his military ſervices by the bounty of that parſimonious prince, though not with a grant of lands.

Mr. Rowe in his account of our poet's father has ſaid that he had ten children. From the Regiſter of the pariſh of Stratford-upon-Avon it appears, that ten children of John Shakſpeare were baptized there between

7 I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging the politeneſs of Mr. Kipling of the Rolls-office, who permitted every examination which I deſired, to be made in the venerable repoſitory under his care; and, with a liberality ſeldom found in publick offices, would not accept of the accuſtomed fee, for any ſearch which tended to throw a light on the hiſtory of our great dramatick poet.

the year 1558, when the regiſter commenced, and the year 1591. If therefore they were all the children of our poet's father, Mr. Rowe's account is inaccurate; for our poet had a ſiſter named Margaret, born before the commencement of the Regiſter. It is, however, extremely improbable, that in ſo numerous a family not one of the ſons ſhould have been baptized by the chriſtian name of old Mr. Shakſpeare. I now therefore believe (though I was formerly of a different opinion) that our poet's eldeſt brother bore his father's chriſtian name, *John*; and that, like their eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret, he was born before the regiſter commenced. If this was the caſe, then without doubt the three children who were born between March 1588 and September 1591, Urſula, Humphrey, and Philip, were the iſſue of this younger John, by his ſecond wife, whoſe chriſtian name was Mary; and the real number of the children of our poet's father was *nine*. This Mary Shakſpeare died in 1608, and is deſcribed as a widow. If therefore ſhe was the wife of John Shakſpeare the younger, then muſt he have died before that year.

About twenty years ago, one Moſely, a maſter-bricklayer, who uſually worked with his men, being employed by Mr. Thomas Hart, the fifth deſcendant in a direct line from our poet's ſiſter, Joan Hart, to new-tile the old houſe at Stratford in which Mr. Hart lives, and in which our poet was born, found a very extraordinary manuſcript between the rafters and the tiling of the houſe. It is a ſmall paper-book conſiſting of five leaves ſtitched together. It had originally conſiſted of ſix leaves, but unluckily the firſt was wanting when the book was found. I have taken ſome pains to aſcertain the authenticity of this manuſcript, and after a very careful inquiry am perfectly ſatisfied that it is genuine.

The writer, John Shakſpeare, calls it his *Will*; but it is rather a declaration of his faith and pious reſolutions. Whether it contains the religious ſentiments of our poet's father or elder brother, I am unable to determine. The handwriting is undoubtedly not ſo ancient as that *uſually* written about the year 1600; but

I have now before me a manuſcript written by Alleyn the player at various times between 1599 and 1614, and another by Forde, the dramatick poet, in 1606, in nearly the ſame handwriting as that of the manuſcript in queſtion. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, at my requeſt endeavoured to find out Mr. Moſely, to examine more particularly concerning this manuſcript; but he died about two years ago. His daughter, however, who is now living, and Mr. Hart, who is alſo living and now ſixty years old, perfectly well remember the finding of this paper. Moſely ſome time after he had found it, gave it to Mr. Peyton, an alderman of Stratford, who obligingly tranſmitted it to me through the hands of Mr. Davenport. It is proper to obſerve that the finder of this relique bore the character of a very honeſt, ſober, induſtrious man, and that he neither aſked nor received any price for it; and I may alſo add that its contents are ſuch as no one could have thought of inventing with a view to literary impoſition.

If the injunction contained in the latter part of it (that it ſhould be buried with the writer) was obſerved, then muſt the paper which has thus fortuitouſly been recovered, have been a copy, made from the original, previous to the burial of John Shakſpeare.

This extraordinary will conſiſted originally of fourteen articles, but the firſt leaf being unluckily wanting, I am unable to aſcertain either its date or the particular occaſion on which it was written; both of which probably the firſt article would have furniſhed us with. If it was written by our poet's father, John Shakſpeare, then it was probably drawn up about the year 1600; if by his brother, it perhaps was dated ſome time between that year and 1608, when the younger John ſhould ſeem to have been dead.

III.

"* * * * at leaſt ſpiritually, in will adoring and moſt humbly beſeeching my ſaviour, that he will be pleaſed to aſſiſt me in ſo dangerous a voyage, to defend me from the ſnares and deceites of my infernall enemies,

mies, and to conduct me to the ſecure haven of his eternall bliſſe.

IV.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe proteſt that I will alſo paſſe out of this life, armed with the laſt ſacrament of extreme unction: the which if through any let or hindrance I ſhould not then be able to have, I doe now alſo for that time demand and crave the ſame; beſeeching his divine majeſty that he will be pleaſed to anoynt my ſenſes both internall and externall with the ſacred oyle of his infinite mercy, and to pardon me all my ſins committed by ſeeing, ſpeaking, feeling, ſmelling, hearing, touching, or by any other way whatſoever.

V.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt that I will never through any temptation whatſoever deſpaire of the divine goodneſs, for the multitude and greatneſs of my ſinnes; for which although I confeſſe that I have deſerved hell, yet will I ſtedfaſtly hope in gods infinite mercy, knowing that he hath heretofore pardoned many as great ſinners as my ſelf, whereof I have good warrant ſealed with his ſacred mouth, in holy writ, whereby he pronounceth that he is not come to call the juſt, but ſinners.

VI.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt that I do not know that I have ever done any good worke meritorious of life everlaſting: and if I have done any, I do acknowledge that I have done it with a great deale of negligence and imperfection; neither ſhould I have been able to have done the leaſt without the aſſiſtance of his divine grace. Wherefore let the devill remain confounded; for I doe in no wiſe preſume to merit heaven by ſuch good workes alone, but through the merits and bloud of my lord and ſaviour, jeſus, ſhed upon the croſſe for me moſt miſerable ſinner.

VII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt by this preſent writing, that I will patiently endure and ſuffer all kind of infirmity, ſickneſs, yea and the paine of death it ſelf:

wherein if it ſhould happen, which god forbid, that through violence of paine and agony, or by ſubtility of the devill, I ſhould fall into any impatience or temptation of blaſphemy, or murmuration againſt god, or the catholike faith, or give any ſigne of bad example, I do henceforth, and for that preſent, repent me, and am moſt heartily ſorry for the ſame: and I do renounce all the evill whatſoever, which I might have then done or ſaid; beſeeching his divine clemency that he will not forſake me in that grievous and paignefull agony.

VIII.

"*Item*, I John Shakſpear, by virtue of this preſent teſtament, I do pardon all the injuries and offences that any one hath ever done unto me, either in my reputation, life, goods, or any other way whatſoever; beſeeching ſweet jeſus to pardon them for the ſame: and I do deſire, that they will doe the like by me, whome I have offended or injured in any ſort howſoever.

IX.

"*Item*, I John Shakſpear do heere proteſt that I do render infinite thanks to his divine majeſty for all the benefits that I have received as well ſecret as manifeſt, & in particular, for the benefit of my Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Conſervation, and Vocation to the holy knowledge of him & his true Catholike faith: but above all, for his ſo great expectation of me to pennance, when he might moſt juſtly have taken me out of this life, when I leaſt thought of it, yea even then, when I was plunged in the durty puddle of my ſinnes. Bleſſed be therefore and praiſed, for ever and ever, his infinite patience and charity.

X.

"*Item*, I John Shakſpear do proteſt, that I am willing, yea, I doe infinitely deſire and humbly crave, that of this my laſt will and teſtament the glorious and ever Virgin mary, mother of god, refuge and advocate of ſinners, (whom I honour ſpecially above all other ſaints,) may be the chiefe Executreſſe, togeather with theſe other ſaints, my patrons, (ſaint Winefride) all whome I invocke

I invocke and beſeech to be preſent at the hour of my death, that ſhe and they may comfort me with their deſired preſence, and crave of ſweet Jeſus that he will receive my ſoul into peace.

XI.

" *Item*, In virtue of this preſent writing, I John Shakſpear do likewiſe moſt willingly and with all humility conſtitute and ordaine my good Angel, for Defender and Protectour of my ſoul in the dreadfull day of Judgement, when the finall ſentance of eternall life or death ſhall be diſcuſſed and given; beſeeching him, that, as my ſoule was appointed to his cuſtody and protection when I lived, even ſo he will vouchſafe to defend the ſame at that houre, and conduct it to eternall bliſs.

XII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear do in like manner pray and beſeech all my dear friends, parents, and kinsfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour jeſus Chriſt, that ſince it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithſtanding leaſt by reaſon of my ſinnes I be to paſs and ſtay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchſafe to aſſiſt and ſuccour me with their holy prayers and ſatisfactory workes, eſpecially with the holy ſacrifice of the maſſe, as being the moſt effectuall meanes to deliver ſoules from their torments and paines; from the which, if I ſhall by gods gracious goodneſſe and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promiſe that I will not be ungratefull unto them, for ſo great a benefitt.

XIII.

" *Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this my laſt will and teſtament bequeath my ſoul, as ſoon as it ſhall be delivered and looſened from the priſon of this my body, to be entombed in the ſweet and amorous coffin of the ſide of jeſus Chriſt; and that in this life-giveing ſepulcher it may reſt and live, perpetually incloſed in that eternall habitation of repoſe, there to bleſſe for ever and ever that direfull iron of the launce, which, like a charge in a cenſore, formes ſo ſweet and pleaſant a monument within the ſacred breaſt of my lord and ſaviour.

XIV.

" *Item*, lastly I John Shakſpear doe proteſt, that I will willingly accept of death in what manner ſoever it may befall me, conforming my will unto the will of god; accepting of the ſame in ſatisfaction for my ſinnes, and giveing thanks unto his divine majeſty for the life he hath beſtowed upon me. And if it pleaſe him to prolong or ſhorten the ſame, bleſſed be he alſo a thouſand thouſand times; into whoſe moſt holy hands I commend my ſoul and body, my life and death: and I beſeech him above all things, that he never permit any change to be made by me John Shakſpear of this my aforeſaid will and teſtament. Amen.

" I John Shakſpear have made this preſent writing of proteſtation, confeſſion, and charter, in preſence of the bleſſed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celeſtiall Court, as witneſſes hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now preſently and for ever, with the force and vertue of teſtament, codicill, and donation in cauſe of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of ſoul and body, and ſigned with mine own hand; carrying alſo the ſame about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.

" Pater noſter, Ave maria, Credo.
" jeſu, ſon of David, have mercy on me.
Amen."

Since my remarks on the epitaph ſaid to have been made by Shakſpeare on John o'Comb, were printed, it occurred to me, that the manuſcript papers of Mr. Aubrey, preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, might throw ſome light on that ſubject. Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625, or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments

ments were conſiderable; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturaliſt, and, what is more material to our preſent object, a great lover of and indefatigable ſearcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary purſuits, is aſcertained by the works which he has publiſhed, the correſpondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuſcript, and which are now repoſited in the Aſhmolean Muſeum. Among theſe collections is a curious account of our Engliſh poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, this manuſcript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his handwriting in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been obſerved by Mr. Warton) literaly tranſcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quarreled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the ſecond volume of his *Faſti*, p. 262, he calls his *friend*, and on whom in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford he beſtows the higheſt encomium*; and, after their quarrel, with his uſual warmth, and in his looſe diction, he repreſented Aubrey as "a *pretender* to antiquities, roving, magottie-headed, and little better than craſed." To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary hiſtory has very high obligations; and in all matters of faſt he may be ſafely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his repreſentation, Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, a man highly eſteemed by all his contemporaries, was "a moſt vile perſon," and the celebrated John Locke, "a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow." The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could "at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had

* "Tranſmiſſum autem nobis eſt illud epitaphium a viro perhumano, Johanne Alberico, vulgo Aubrey, Armigero, hujus collegii olim generoſo commenſali, jam vero é Regio Societate, Londini; viro inquam, tam bono, tam benigno, ut publico ſolum commodo, nec ſibi omnino, natus eſſe videatur." *Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 297.

a ready knack at ſophiſtical evaſion[8]." How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be truſted, is alſo evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witticiſms, he has groſsly reviled[9]. Whatever Wood in a peeviſh humour may have thought or ſaid of Mr. Aubrey, by whoſe labours he highly profited, or however fantaſtical Aubrey may have been on the ſubject of chemiſtry and ghoſts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his teſtimony is worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely ſuperſtitious, or ſeemed to be ſo, yet HE WAS A VERY HONEST MAN, AND MOST ACCURATE IN HIS ACCOUNT OF MATTERS OF FACT. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted[1]." I do not wiſh to maintain that all his accounts of our Engliſh writers are on theſe grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it ſeems to me much more reaſonable to queſtion ſuch parts of them as ſeem objectionable, than to reject them altogether, becauſe he may ſometimes have been miſtaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the laſt age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes, Milton,

[8] Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16, 1689-90. Mſs. Aubrey. No. 15, in Muſ. Aſhmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford*, he deſcribes Dr. Wallis as a man—"*eruditione pariter et humanitate præſtans.*"

[9] "Wood's account of South (ſays Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abuſive ſtories: the occaſion of which was this. Wood, on a viſit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous ſuppreſſion of urine; upon which South in his witty manner, told him, that, 'if he could not *make water* he muſt *make* earth.' Wood was ſo provoked at this unſeaſonable and unexpected jeſt, that he went home in a paſſion, and *wrote* South's *Life*." Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 184. Compare Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* II. 1041.

[1] Specimen of a critical hiſtory of the Celtick religion, &c. p. 122.

Dryden,

Dryden, Ray, Evelyn[2], Aſhmole, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Bathurſt, Biſhop Skinner, Dr. Gale, Sir John Denham, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns, (ſon of John Hoſkyns, who was well acquainted with the poets of Shakſpeare's time,) Mr. Joſiah Howe, Toland, and many more[3]. The anecdotes concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, which have been printed in a former page[4], were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, tranſcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. What has been there ſuggeſted, (that D'Avenant was Shakſpeare's ſon) is confirmed by a ſubſequent paſſage in the Mſ. which has been imperfectly obliterated, and which Wood did not print, though in one of his own unpubliſhed manuſcripts now in the Bodleian library he has himſelf told the ſame ſtory. The line which is imperfectly obliterated in a different ink, and therefore probably by another hand than that of Aubrey, tells us, (as Mr. Warton who has been able to trace the words through the obliteration, informs me,) that D'Avenant was Shakſpeare's ſon by the hoſteſs of the Crown inn. The remainder of the context confirms this; for it ſays, that "D'Avenant was proud of being thought ſo, and had often (in his cups) owned the report to be true, to Butler the poet."—From Dr. Bathurſt, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns, Lacy the player, and others, Aubrey got ſome anecdotes of Ben Jonſon, which, as this part of the manuſcript has not been publiſhed, I ſhall give below[5]; and from Dryden and Mr. William

2 "With incredible ſatisfaction I have peruſed your Natural Hiſtory of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your induſtry in undertaking ſo profitable a work, and *your judgment in the ſeveral obſervations you have made.*" Letter from John Evelyn, Eſq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey*.

3 Hobbes, whoſe life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Aſhmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurſt in 1620, Biſhop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hoſkyns (the ſon of John Hoſkyns, Ben Jonſon's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Joſ. Howe in 1611.

4 Part I. p. 160, n. 6.

5 The article relative to this poet immediately precedes that of Shakſpeare, and is as follows:

"Mr.

William Beeſton, (ſon of Chriſtopher Beeſton, Shakſpeare's fellow-comedian, who was a long time manager of the Cockpit

"MR. BENJAMIN JOHNSON, Poet Laureat.

"I remember when I was a ſcholar at Trin. Coll. Oxon. 1646, I heard Mr. Ralph Bathurſt [now Dean of Welles] ſay, that Ben: Johnſon was a Warwyckſhire man. 'Tis agreed, that his father was a miniſter; and by his Epiſtle DD of *Every Man* ——— to Mr. W. Camden, that he was a Weſtminſter ſcholar, and that Mr. W. Camden was his ſchoolmaſter. His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and 'tis g[e]rally ſayd that he wrought ſome time with his father-in-lawe, & p[ar]ticularly on the garden wall of Lincoln's inne next to Chancery lane; & that a knight, a bencher, walking thro, and hearing him repeat ſome Greeke verſes out of Homer, diſcourſing with him & finding him to have a witt extraordinary, gave him ſome exhibition to maintain him at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was ———: then he went into the Lowe countreys, and ſpent ſome time, not very long, in the armie; not to the diſgrace of [it], as you may find in his Epigrames. Then he came into England, & acted & wrote at the Green Curtaine, but both ill; a kind of Nurſery or obſcure play-houſe ſomewhere in the ſuburbs (I think towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell). Then he undertooke againe to write a play, & did hitt it admirably well, viz. *Every Man* ——— which was his firſt good one. Sergeant Jo. Hoſkins of Herefordſhire was his *Father*. I remember his ſonne (Sir Bennet Hoſkins, Baronet, who was ſomething poetical in his youth) told me, that when he deſired to be adopted his ſonne, No, ſayd he, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother: I am your father's ſonne: 'twas he that poliſhed me: I doe acknowledge it. He was [or rather had been] of a clear and faire ſkin. His habit was very plain. I have heard Mr. Lacy the player ſay, that he was wont to weare a coate like a coachman's coate, with ſlitts under the arm-pitts. He would many times exceede in drinke: Canarie was his beloved liquour: then he would tumble home to bed; & when he had thoroughly perſpired, then to ſtudie. I have ſeen his ſtudyeing chaire, which was of ſtrawe, ſuch as old women uſed; & as Aulus Gellius is drawn in. When I was in Oxō: Biſhop Skinner [BP of Oxford] who lay at our coll: was wont to ſay, that he underſtood an author as well as any man in England. He mentions in his Epigrames, a ſonne that he had, and his epitaph. Long ſince in King James time, I have heard my uncle Dāvers [Danvers] ſay, who knew him, that he lived withoute temple barre at a combe-maker's ſhop about the Elephᵗ & Caſtle. In his later time he lived in Weſtminſter, in the houſe under whiche you paſſe, as you goe out of the church-yard into the old palace; where he dyed. He lyes buried in the north aiſle, the path of ſquare ſtones, the reſt is lozenge, oppoſite to the ſcutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inſcription only on him, in a pavement ſquare of blew marble, 14 inches ſquare, O RARE BEN: IONSON: which was doone at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted, who

Cockpit playhouſe in Drury-lane,) ſome particulars concerning Spenſer. I mention theſe circumſtances only to ſhew that Aubrey was a curious and diligent inquirer, at a time when ſuch inquiries were likely to be attended with ſucceſs.

Dr. Farmer in his admirable *Eſſay on the learning of Shakſpeare*, by which, as Dr. Johnſon juſtly obſerved, "the queſtion is for ever decided," has given an extract from Mr. Aubrey's account of our poet, and the part which he has quoted has been printed in a former

who walking there, when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

It is obſervable that none of the biographers of the laſt age, but Aubrey, appear to have known that Jonſon went to the Low Countries, in his younger years; a fact which is confirmed by the converſation that paſſed between old Ben and Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, which was not publiſhed till eleven years after Mr. Aubrey's death. A long account of Serjeant John Hoſkyns, and Skinner, biſhop of Oxford, may be found in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* I. 614—II. 1156.

Not knowing that this poet had a ſon who arrived at man's eſtate, I had no doubt that the reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels, which I found in the chapel of the Rolls, was made to old Ben; [ſee Vol. I. Part I. p. 400,] but I am now convinced that I was miſtaken, and that this grant was made either to his ſon, Benjamin Jonſon the younger, who was alſo a poet, though he has not been noticed by any of our biographical writers, or to ſome other perſon of the ſame name. A paper which has lately fallen into my hands, pointed out my miſtake. It appears that Sir Henry Herbert ſoon after the Reſtoration brought an action on the caſe againſt Mr. Betterton, for the injury Sir Henry ſuffered by the performance of plays without the accuſtomed fees being paid to the Maſter of the Revels. On the trial it was neceſſary for him to eſtabliſh his title to that office; and as the grant made to him was not to take effect till after either the death, reſignation, forfeiture, or ſurrender of Benjamin Jonſon and Sir John Aſtley, it became neceſſary to ſhew that thoſe two perſons were dead: and accordingly it was proved on the trial that the ſaid Benjamin Jonſon died, Nov. 20, 1635. The poet-laureat died, Auguſt 16, 1637. The younger Jonſon was a dramatick author, having in conjunction with Brome, produced a play called *A Fault in Friendſhip*, which was acted at the Curtain by the Prince's company in October, 1623; and in 1672 a collection of his poems was publiſhed. To this volume are prefixed verſes addreſſed "to all the ancient family of the *Lucyes*," in which the writer deſcribes himſelf as "a little ſtream from that clear ſpring:" a circumſtance which adds ſupport to Dr. Bathurſt's account of his father's birth-place. It ſhould ſeem that he was not on good terms with his father. "He was not very happy in his children, (ſays Fuller in his account of Ben Jonſon,) "and *moſt happy in thoſe which died firſt*, though none lived to ſurvive him."

page:

page[6]: but as the manuſcript memoir is more copious, and the account given by Aubrey of our poet's verſes on John o'Combe, (which has never been publiſhed) is materially different from that tranſmitted by Mr. Rowe, I ſhall give an exact tranſcript of the whole article relative to Shakſpeare, from the original.

MS. Aubrey. Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. *Lives*, P. I. fol. 78. a. [Inter Cod. Dugdal.]

Mr. William Shakespeare.

"William Shakeſpeare's father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by ſome of the neighbours, that when he was a boy, he exerciſed his father's trade; but when he killed a calfe, he would do it in a *high ſtyle*, and make a ſpeech. This William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſſe about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouſes, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Johnſon was never a good actor, but an excellent inſtructor. He began early to make eſſays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his plays took well. He was a handſome well ſhaped man; verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleaſant, and ſmooth witt. The humour of the conſtable in *A Midſommer-night Dreame* he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midſommer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that conſtable about 1642, when I came firſt to Oxon. Mr. Joſ. Howe is of the pariſh, and knew him. Ben Johnſon and he did gather humours of men, wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes, an old uſurer, was to be buryed; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

"Ten in the hundred the Devill allowes,
"But Combes will have twelve, he ſweares and he vowes:
"If any one aſke who lies in this tomb,
"Hoh! quoth the Devill, 'tis my John o'Comb.

[6] Part I. p. 166. Dr. Farmer ſuppoſed that Aubrey's anecdotes of Shakſpeare came originally from Mr. Beeſton, but this is a miſtake. Mr. Beeſton is quoted by Aubrey only for ſome particulars relative to Spenſer.

"He

"He was wont to go to his native country once a yeare, I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a ſiſter. He underſtood latin pretty well; for he had been in his younger yeares a ſcool-maſter in the country."

Let us now proceed to examine the ſeveral parts of this account.

The firſt aſſertion, that our poet's father was a butcher, has been thought unworthy of credit, becauſe "not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may ſeem, to the inſtrument in the heralds-office," which may be found in a former page. But for my own part, I think, this aſſertion, (which it ſhould be obſerved is poſitively affirmed on the information of his neighbours, procured probably at an early period,) and the received account of his having been a wool-ſtapler, by no means inconſiſtent. Dr. Farmer has illuſtrated a paſſage in *Hamlet* from information derived from a perſon who was at once a wool-man and butcher; and, I believe, few occupations can be named, which are more naturally connected with each other. Mr. Rowe firſt mentioned the tradition that our poet's father was a dealer in wool, and his account is corroborated by a circumſtance which I have juſt now learned. In one of the windows of a building in Stratford which belonged to the Shakſpeare family, are the arms of the merchants of the ſtaple;—*Nebule, on a chief gules, a lion paſſant, or*; and the ſame arms, I am told, may be obſerved in the church at Stratford, in the fret-work over the arch which covers the tomb of John de Clopton, who was a merchant of the ſtaple, and father of Sir Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, by whom the bridge over the Avon was built. But it ſhould ſeem from the records of Stratford that John Shakſpeare, about the year 1579, at which time our poet was fifteen years old, was by no means in affluent circumſtances[7]; and why may we not ſuppoſe that at that period he endeavoured to ſupport his numerous family by adding the trade of a butcher to that of

[7] Vol. I. Part I. p. 103, n. 1.

his

his principal buſineſs; though at a ſubſequent period he was enabled, perhaps by his ſon's bounty, to diſcontinue the leſs reſpectable of theſe occupations? I do not, however, think it at all probable, that a perſon who had been once bailiff of Stratford ſhould have ſuffered any of his children to have been employed in the ſervile office of killing calves.

Mr. Aubrey proceeds to tell us, that William Shakſpeare came to London and began his theatrical career, according to his conjecture, when he was about eighteen years old;—but as his merit as an actor is the principal object of our preſent diſquiſition, I ſhall poſtpone my obſervations on this paragraph, till the remaining part of theſe anecdotes has been conſidered.

We are next told, that "he began early to make eſſays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes took well."

On theſe points, I imagine, there cannot be much variety of opinion. Mr. Aubrey was undoubtedly miſtaken in his conjecture, (for he gives it only as conjecture,) that our poet came to London at eighteen; for as he had three children born at Stratford in 1583 and 1584, it is very improbable that he ſhould have left his native town before the latter year. I think it moſt probable that he did not come to London before the year 1586, when he was twenty-two years old. When he produced his firſt play, has not been aſcertained; but if Spenſer alludes to him in his *Tears of the Muſes*, Shakſpeare muſt have exhibited ſome piece in or before 1590, at which time he was twenty ſix years old; and though many have written for the publick before they had attained that time of life, any theatrical performance produced at that age, would, I think, ſufficiently juſtify, Mr. Aubrey in ſaying that he began *early* to make eſſays in dramatick poetry. In a word, we have no *proof* that he did *not* woo the dramatick Muſe, even ſo early as in the year 1587 or 1588; in the firſt of which years he was but twenty three; and therefore till ſuch proof ſhall be produced, Mr. Aubrey's aſſertion, founded apparently on the information of thoſe who lived very near the time, is entitled to ſome weight.

" He was a handſome well-ſhaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleaſant, and ſmooth witt."

I ſuppoſe none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer, who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's perſon; and there being no contradictory teſtimony on the ſubject, he may here be ſafely relied on. All his contemporaries who have ſpoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentleneſs of his manners, and the readineſs of his wit. " As he was a happy imitator of nature, (ſay his fellow comedians,) ſo was he a moſt gentle expreſſer of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that eaſineſs, that we have ſcarce received from him a blot in his papers." " My *gentle* Shakſpeare," is the compellation uſed to him by Ben Jonſon. " He was indeed (ſays his old antagoniſt) *honeſt, and of an open and free nature*; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expreſſions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that ſometimes it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſtopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Auguſtus ſaid of Harterius." So alſo in his verſes on our poet:

" ——— Look how the father's face
" Lives in his iſſue, even ſo the race
" Of Shakſpeare's *mind and manners* brightly ſhines
" In his *well-torned* and *true-filed* lines."

In like manner he is repreſented by Spenſer (if in *the Tears of the Muſes* he is alluded to, which, it muſt be acknowledged, is extremely probable,) under the endearing deſcription of " our *pleaſant* Willy," and " that ſame *gentle ſpirit*, from whoſe pen flow copious ſtreams of honey and nectar." In a ſubſequent page I ſhall have occaſion to quote another of his contemporaries, who is equally laviſh in praiſing the uprightneſs of his conduct and the gentleneſs and civility of his demeanour. And conformable to all theſe ancient teſtimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's " pleaſurable wit and good-nature engaged him

him in the acquaintance and entitled him to the friendſhip of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whoſe manners were thus engaging, whoſe wit was thus ready, and whoſe mind was ſtored with ſuch a plenitude of ideas and ſuch a copious aſſemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is repreſented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

"The humour of the conſtable in *A Midſommer-night-Dreame*, he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midſomer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that conſtable about 1642, when I came firſt to Oxon. Mr. Joſ. Howe is of the pariſh, and knew him."

It muſt be acknowledged that there is here a ſlight miſtake, there being no ſuch character as a conſtable in *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*. The perſon in contemplation undoubtedly was DOGBERRY in *Much ado about nothing*. But this miſtake of a name does not, in my apprehenſion, detract in the ſmalleſt degree from the credit of the fact itſelf; namely, that our poet in his admirable character of a fooliſh conſtable had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon, (for it is written both ways,) a town in Buckinghamſhire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakſpeare's contemporary, has fallen into a ſimilar errour; for in his eulogy on our poet, he has ſuppoſed the character of MALVOLIO, which is found in *Twelfth Night*, to be in *Much ado about nothing* [8].

As ſome account of the perſon from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the ſame college with him at Oxford, may tend to eſtabliſh its credit, I ſhall tranſcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, ſuch notices of Mr. Joſias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

"He was born at Crendon in Bucks, [about the year 1611] and elected a ſcholar of Trinity College

[8] See Vol. I. Part I. p. 213.

June

June 12, 1632; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is called a great cavalier and loyaliſt, and a moſt ingenious man [9]. He appears to have been a general and accompliſhed ſcholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the univerſity.—In 1644 he preached before king Charles the Firſt, at Chriſt Church cathedral, Oxford. The ſermon was printed, and in red letters, by his majeſty's ſpecial command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowſhip by the preſbyterians; and reſtored in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly reſpected, after his reſtitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he conſtantly reſided, Auguſt 28, 1701." Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Joſias Howe, (as I learn from Wood) was miniſter of Crendon, and contemporary with Shakſpeare; and from him his ſon perhaps derived ſome information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow-collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the conſtable of Crendon, however, does not ſtand on this ground, for we find that Mr. Joſias Howe perſonally knew him, and that he was living in 1642.

I now proceed to the remaining part of theſe anecdotes:

" Ben Jonſon and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes [1], an old uſurer, was to be buried [2]; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

9 Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 669.

1 This cuſtom of adding an s to many names, both in ſpeaking and writing, was very common in the laſt age. Shakſpeare's fellow comedian, *John Heminge*, was always called Mr. *Hemings* by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon conſtantly writes Biſhop *Earles*, inſtead of Biſhop *Earle*.

" S (ſays Camden in his *Remaines*, 4to. 1605,) alſo is joyned to moſt [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Croſts, Hilles, *Combes*," &c.

2 Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Regiſter of that pariſh confirms the obſervation made above; for, though written by a clergyman, it ſtands thus: " July 12, 1614. Mr. John *Combes*, Gener."

" Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,
" But Combes will have twelve, he ſwears and he vowes:
" If any one aſke[3], who lies in this tomb,
" Hoh! quoth the devill, 'tis my John o'Combe."

In a former page I have proved, if I miſtake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe's will, and other circumſtances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe's account of our poet's having ſo incenſed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his preſence, at a tavern in Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey's account of this matter, which I had not then ſeen, fully confirms what I ſuggeſted on the ſubject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe's death. Nor is this ſprightly effuſion inconſiſtent with Shakſpeare's having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have reſpected for ſome qualities, though he indulged himſelf in a ſudden and playful cenſure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

Mr. Steevens has juſtly obſerved, that the verſes exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph, but a malevolent prediction; and every reader will, I am ſure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakſpeare ſhould have poiſoned the hour of confidence and friendſhip by producing one of the ſevereſt cenſures on one of his company, and ſo

[3] This appears to have been in our poet's time a common form in writing epitaphs. In one which he wrote on Sir Thomas Stanley, which has been given in Vol. I. Part I. p. 130, we again meet with it:

" *Aſk, who lies here,*" &c.

Again, in Ben Jonſon's Epitaph on his ſon:

" Reſt in ſoft peace, and *aſk'd,* ſay, *here doth lie*
" Ben Jonſon his beſt piece of poetry."

wantonly and publickly expreſs his doubts concerning the ſalvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate ſtatement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

Theſe extemporary verſes having, I ſuppoſe, not been ſet down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately tranſmitted to London, appear in an intirely different ſhape in *Braithwaite's Remaines*, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already ſhewn that no ſuch tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite's ſtory is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe's. That ſuch various repreſentations ſhould be made of verſes of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with ſimilar variations in the accounts of a tranſaction which paſſed but a few months before he had occaſion to examine minutely and accurately into the real ſtate of the fact?

In further ſupport of Mr. Aubrey's exhibition of theſe verſes, it may be obſerved, that in his copy the firſt couplet is original; in Mr. Rowe's exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, *Ho* (not OH *ho*, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakſpeare's age the appropriate exclamation of ROBIN GOODFELLOW, *alias* PUCKE, *alias* HOBGOBLIN[4].

Mr. Aubrey informs us laſtly, that Shakſpeare "was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a ſiſter. He underſtood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a ſchool-maſter in the country."

Many traditional anecdotes, though not perfectly accurate, contain an adumbration of the truth. It is obſervable that Mr. Aubrey ſpeaks here with ſome degree of doubt;—"I *think* I have been told;" and his memory, or that of his informer, led him into an errour

[4] See Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 202.

with reſpect to the perſon to whom our poet bequeathed this legacy, who, we find from his will, was his daughter, not his ſiſter: but though Aubrey was miſtaken as to the perſon, his information with reſpect to the amount of the legacy was perfectly correct; for 300l. was the preciſe ſum which Shakſpeare left to his ſecond daughter, Judith.

In like manner, I am ſtrongly inclined to think that the laſt aſſertion contains, though not the truth, yet ſomething like it: I mean, that Shakſpeare had been employed for ſome time in his younger years as a *teacher* in the country; though Dr. Farmer has inconteſtably proved, that he could not have been a teacher of *Latin*. I have already ſuggeſted my opinion, that before his coming to London he had acquired ſome ſhare of legal knowledge in the office of a petty country conveyancer, or in that of the ſteward of ſome manerial court. It is not neceſſary here to repeat the reaſons on which that opinion is founded. If he began to apply to this ſtudy at the age of eighteen, two years afterwards he might have been ſufficiently converſant with conveyances to have taught others the forms of ſuch legal aſſurances as are uſually prepared by country attorneys; and perhaps ſpent two or three years in this employment before he removed from Stratford to London. Some uncertain rumour of this kind might have continued to the middle of the laſt century; and by the time it reached Mr. Aubrey, our poet's original occupation was changed from a ſcrivener's to that of a ſchool-maſter.

I now proceed to the more immediate object of our preſent inquiry; our poet's merit as an actor.

"Being inclined naturally (ſays Mr. Aubrey) to poetry and acting, he came to London, I gueſſe about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouſes, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonſon never was a good actor, but an excellent inſtructor."

The firſt obſervation that I ſhall make on this account is, that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonſon was a bad actor, is inconteſtably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and therefore, though there were

were no other evidence, it might be plauſibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey's information concerning our poet's powers on the ſtage was not leſs accurate. But in this inſtance I am not under the neceſſity of reſting on ſuch an inference; for I am able to produce the teſtimony of a contemporary in ſupport of Shakſpeare's hiſtrionick merit. In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, publiſhed in December 1592, which I have already had occaſion to quote for another purpoſe, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himſelf a dramatick writer, and well acquainted with the principal poets and players of the time, thus ſpeaks of Shakſpeare:

"The other[5], whom at that time I did not ſo much ſpare, as ſince I wiſh I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have uſed my own diſcretion, (eſpecially in ſuch a caſe, the author [Robert Greene] being dead,) I am as ſorry as if the original fault had been my fault; becauſe my ſelfe have ſeen his demeanour no leſs civil than he EXCELLENT *in the qualitie he profeſſes:* beſides, divers of worſhip have reported his uprightneſs of dealing, which argues his honeſtie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art."

To thoſe who are not converſant with the language of our old writers, it may be proper to obſerve, that the words, "*the qualitie he profeſſes*," particularly denote his profeſſion as an *actor*. The latter part of the paragraph indeed, in which he is praiſed as a good man and an elegant *writer*, ſhews this: however, the following paſſage in Stephen Goſſon's *Schoole of Abuſe*, 1579, in which the very ſame words occur, will put this matter beyond a doubt. "Over-laſhing in apparell (ſays Goſſon) is ſo common a fault, that the verye hyerlings of ſome of our plaiers, which ſtand at the reverſion of vi. s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noſes in ſutes of ſilke, exerciſing themſelves in prating on the ſtage, and

5 That by the words *The other*, was meant Shakſpeare, has been already ſhewn in the *Eſſay on the order of his plays*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 274.

common ſcoffing when they come abrode; where they looke aſkance at every man of whom the ſonday before they begged an almes. I ſpeak not this, as though every one that *profeſſeth the qualitie*, ſo abuſed him ſelfe; for it is wel knowen, that ſome of them are ſober, diſcreet, properly learned, honeſt houſeholders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, though the pride of their ſhadowes (I meane thoſe hangebyes whome they ſuccour with ſtipend) cauſe them to bee ſomewhat talked of abrode[6]."

Thus early was Shakſpeare celebrated as an actor, and thus unfounded was the information which Mr. Rowe obtained on this ſubject. Wright, a more diligent inquirer, and who had better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had ſaid about ten years before, that he had "heard our author was a better poet than an actor;" but this deſcription, though probably true, may ſtill leave him a conſiderable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the preſent, were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would conſtitute a performer whoſe merit ſhould entitle him to "bench by the ſide" of Shakſpeare as a poet.

A paſſage indeed in Lodge's *Incarnate Devills of the age*, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet's performance of the Ghoſt in *Hamlet*. But this in my apprehenſion is a miſtake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the paſſage in queſtion was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghoſt in ſome miſerable play which was produced before Shakſpeare commenced either actor or writer. That ſuch a play once exiſted, I have already ſhewn to be highly probable; and the tradition tranſmitted by Betterton, that our poet's performance of the Ghoſt in his own *Hamlet* was his *chef d'oeuvre*, adds ſupport to my opinion.

[6] In the margin this cautious puritan adds—"Some players modeſt, *if I be not deceived.*"

That

That Shakſpeare had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the inſtructions which are given to the player in *Hamlet*, and by other paſſages in his works; which, in addition to what I have already ſtated, incline me to think that the traditional account tranſmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the ſtage, has been too haſtily credited. In the celebrated ſcene between Hamlet and his mother, ſhe thus addreſſes him:

" —Alas, how is't with you?
" That *you do bend your eye on vacancy,*
" *And with the incorporeal air do hold diſcourſe?*
" *Forth at your eyes your ſpirits wildly peep;*
" And, as the ſleeping ſoldiers in the alarm,
" Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
" Starts up, and ſtands on end.—Whereon do you look?
" *Ham.* On him! on him! look you, how pale he glares!
" His form and cauſe conjoin'd, preaching to ſtones,
" Would make them capable. Do not *look upon me,*
" Leſt with *this piteous action,* you convert
" My ſtern effects: then what I have to do
" Will want true colour; tears perchance for blood."

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed theſe lines to Hamlet, unleſs he was confident that in his own part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghoſt, which he has ſo forcibly deſcribed? or that the preceding lines ſpoken by the Queen, and the deſcription of a tragedian in *King Richard III.* could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor?

" *Rich.* Come, couſin, can'ſt thou quake and *change thy colour?*
" *Murther thy breath in middle of a word?*
" *And then again begin, and ſtop again,*
" *As if thou wert diſtraught, and mad with terror?*

" *Buck.* Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
" Speak, and look big, and *pry on every ſide,*
" *Tremble and ſtart at wagging of a ſtraw,*
" *Intending deep ſuſpicion: ghaſtly looks*
" *Are at my ſervice, like enforced ſmiles;*
" And both are ready in their offices,
" At any time, to grace my ſtratagems."

I do not, however, believe, that our poet played parts of the firſt rate, though he probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his humour* were arranged in the ſame order as the perſons of the drama, he muſt have repreſented *Old Knowell*; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the *Adam* in his own *As you like it.* Perhaps he excelled in repreſenting old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary, about the year 1611, might lead us to ſuppoſe that he alſo acted Duncan in *Macbeth,* and the parts of King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Sixth:

" To our Engliſh Terence, Mr. William Shakeſpeare.

" Some ſay, good Will, which I in ſport do ſing,
" Hadſt thou not play'd ſome *kingly parts* in ſport,
" Thou hadſt been a companion for a king,
" And been a king among the meaner ſort.
" Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
" Thou haſt no railing but a raigning wit;
" And honeſty thou ſow'ſt, which they do reape,
" So to increaſe their ſtock which they do keepe."
The Scourge of Folly, by John Davies, of Hereford, no date.

RICHARD BURBADGE*,

the moſt celebrated tragedian of our author's time, was the ſon of James Burbadge, who was alſo an actor, and

* In writing this performer's name I have followed the ſpelling uſed by his brother, who was a witneſs to his will; but the name ought rather to be written *Burbidge,* (as it often formerly was,) being manifeſtly an abbreviation or corruption of *Borough-bridge.*

perhaps

perhaps a countryman of Shakſpeare. He lived in Holywell-ſtreet in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, from which circumſtance I conjecture that he had originally played at the Curtain theatre, which was in that neighbourhood; for he does not appear to have been born in that pariſh; at leaſt I ſearched the regiſter from its commencement in 1558, in vain, for his birth. It is ſtrange, however, that he ſhould have continued to live from the year 1600 to his death, in a place which was near three miles diſtant from the Blackfriars playhouſe, and ſtill further from the Globe, in which theatres he acted during the whole of that time. He appears to have married about the year 1600; and if at that time we ſuppoſe him thirty years old, his birth muſt be placed in 1570. By his wife, whoſe chriſtian name was Winefrid, he had four daughters; Juliet, or Julia, (for the name is written both ways in the regiſter,) who was baptized Jan. 2, 1602-3, and died in 1608; Frances, baptized Sep. 16, 1604; Winefrid, baptized Octob. 5, 1613, and buried in October, 1616; and a ſecond Juliet, (or Julia,) who was baptized Dec. 26, 1614. This child and Frances appear to have ſurvived their father. His fondneſs for the name of Juliet, perhaps aroſe from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play.

Camden has placed the death of Burbadge on the 9th of March, 1619[7]. On what day he died, is now of little conſequence; but to aſcertain the degree of credit due to hiſtorians is of ſome importance; and it may be worth while to remark how very ſeldom minute accuracy is to be expected even from contemporary writers. The fact is, that Burbadge died ſome days later, probably on the 13th of that month; for his will was made on the 12th, and he was buried in the church of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 16th of March, 1618-19. His laſt will, extracted from the regiſtry of the Prerogative court, is as follows.

7 "1619. Martii 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roſcius, obiit." *Regni regis Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus*, 4to. 1691.

"MEMO-

" MEMORANDUM, That on Frydaye the twelfth of March, Anno Domini, one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbage of the pariſh of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middleſex, gent. being ſick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his laſt will and teſtament, nuncupative, in manner and form following; viz, He the ſaid Richard did nominate and appoint his well beloved wife Winifride Burbage to be his ſole executrix of all his goods & chattels whatſoever, in the preſence and hearing of the perſons undernamed:

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the teſtator.
+ The mark of Elizabeth, his wife.
Nicholas Tooley.
Anne Lancaſter.
Richard Robinſon.
+ The mark of Elizabeth Graves.
Henry Jackſonne.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud London, coram judice, 22° Aprilis, 1619, juramento Winifride Burbadge, relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in eodem teſtamento nominat. cui commiſſa fuit adminiſtratio de bene, &c. jurat.

Richard Burbadge is introduced in perſon in an old play called *The Returne from Parnaſſus*, (written in or about 1602,) and inſtructs a Cambridge ſcholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. That he repreſented this character, is aſcertained by Biſhop Corbet, who in his *Iter Boreale*, ſpeaking of his hoſt at Leiceſter, tells us,

" —when he would have ſaid, King Richard died,
" And call'd a horſe, a horſe, he *Burbage* cry'd."

He probably alſo performed the parts of King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, Timon, Brutus, Coriolanus, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.

He was one of the principal ſharers or proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and was of ſuch eminence

eminence, that in a letter preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, written in the year 1613, (Mſs. Harl. 7002,) the actors at the Globe are called *Burbadge's Company*[8].

The following character of this celebrated player is given by Fleckno in his *Short Diſcourſe of the Engliſh Stage*, 1664.

"He was a delightful Proteus, ſo wholly transforming himſelf into his parts, and putting off himſelf with his cloaths, as he never (not ſo much as in the tyring houſe) aſſumed himſelf again, untill the play was done. —He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with ſpeaking, and ſpeech with action; his auditors being never more delighted than when he ſpake, nor more ſorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor ſtill; never failing in his part, when he had done ſpeaking, but with his looks and geſture maintaining it ſtill to the height."

It ſhould not, however, be concealed, that Fleckno had previouſly printed this character as the portrait of *An excellent actor*, in general, and there is reaſon to believe that this writer never ſaw Burbadge: for Fleckno did not die till about the year 1682 or 1683, and conſequently, ſuppoſing him then ſeventy-five years old, he muſt have been a boy when this celebrated player died. The teſtimony of Sir Richard Baker is of more value, who pronounces him to have been "ſuch an actor, as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like." Sir Richard Baker was born in 1568, and died in 1644-5; and appears, from various paſſages in his works, to have paid much attention to the theatre, in defence of which he wrote a treatiſe.

In Philpot's additions to Camden's *Remains*, we find an epitaph on this tragedian, more conciſe than even that on Ben Jonſon; being only, "*Exit Burbidge.*"

[8] In Jonſon's *Maſque of Chriſtmas*, 1616, Burbadge and Heminge are both mentioned as managers: "I could ha' had money enough for him, an I would ha' been tempted, and ha' ſet him out by the week to the king's players: Maſter Burbadge hath been about and about with me, and ſo has old Mr. Heminge too; they ha' need of him."

The

The following old epitaph on Burbadge, which is found in a Mſ. in the Muſeum, (Mſs. Sloan. 1786,) is only worthy of preſervation, as it ſhews how high the reputation of this actor was in his own age:

" Epitaph on Mr. Richard Burbage, the player[8].

" This life's a play, ſcean'd out by natures arte,
" Where every man hath his allotted parte.
" This man hathe now (as many more can tell)
" Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
" The play now ended, think his grave to be
" The detiring howſe of his ſad tragedie;
" Where to give his fame this, be not afraid,
" Here lies the beſt tragedian ever plaid."

JOHN HEMINGE

is ſaid by Roberts the player to have been a tragedian, and in conjunction with Condell, to have followed the buſineſs of printing[9]; but it does not appear that he had any authority for theſe aſſertions. In ſome tract of which I forgot to preſerve the title, he is ſaid to have been the original performer of Falſtaff.

I ſearched the regiſter of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, (in which pariſh this actor lived,) for the time of his birth, in vain. Ben Jonſon in the year 1616, as we

[8] I did not till lately diſcover that there is an original picture of this admired actor in Dulwich College, or his portrait ſhould have been engraved for this work. However, the defect will very ſpeedily be remedied by *Mr. Sylveſter Harding*, the ingenious artiſt whom I employed to make a copy of the picture of Lowin at Oxford, which he executed with perfect fidelity; and who means to give the publick in twenty numbers, at a very moderate price, not only all ſuch portraits as can be found, of the actors who perſonated the principal characters in our author's plays, while he was on the ſtage, but alſo an aſſemblage of genuine heads of the real perſonages repreſented in them; together with various views of the different places in which the ſcene of his hiſtorical dramas is placed. Each plate will be of the ſame ſize as that of Lowin, ſo as to ſuit the preſent edition.

[9] Anſwer to Pope, 1729.

have

have juſt ſeen, calls him *old* Mr. Heminge: if at that time he was ſixty years of age, then his birth muſt be placed in 1556. I ſuſpect that both he and Burbadge were Shakſpeare's countrymen, and that Heminge was born at Shottery, a village in Warwickſhire at a very ſmall diſtance from Stratford-upon-Avon; where Shakſpeare found his wife. I find two families of this name ſettled in that town early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth, the daughter of *John Heming* of Shottery, was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon, March 12, 1567. This John might have been the father of the actor, though I have found no entry relative to his baptiſm: for he was probably born before the year 1558, when the Regiſter commenced. In the village of Shottery alſo lived *Richard Hemyng*, who had a ſon chriſtened by the name of John, March 7, 1570. Of the Burbadge family the only notice I have found, is, an entry in the regiſter of the pariſh of Stratford, October 12, 1565, on which day Philip Green was married in that town to Urſula *Burbadge*, who might have been ſiſter to James Burbadge, the father of the actor, whoſe marriage I ſuppoſe to have taken place about that time. If this conjecture be well founded, our poet, we ſee, had an eaſy introduction to the theatre.

John Heminge appears to have married in or before the year, 1589, his eldeſt daughter, Alice, having been baptized October 6, 1590. Beſide this child, he had four ſons; John, born in 1598, who died an infant; a ſecond John, baptized Auguſt 7, 1599; William, baptized October 3, 1602, and George, baptized February 11, 1603-4; and eight daughters; Judith, Thomaſine, Joan, Rebecca, Beatrice, Elizabeth, Mary, (who died in 1611,) and Margaret. Of his daughters four only appear to have been married; Alice to John Atkins in January 1612-13; Rebecca to Captain William Smith; Margaret to Mr. Thomas Sheppard, and another to a perſon of the name of Merefield. The eldeſt ſon, John, probably died in his father's life-time, as by his laſt will he conſtituted his ſon William his executor.

William,

William, whoſe birth Wood has erroneouſly placed in 1605, was a ſtudent of Chriſt-church, Oxford, where he took the degree of a Maſter of Arts in 1628. Soon after his father's death he commenced a dramatick poet, having produced in March 1632-3 a comedy entitled *The Courſinge of a Hare, or the Madcapp*[1], which was performed at the Fortune theatre, but is now loſt. He was likewiſe author of two other plays which are extant; *The Fatal Contract*, publiſhed in 1653, and *The Jews Tragedy*, 1662.

From an entry in the Council-books at Whitehall, I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouſe, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. He is joined with Shakſpeare, Burbadge, &c. in the licence granted by King James immediately after his acceſſion to the throne in 1603; and all the payments made by the Treaſurer of the Chamber in 1613, on account of plays performed at court, are "to *John Heminge* and the reſt of his fellows." So alſo in ſeveral ſubſequent years, in that and the following reign. In 1623, in conjunction with Condell, he publiſhed the firſt complete edition of our author's plays; ſoon after which it has been ſuppoſed that he withdrew from the theatre; but this is a miſtake. He certainly then ceaſed to act*, but he continued chief director of the king's company of comedians to the time of his death. He died at his houſe in Aldermanbury, where he had long lived, on the 10th of October 1630, in, as I conjecture, the 74th or 75th year of his age, and was buried on the

[1] Mſ. Herbert.

* That he and Condell had ceaſed to act in the year 1623, is aſcertained by a paſſage in their Addreſs "to the great varietie of readers," prefixed to our poet's plays. "Reade him therefore, and againe, and againe: and if then you do not like him, ſurely you are in ſome manifeſt danger not to underſtand him. And ſo we leave you to *other of his friends*, whom if you need, can be your guides." i. e. their fellow-comedians, who ſtill continued on the ſtage, and, by repreſenting our author's plays, could elucidate them, and thus ſerve as guides to the publick.

12th,

12th, as appears by the Regiſter of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, in which he is ſtyled, "John Heminge, *player*."

I ſuſpect he died of the plague, which had raged ſo violently that year, that the playhouſes were ſhut up in April, and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of thoſe who died in London of that diſtemper, was diminiſhed to twenty-nine[2]. His ſon William, into whoſe hands his papers muſt have fallen, ſurvived him little more than twenty years, having died ſome time before the year 1653: and where thoſe books of account of which his father ſpeaks, now are, cannot be aſcertained. One cannot but entertain a wiſh that at ſome future period they may be diſcovered, as they undoubtedly would throw ſome light on our ancient ſtage-hiſtory. The day before his death, John Heminge made his will, of which I ſubjoin a copy, extracted from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court. In this inſtrument he ſtyles himſelf *a grocer*, but how he obtained his freedom of the grocers' company, does not appear.

"IN the name of God, Amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the ſixth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and conſidering the frailty and incertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my laſt will and teſtament in manner and form following.

Firſt, and principally, I give and bequeath my ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and aſſuredly believing through the only merits, death and paſſion, of Jeſus Chriſt my ſaviour and redeemer, to obtain remiſſion and pardon of all my ſins, and to enjoy eternal happineſs in the kingdom of heaven; and

[2] Mſ. Herbert.

that

my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in chriſtian manner, in the pariſh church of Mary Aldermanbury in London, as near unto my loving wife Rebecca Heminge, who lieth there interred, and under the ſame ſtone which lieth in part over her there, if the ſame conveniently may be: wherein I do deſire my executor herein after named carefully to ſee my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp or coſt therein to be beſtowed.

Item, My will is, that all ſuch debts as I ſhall happen to owe at the time of my deceaſe to any perſon or perſons, (being truly and properly mine own debts,) ſhall be well and truly ſatisfied and paid as ſoon after my deceaſe as the ſame conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpoſe my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leaſes, goods, chattles, plate, and houſehold ſtuffe whatſoever, which I leave or ſhall be poſſeſſed of at the time of my deceaſe, ſhall immediately after my deceaſe be ſold to the moſt and beſt benefit and advantage that the ſame or any of them may or can, and that the monies thereby raiſed ſhall go and be employed towards the payment and diſcharge of my ſaid debts, as ſoon as the ſame may be converted into monies and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the ſame leaſes, goods, and chattels, ſhall not raiſe ſo much money as ſhall be ſufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the ſeveral parts which I have by leaſe in the ſeveral play-houſes of the Globe and Black-fryers, for and during ſuch time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor herein after named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of ſuch of my ſaid own proper debts which ſhall remain unſatisfied, and that proportionably to every perſon and perſons to whom I ſhall then remain indebted, until by the ſaid moiety or one half of the

the ſaid yearly benefit and profit of the ſaid parts they ſhall be ſatisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the ſaid moiety or one half of the ſaid yearly benefit of my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes ſhall not in ſome convenient time raiſe ſufficient moneys to pay my ſaid own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes be alſo received and taken up by my ſaid executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the ſpeedier ſatisfaction and payment of my ſaid debts. And then, after my ſaid debts ſhall be ſo ſatisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the ſaid benefit and profit ariſing by my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-houſes, and the employment of the ſame, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me herein after given and bequeathed, and to the raiſing of portions for ſuch of my ſaid children as at the time of my deceaſe ſhall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby deſire my executor herein after named to ſee this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the truſt and confidence by me in him repoſed.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto my daughter Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my beſt ſuit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my ſon Smith, her huſband, his wife's picture, ſet up in a frame in my houſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cuſhions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my ſaid ſon Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is alſo ſet up in a frame in my houſe.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cuſhions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield my clothe-of-ſilver ſtriped cuſhions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto ſo many of my daughter Merefield's, and my daughter Sheppard's

children as ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, fifty ſhillings apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the ſum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my ſon-in-law John Atkins, and his now wife, if they ſhall be living with me at the time of my deceaſe, forty ſhillings, to make them two rings in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and ſharers, his majeſties ſervants, which ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, the ſum of ten ſhillings apiece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, Clerk, of St. Saviour's in Southwark, (if he ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe,) the ſum of twenty ſhillings of lawful Engliſh money, for a remembrance of my love unto him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the pariſh of Saint Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the ſum of forty ſhillings of lawful Engliſh money, to be diſtributed by the churchwardens of the ſame pariſh where moſt need ſhall be.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the ſeveral legacies and ſums of money by me herein before bequeathed to be paid in money, be raiſed and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which ſhall ariſe or be made by my ſeveral parts and ſhares in the ſeveral playhouſes called the Globe and Blackfriers, after my ſaid debts ſhall be paid, with as much ſpeed as the ſame conveniently may be; and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor herein after named eſpecially to take care that my debts, firſt, and then thoſe legacies, be well and truly paid and diſcharged, as ſoon as the ſame may be ſo raiſed by the ſale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and ſhares; and that my eſtate may be ſo ordered to the beſt profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and diſcharge of my legacies before mentioned with as much ſpeed as the ſame conveniently may be, according

according as I have herein before in this will directed and appointed] the ſame to be, without any leſſening, diminiſhing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and deſire is, that my ſaid parts in the ſaid play-honſes ſhould be employed in playing, the better to raiſe profit thereby, as formerly the ſame have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies ſhall be paid and ſatisfied out of my eſtate, that then the reſidue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatſoever ſhall be equally parted and divided to and amongſt ſuch of my children as at the time of my deceaſe ſhall be unmaried or unadvanced, and ſhall not have received from me any portion in mariage or otherwiſe, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like; and I do hereby ordain and make my ſon William Heminge to be the executor of this my laſt will and teſtament, requiring him to ſee the ſame performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do deſire and appoint my loving friends Mr. Burbage* and Mr. Rice to be the overſeers of this my laſt will and teſtament, praying them to be aiding and aſſiſting to my ſaid executor with their beſt advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publiſh, and declare this to be my laſt will and teſtament. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto put my hand and ſeal the day and year firſt above written.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magiſtro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die menſis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, *juramento Willielmi Heminge filii naturalis et legitim. dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.*

* Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the actor.

AUGUSTINE PHILIPS.

This performer is likewiſe named in the licence granted by king James in 1603. It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, printed in 1612, that he was then dead. In an extraordinary exhibition, entitled *The Seven Deadly Sins*, written by Tarleton, of which the Mſ. plot or ſcheme is in my poſſeſſion, he repreſented *Sardanapalus*. I have not been able to learn what parts he performed in our author's plays; but believe that he was in the ſame claſs as Kempe, and Armine; for he appears, like the former of theſe players, to have publiſhed a ludicrous metrical piece, which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1595. Philips's production was entitled *The Jigg of the Slippers*.

WILLIAM KEMPE

was the ſucceſſor of Tarleton. "Here I muſt needs remember Tarleton, (ſays Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*,) in his time gracious with the queen his ſoveraigne, and in the people's general applauſe; whom ſucceeded *Will. Kemp*, as well in the favour of her majeſtie, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience." From the quarto editions of ſome of our author's plays, we learn that he was the original performer of Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*. From an old comedy called *The Returne from Parnaſſus*, we may collect, that he was the original Juſtice Shallow; and the contemporary writers inform us that he uſually acted the part of a Clown; in which character, like Tarleton, he was celebrated for his *extemporal* wit [4]. Launcelot in the *Merchant of Venice*, Touchſtone in *As you like it*, Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and the Grave-digger in *Hamlet*, were probably alſo performed by this

[4] See p. 112, n. 1.

comedian.

comedian. He was an author as well as an actor[5].

So early as in the year 1589 Kempe's comick talents appear to have been highly eſtimated, for an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written, I think, by Thomas Naſhe, and publiſhed about that time, is dedicated "to that moſt comicall and conceited Cavaleire *Monſieur du Kempe*, Jeſtmonger, and vice-gerent generall to the Ghoſt of Dicke Tarleton."

From a paſſage in one of Decker's tracts it may be preſumed that this comedian was dead in the year 1609[6].

In Braithwaite's *Remains*, 1618, he is thus commemorated:

[5] See *The Returne from Parnaſſus*, a comedy, 1606: "Indeed, *M. Kempe*, you are very famous, but that is as well for *workes in print* as your part in cue." Kempe's *New Jigg of the Kitchen-ſtuff Woman* was entered on the books of the Stationers' company in 1595; and in the ſame year was licenſed to Thomas Goſſon, "Kempes *New Jigge* betwixt a ſouldier and a miſer and Sym the clown."

Sept. 7, 1593, was entered on the Stationers' Books, by R. Jones, "A comedie entitled *A knack how to knowe a knave*, newly ſet forth, as it hath been ſundrye times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with *Kempes* applauded merryment of *the Men of Gotham*."

In the Bodleian Library, among the books given to it by Robert Burton, is the following tract, bound up with a few others of the ſame ſize, in a quarto volume marked L, 62d. art.

"Kemps nine daies wonder performed in a daunce from London to "Norwich. Containing the pleaſure, paines and kind entertainment "of William Kemp between London and that city, in his late mor-"rice. Wherein is ſomewhat ſet downe worth note; to reproove the "ſlaunders ſpred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. "Written by himſelfe, to ſatis e his friends." (Lond. E. A. for Nicholas Ling. 1600. b. l.—With a wooden cut of Kempe as a morris-dancer, preceded by a fellow with a pipe and drum, whom he (in the book) calls Thomas Slye, his taberer.) It is dedicated to "The true "ennobled lady, and his moſt bountifull miſtris, miſtris Anne "Fitton, mayde of honour to the moſt ſacred mayde royall queene "Elizabeth."

[6] "Tuſh, tuſh, Tarleton, *Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that *now* come drawling behind them, never played the clownes part more naturally than the arranteſt ſot of you all."

Guls Hornebooke, 1609.

"UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS EPITAPH.

"Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy to ſee
"Thy ſafe return moriſcoed luſtily.
"But out alas! how ſoone's thy morice done,
"When pipe and tabor, all thy friends be gone;
"And leave thee now to dance the ſecond part
"With feeble nature, not with nimble art!
"Then all thy triumphs fraught with ſtrains of mirth,
"Shall be cag'd up within a cheſt of earth:
"Shall be? they are; thou haſt danc'd thee out of breath;
"And now muſt make thy parting dance with death."

THOMAS POPE.

This actor likewiſe performed the part of a Clown[7]. He died before the year 1600[8].

GEORGE BRYAN.

I have not been able to gather any intelligence concerning this performer, except that in the exhibition of *The Seven Deadly Sins* he repreſented the earl of Warwick. He was, I believe, on the ſtage before the year 1588.

HENRY CUNDALL

is ſaid by Roberts the player to have been a comedian, but he does not mention any other authority for this aſſertion but ſtage-tradition. In Webſter's *Dutcheſs of*

7 "—— what meanes Singer then,
"And *Pope*, the *clowne*, to ſpeak ſo boriſh, when
"They counterfaite the clownes upon the ſtage?"
Humours Ordinarie, where a man may be verie merie and exceeding well uſed for his ſixpence. (No date.)

8 Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.

Malfy

Malfy he originally acted the part of the Cardinal; and as, when that play was printed in 1623, another performer had ſucceeded him in that part, he had certainly before that time retired from the ſtage. He ſtill, however, continued to have an intereſt in the theatre, being mentioned with the other players to whom a licence was granted by King Charles the Firſt in 1625. He had probably a conſiderable portion of the *ſhares* or property of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. This actor as well as Heminge lived in Aldermanbury, in which pariſh he ſerved the office of *Sideman* in the year 1606. I have not been able to aſcertain his age; but he appears to have married about the year 1598, and had eight children, the eldeſt of whom was born in Feb. 1598-99, and died an infant. Three only of his children appear to have ſurvived him; Henry, born in 1600; Elizabeth in 1606; and William, baptized May 26, 1611. Before his death he reſided for ſome time at Fulham, but he died in London, and was buried in his pariſh church in Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1627. On the 13th of that month he made his will, of which I ſubjoin a copy, extracted from the regiſtry of the Prerogative Court.

"In the name of God, Amen, I Henry Cundall of London, gentleman, being ſick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praiſe be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more ſure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my laſt will and teſtament in manner and form following; that is to ſay, firſt I commend my ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, truſting and aſſuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and paſſion of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt I ſhall obtain full and free pardon and remiſſion of all my ſins, and ſhall enjoy everlaſting life in the kingdom of heaven, amongſt the eleſt children of God. My body I commit to the

earth, to be decently buried in the night-time in ſuch pariſh where it ſhall pleaſe God to call me. My worldly ſubſtance I diſpoſe of as followeth. And firſt concerning all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and ſtand ſeized of any manner of eſtate of inheritance, I give, deviſe and bequeath the ſame as followeth.

Imprimis, I give, deviſe and bequeath all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, ſituate, lying and being in Helmett-court in the Strand, and elſewhere, in the county of Middleſex, unto Elizabeth my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her deceaſe, unto my ſon Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of ſuch iſſue unto my ſon William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of ſuch iſſue unto my daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever.

Item, I give, deviſe and bequeath all and ſingular my freehold meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatſoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, ſituate, lying and being in the pariſh of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet-ſtreet, London, and elſewhere in the city of London, and the ſuburbes thereof, unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall and to her aſſigns, until my ſaid ſon William Cundall his term of apprenticehood ſhall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the ſaid term of apprenticehood ſhall be ſo fully expired, I give, deviſe and bequeath the ſame meſſuages and premiſes ſituate in the city of London, and the ſuburbes thereof, unto my ſaid ſon William Cundall and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of ſuch iſſue, unto my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of ſuch iſſue unto my ſaid daughter Elizabeth Finch,

Finch, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever. And as concerning all and ſingular my goods, chattels, plate, houſehold ſtuff, ready money, debts and perſonal eſtate, whatſoever and whereſoever, I give, deviſe, and bequeath the ſame as followeth: viz.

Imprimis, Whereas I am executor of the laſt will and teſtament of John Underwood, deceaſed, and by force of the ſame executorſhip became poſſeſſed of ſo much of the perſonal eſtate of the ſaid John Underwood, which is expreſſed in an inventory thereof, made and by me exhibited in due form of law into the eccleſiaſtical court. And whereas alſo in diſcharge of my ſaid executorſhip I have from time to time diſburſed divers ſums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the ſaid John Underwood deceaſed as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now in diſcharge of my conſcience, and in full performance of the truſt repoſed in me by the ſaid John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the ſurviving children of the ſaid John Underwood all and whatſoever ſhall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all ſuch rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themſelves apart in a little caſket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain and appoint my ſaid well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and ſole executrix of this my laſt will and teſtament, requiring and charging her, as ſhe will anſwer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadfull day of judgment, that ſhe will truely and faithfully perform the ſame, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earneſtly deſire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my ſon-in-law Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderſon, grocer, to be my overſeers, and to be aiding and aſſiſting unto my ſaid executrix in the due execution and performance of this my laſt will and teſtament. And I give and bequeath to every of my ſaid four ſeveral overſeers the ſum of five pounds apiece to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item,

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto my ſaid ſon William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits which ſhall ariſe and come from the time of my deceaſe, of and by my leaſes and terms of years, of all my meſſuages, houſes, and places, ſituate in the Blackfriers, London, and at the Bank-ſide in the county of Surry, until ſuch time as that the full ſum of three hundred pounds by thoſe rents and profits may be raiſed for a ſtock for my ſaid ſon William *, if he ſhall ſo long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, conſidering my eſtate, I do give and beqneath unto my ſon Henry Cundall for his maintenance, either at the univerſity or elſewhere, one annuity or yearly ſum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall, or his aſſigns, during all the term of the natural life of the ſaid Elizabeth my wife, if my ſaid ſon Henry Cundall ſhall ſo long live, at the four moſt uſual feaſt-days or terms in the year, that is to ſay, at the feaſts of the birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the Nativity of Saint John Baptiſt, and St. Michael the Archangel; or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after every of the ſame feaſt-days, by even and equal portions: the firſt payment thereof to begin and to be made at ſuch of the ſaid feaſt-days as ſhall firſt and next happen after the day of my deceaſe, or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after the ſame feaſt-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them reſpectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives ſeverally, if my leaſes and terms of years of and in my houſes in Aldermanbury in London ſhall ſo long continue unexpired, one annuity or yearly ſum of twenty ſhillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them ſeverally, by even portions quarterly, at

* He was probably bound apprentice to Peter Saunderſon, grocer.

the feaſt-days above mentioned, or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after every of the ſame feaſt-days; the firſt payment of them ſeverally to begin and to be made at ſuch of the ſaid feaſts as ſhall firſt and next happen after my deceaſe or within the ſpace of twenty and eight days next enſuing after the ſame feaſt.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath unto the poor people of the pariſh of Fulham in the county of Middleſex, where I now dwell, the ſum of five pounds, to be paid to maſter Doctor Clewett, and maſter Edmond Powell of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be diſtributed.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, unto my ſaid well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, and to my ſaid well beloved daughter Elizabeth Finch, all my houſehold ſtuff, bedding, linen, braſs and pewter, whatſoever, remaining and being as well at my houſe in Fulham aforeſaid, as alſo in my houſe in Aldermanbury in London; to be equally divided between them part and part alike. And for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and requeſt my ſaid overſeers, or the greater number of them, to make diviſion thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my couſin Frances Gurney, alias Hulſe, my aunt's daughter, the ſum of five pounds, and I give unto the daughter of the ſaid Frances the like ſum of five pounds.

Item, I give, deviſe and bequeath unto ſuch and ſo many of the daughters of my couſin Gilder, late of New Buckenham in the county of Norfolk, deceaſed, as ſhall be living at the time of my deceaſe, the ſum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old ſervant Elizabeth Wheaton a mourning gown and forty ſhillings in money, and that place or priviledge which ſhe now exerciſeth and enjoyeth in the houſes of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankſide, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my eſtate ſhall ſo long continue

continue in the premiſes; and I give unto the daughter of the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton the ſum of five pounds, to be paid unto the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton, for the uſe of her ſaid daughter, within the ſpace of one year next after my deceaſe. And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and ſeal of the ſaid Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the ſaid legacy of five pounds, for the uſe of her ſaid daughter, ſhall be, and ſhall be deemed, adjudged, conſtrued, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my now executrix a ſufficient releaſe and diſcharge for and concerning the payment of the ſame.

Item, I give, deviſe, and bequeath, all the reſt and reſidue of my goods, chattels, leaſes, money, debts, and perſonal eſtate, whatſoever and whereſoever, (after my debts ſhall be paid and my funeral charges and all other charges about the execution of this my will firſt paid and diſcharged) unto my ſaid well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby deſire and appoint, that all ſuch legacies, gifts and bequeſts as I have by this my will given, deviſed or bequeathed unto any perſon or perſons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, ſhall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the ſpace of one year next after my deceaſe. Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void, all former wills, teſtaments, codicils, executors, legacies, and bequeſts, whatſoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that theſe preſents only ſhall ſtand and be taken for my laſt will and teſtament, and none other. In witneſs whereof I the ſaid Henry Cundall, the teſtator, to this my preſent laſt will and teſtament, being written on nine ſheets of paper, with my name ſubſcribed to every ſheet, have ſet my ſeal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our ſovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed,

Signed, ſealed, pronounced and declared, by the ſaid Henry Cundall, the teſtator, as his laſt will and teſtament, on the day and year above written, in the preſence of us whoſe names are here under written:

Robert Yonge.
Hum. Dyſon, Notary Publique.
And of me Ro. Dickens, ſervant unto the ſaid Notary.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum apud Lond. coram magiſtro Richardo Zouche, legum doctore, Surrogato, 24° die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relictæ dicti defuncti et executr. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

WILLIAM SLY

was joined with Shakſpeare, &c. in the licence granted in 1603.—He is introduced, perſonally, in the induction to Marſton's *Malecontent*, 1604, and from his there uſing an affected phraſe of Oſrick's in *Hamlet*, we may collect that he performed that part. He died before the year 1612[9].

RICHARD COWLEY

appears to have been an actor of a low claſs, having performed the part of Verges in *Much ado about Nothing*. He lived in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and had two ſons baptized there; Cuthbert, born in 1597, and Richard born in 1599. I know not when this actor died.

JOHN LOWIN

was a principal performer in theſe plays. If the date on his picture[1] in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, is

[9] Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.

[1] This date, which the engraver of the annexed portrait has inadvertently omitted, is—"1640, Ætat. 64."

accurate,

which he ſhould have his fee, ſince they may be full of offenſive things againſt church and ſtate; ye rather that in former time the poetts tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.

" The players ought not to ſtudy their parts till I have allowed of the booke.

' To Sir Henry Herbert, K.^t^ maſter of his Matie Revels.'

" After our humble ſerviſe[4] remembred unto your good worſhip, Whereas not long ſince we acted a play called *The Spaniſhe Viceroy*, not being licenſed under your worſhips hande, nor allowd of: wee doe confeſs and herby acknowledge that wee have offended, and that it is in your power to puniſhe this offenſe, and are very ſorry for it; and doe likewiſe promiſe herby that wee will not act any play without your hand or ſubſtituts hereafter, nor doe any thinge that may prejudice the authority of your office: So hoping that this humble ſubmiſſion of ours may bee accepted, wee have therunto ſett our hands. This twentiethe of Decemb. 1624.

Joſeph Taylor.
Richard Robinſon,
Elyard Swanſton.
Thomas Pollard.
Robert Benfeilde.
George Burght.
John Lowen.
John Shancke.
John Rice.
Will. Rowley.
Richard Sharpe.

" Mr. Knight,

" In many things you have ſaved mee labour; yet wher your judgment or penn fayld you, I have made boulde to uſe mine. Purge ther parts, as I have the booke. And I hope every hearer and player will thinke that I have done God good ſerviſe, and the quality no wronge; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, prophaneſs, and publique ribaldry, wch for the future I doe abſolutely forbid to bee preſented unto mee in any

[4] In the margin here Sir Henry Herbert has added this note. " 'Tis entered here for a remembrance againſt their diſorders."

play-

playbooke, as you will anſwer it at your perill. 21 Octob. 1633.

" This was ſubſcribed to their play of *The Tamer Tamd*, and directed to Knight, their book-keeper.

" The 24 of Octob. 1633, Lowins and Swanſton were ſorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in preſence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde."

After the ſuppreſſion of the theatres, Lowin became very poor. In 1652, in conjunction with Joſeph Taylor, he publiſhed Fletcher's comedy called *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*, for bread; and in his latter years, he kept an inn (*The Three Pidgeons*) at Brentford, in which town, Wright ſays, he died very old[5]. But that writer was miſtaken with reſpect to the place of his death, for he died in London at the age of eighty three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, March 18, 1658-9. On the 8th of the following October adminiſtration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I ſuppoſe the actor's widow. In the Regiſter of perſons buried in the pariſh of Brentford, which I carefully examined, no perſon of this name is mentioned between the years 1650, and 1660.

SAMUEL CROSS.

This actor was probably dead before the year 1600; for Heywood, who had himſelf written for the ſtage before that time, ſays he had never ſeen him.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

From *The Platt of the Seven Deadly Sinns*, it appears, that this actor was on the ſtage before 1588, and was the ſtage-heroine. He acted ſome woman's part in Jonſon's *Sejanus*, and in *The Fox*; and we may preſume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays.

[5] *Hiſtor. Hiſtrion.* p. 10.

SAMUEL GILBURNE. Unknown.

ROBERT ARMIN

performed in *The Alchemiſt* in 1610, and was alive in 1611, ſome verſes having been addreſſed to him in that year by John Davies of Hereford; from which he appears to have occaſionally performed the part of the Fool or Clown[6].

He was author of a comedy called *The Two Maids of Mere-clacke*, [*Mortlake* it ought to be.] 1609. I have alſo a book, called *A Neſt of Ninnies ſimply of themſelves, without compound*, by Robert Armin, publiſhed in 1608. And at Stationers' Hall was entered in the ſame year, "a book called *Phantaſm the Italian Taylor and his Boy*, made by Mr. Armin, ſervant to his majeſty."

Mr. Oldys, in his Mſ. notes on Langbaine, ſays, that "Armin was an apprentice at firſt to a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet." He adds, that "the means of his becoming a player is recorded in Tarleton's jeſts printed in 1611, where it appears, this 'prentice going often to a tavern in Gracechurch-ſtreet, to dun the keeper thereof, who was a debtor to his maſter, *Tarleton*, who of the maſter of that tavern was now only a lodger in it, ſaw ſome verſes written by Armin on the wainſcot, upon his maſter's ſaid debtor, whoſe name was *Charles Tarleton*, and liked them ſo well, that he wrote others under them, prophecying, that as he was, ſo *Armin* ſhould be: therefore, calls him his adopted ſon, to wear the Clown's ſuit after him. And ſo it fell out, for the boy was ſo pleaſed with what Tarleton had written of him, ſo re-

[6] "To honeſt, gameſome, *Robert Armine*,
"Who tickles the ſpleene like a harmleſs vermin."

"Armine, what ſhall I ſay of thee, but this,
"Thou art a *fool* and knave;—both?—fie, I miſs,
"And wrong thee much; ſith thou indeed art neither,
"Although in *ſhew* thou *playeſt* both together."

ſpected

ſpected his perſon, ſo frequented his plays, and ſo learned his humour and manners, that from his private practice he came to publick playing his parts; that he was in great repute for the ſame at *the Globe* on the Bank-ſide, &c. all the former part of king James's reign."

WILLIAM OSTLER

had been one of the children of the Chapel; having acted in Jonſon's *Poetaſter*, together with Nat. Field and John Underwood, in 1601, and is ſaid to have performed women's parts. In 1610 both he and Underwood acted as men in Ben Jonſon's *Alchemiſt*. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, there are ſome verſes addreſſed to him with this title: "To the *Roſcius* of theſe times, William Oſtler." He acted Antonio in Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*, in 1623. I know not when he died.

NATHANIEL FIELD.
JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Both theſe actors had been children of the chapel[7], and probably at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres performed female parts. Field, when he became too manly to repreſent the characters of women, played the part of *Buſſy d'Ambois* in Chapman's play of that name. From the preface prefixed to one edition of it, it appears that he was dead in 1641.

There is a good portrait of this performer in Dulwich college, in a very ſingular dreſs.

Fleckno in his little tract on the Engliſh Stage, ſpeaks of him as an actor of great eminence. A perſon of this name was the author of two comedies, called *A Woman's a Weathercock*, and *Amends for Ladies*, and aſſiſted Maſſinger in writing *The Faial Dowry*, but he ſcarcely could have been the player; for the firſt of the comedies

[7] See *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, in which they both acted.

abovementioned was printed in 1612, at which time this actor muſt have been yet a youth, having performed as one of the Children of the Revels, in Jonſon's *Silent Woman*, in 1609.

The only intelligence I have obtained of John Underwood, beſide what I have already mentioned, is, that he performed the part of Delio in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, and that he died either in the latter end of the year 1624 or the beginning of the following year, having firſt made his will, of which the following is a copy:

In the name of God, Amen. I John Underwood, of the pariſh of Saint Bartholomew the Leſs in London, gent. being very weak and ſick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my laſt will and teſtament, in manner and form following: viz. Firſt, I commend and commit my ſoul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the diſcretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and eſtate which it hath pleaſed the Almighty God to bleſs me with, I will, bequeath, and diſpoſe as followeth; that is to ſay, to and amongſt my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Iſabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other juſt dues and duties diſcharged) all and ſingular my goods, houſehold ſtuff, plate and other things whatſoever in or about my now dwelling houſe, or elſewhere; and alſo all the right, title, or intereſt, part or ſhare, that I have and enjoy at this preſent by leaſe or otherwiſe, or ought to have, poſſeſs and enjoy in any manner or kind at this preſent or hereafter, within the Blackfryars, London, or in the company of his Mties ſervants, my loving and kind fellows, in their houſe there, or at the Globe on the Bankſide; and alſo that my part and ſhare or due in or out of the playhouſe called the Curtaine, ſituate in or near Holloway in the pariſh of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place; to my ſaid five

five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongſt them at their ſeveral ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the diſcretion, direction, and care which I repoſe in my executors. Provided always and my true intent and meaning is, that my ſaid executors ſhall not alienate, change or alter by ſale or otherwiſe, directly or indirectly, any my part or ſhare which I now have or ought to hold, have, poſſeſs and enjoy in the ſaid play-houſes called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Bancke-ſide, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increaſe and benefit out and from the ſame and every of them ſhall come, accrue and ariſe to my ſaid executors, as now it is to me, to the uſe of my ſaid children, equally to be divided amongſt them. Provided alſo that if the uſe and increaſe of my ſaid eſtate given (as aforeſaid) to my ſaid children, ſhall prove inſufficient or defective, in reſpect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my ſaid executors ſhall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldeſt of my ſaid children ſhall attain to the age of one and twenty years, my ſaid executors ſhall pay or cauſe to be paid unto him or her ſo ſurviving or attaining, his or her equal ſhare of my eſtate ſo remaining undiſburſed or undiſpoſed for the uſes aforeſaid in their or either of their hands, and ſo for every or any of my ſaid children attaining to the age aforeſaid: yet if it ſhall appear or ſeem fit at the completion of my ſaid children every or any of them at their ſaid full age or ages, which ſhall firſt happen, my eſtate remaining not to be equally ſhared or diſpoſed amongſt the reſt ſurviving in minority, then my will is, that it ſhall be left to my executors to give unto my child ſo attaining the age as they ſhall judge will be equal to the reſt ſurviving and accompliſhing the aforeſaid age; and if any of them ſhall die or depart this life before they accompliſh the ſaid age or ages, I will and bequeath their part, ſhare or portion to them,

him or her ſurviving, at the ages aforeſaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforeſaid. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repoſe my truſt for performance of the premiſes) Henry Condell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors of this my laſt will and teſtament; and do intreat my loving friends Mr. John Heminge, and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overſeers of the ſame my laſt will and teſtament: and I give to my ſaid executors and overſeers for their pains (which I intreat them to accept) the ſum of eleven ſhillings apiece to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the laſt will and teſtament of John Underwood, late of the pariſh of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceaſed, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini one thouſand ſix hundred twenty four or thereabouts, viz. his intent and meaning was, and ſo he did will, diſpoſe, and bequeath (if his eſtate would thereunto extend, and it ſhould ſeem convenient to his executors,) theſe particulars following in manner and form following: *ſcilt.* to his daughter Elizabeth two ſeal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red ſtone in it. To his ſon John Underwood a ſeal ring of gold with an A and a B in it. To Burbage Underwood a ſeal ring with a blue ſtone in it. To Iſabell one hoop ring of gold. To his ſaid ſon John one hoop ring of gold. To his ſaid daughter Elizabeth one wedding ring. To his ſaid ſon Burbage one hoop ring, black and gold. To his ſaid ſon Thomas one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot. To his ſaid daughter Iſabell one blue ſaphire and one joint ring of gold. To John Underwood one half dozen of ſilver ſpoons and one gilt ſpoon. To Elizabeth one

ſilver

ſilver ſpoon and three gilt ſpoons. To Burbage Underwood, his ſon aforenamed, one great gilt ſpoon, one plain bowl and one rough bowl. To Thomas Underwood his ſon, one ſilver porrenger, one ſilver taſter, and one gilt ſpoon. To Iſabell his ſaid daughter, three ſilver ſpoons, two gilt ſpoons, and one gilt cup. Which was ſo had and done before ſufficient and credible witneſs, the ſaid teſtator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit teſtamentum ſupraſcriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram judice, primo die menſis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, *juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat. reſervata poteſtate ſimilem commiſſionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujuſmodi teſtamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitur.*

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

acted Foroboſco in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*. From the *Platt of the Seven Deadly Sinns*, it appears, that he ſometimes repreſented female characters. He performed in *The Alchemiſt* in 1610.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

This performer's name occurs for the firſt time in B. Jonſon's *Alchemiſt*, 1610. No other ancient piece (that I have ſeen) contains any memorial of this actor.

JOSEPH TAYLOR

appears from ſome verſes already cited, to have been a celebrated actor. According to Downes the prompter, he was inſtructed by Shakſpeare to play Hamlet; and Wright in his *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*, ſays, "He performed

that part incomparably well." From the remembrance of his performance of Hamlet, Sir William D'Avenant is ſaid to have conveyed his inſtructions to Mr. Betterton. Taylor likewiſe played Iago. He alſo performed True-wit in *The Silent Woman*, Face in *The Alchymiſt*[8], and Moſca in *Volpone*; but not originally[9]. He repreſented Ferdinand in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the death of Burbadge. He acted Mathias in *The Picture*, by Maſſinger; Paris in *The Roman Actor*; the Duke in Carlell's *Deſerving Favourite*; Rollo in *The Bloody Brother*; and Mirabel in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*. There are verſes by this performer prefixed to Maſſinger's *Roman Actor*, 1629.

In the year 1614, Taylor appears to have been at the head of a diſtinct company of comedians, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Lady Elizabeth's Servants*[*]. However, he afterwards returned to his old friends; and after the death of Burbadge, Heminge and Condell, he in conjunction with John Lowin and Eliard Swanſton had the principal management of the king's company. In Sept. 1639 he was appointed Yeoman of the Revels in ordinary to his Majeſty, in the room of Mr. William Hunt. There were certain perquiſites annexed to this office, and a ſalary of ſixpence a day. When he was in attendance on the king he had 3l. 6s. 8d. *per* month.

I find from Fleckno's *Characters*, that Taylor died either in the year 1653 or in the following year[1]: and according to Wright he was buried at Richmond. The Regiſter of that pariſh antecedent to the Reſtoration, being loſt, I am unable to aſcertain that fact. He was

[8] *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.*

[9] Taylor's name does not occur in the liſt of actors printed by Jonſon at the end of *Volpone*.

[*] Mſ. Virtue.

[1] "He is one, who now the ſtage is down, acts the paraſite's part at table; and, ſince *Taylor's death*, none can play Moſca ſo well as he." *Character of one who imitates the good companion another way*. In the edition of Fleckno's Characters, printed in 1665, he ſays, *this* character was written in 1654. Taylor was alive in 1652, having publiſhed *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe* in that year.

probably

probably near ſeventy years of age at the time of his death.

He is ſaid by ſome to have painted the only original picture of Shakſpeare now extant, in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Chandos. By others, with more probability, Richard Burbadge is reported to have been the painter: for among the pictures in Dulwich college is one, which, in the catalogue made in the time of Charles the Second by Cartwright the player, is ſaid to have been painted by Burbadge.

ROBERT BENFIELD

appears to have been a ſecond-rate actor. He performed Antonio in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the death of Oſtler. He alſo acted the part of the King in *The Deſerving Favourite*; Ladiſlaus in *The Picture*; Junius Ruſticus in *The Roman Actor*; and De-gard in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*.

He was alive in 1647, being one of the players who ſigned the dedication to the folio edition of Fletcher's plays, publiſhed in that year.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

This actor at an early period performed female characters, and was, I ſuppoſe, the father of *Alexander Goughe*, who in this particular followed Robert's ſteps. In *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Robert Goughe played Aſpatia; but in the year 1611 he had arrived at an age which entitled him to repreſent male characters; for in *The Second Maidens Tragedie*[a], which was produced in that year, he performed the part of the uſurping tyrant.

RICHARD ROBINSON

is ſaid by Wright to have been a comedian. He acted in Jonſon's *Catiline* in 1611; and, it ſhould ſeem from a paſſage in *The Devil is an Aſs*, [Act II. ſc. viii.] 1616,

[a] Mſ. in the collection of the Marquis of Lanſdown. See p 71, n. 7.

that

that at that time he uſually repreſented female characters. In *The Second Maidens Tragedie*, he repreſented the *Lady of Genoa*. I have not learned what parts in our author's plays were performed by this actor. In *The Deſerving Favourite*, 1629, he played Orſinio; and in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe* La-Caſtre. In Maſſinger's *Roman Actor*, he performed Æſopus; and in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*, after the retirement of Condell, he played the Cardinal. Hart, the celebrated actor, was originally his boy or apprentice. Robinſon was alive in 1647, his name being ſigned, with ſeveral others, to the dedication prefixed to the firſt folio edition of Fletcher's plays. In the civil wars he ſerved in the king's army, and was killed in an engagement, by Harriſon, who was afterwards hanged at Charing-Croſs. Harriſon refuſed him quarter, after he had laid down his arms, and ſhot him in the head, ſaying at the ſame time, "Curſed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently [3]."

JOHN SHANCKE

was, according to Wright, a comedian. He was but in a low claſs, having performed the part of the Curate in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, and that of Hillario (a ſervant) in *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe*. He was a dramatick author as well as an actor, having produced a comedy entitled *Shanke's Ordinary*, which was acted at Blackfriars in the year 1623-4 [4].

JOHN RICE.

The only information I have met with concerning this player, is, that he repreſented the Marquis of Peſcara, an inconſiderable part in Webſter's *Dutcheſs of Malfy*. He was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge.

The foregoing liſt is ſaid in the firſt folio to contain the names of the *principal* actors in theſe plays.

3 *Hiſt. Hiſtrion.* p. 8.

4 "For the kings company. *Shankes Ordinarie*, written by Shankes himſelfe, this 16 March, 1623,—£. 1. 0. 0." Mſ. Herbert.

Beſide

Beſide theſe, we know that *John Wilſon* played an inſignificant part in *Much ado about nothing*.

Gabriel was likewiſe an inferior actor in theſe plays, as appears from *the Third Part of King Henry VI.*, p. 150, edit. 1623, where we find—"Enter *Gabriel*." In the correſponding place in the old play entitled *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke*, &c. we have—"Enter a *Meſſenger*." Sinkler or Sinclo, and Humphrey[5], were likewiſe players in the ſame theatre, and of the ſame claſs. William Barkſted[6], John Duke, and Chriſtopher Beeſton[7], alſo belonged to this company. The latter from the year 1624 to 1638, when he died, was manager of the Cockpit theatre in Drury-lane.

In a book of the laſt age of no great authority, we are told that "the infamous *Hugh Peters*, after he had been expelled from the Univerſity of Cambridge, went to London, and enrolled himſelf as a player in Shakſpeare's company, in which he uſually performed the part of the Clown." Hugh Peter (for that was his name, not *Peters*, as he was vulgarly called by his contemporaries,) was born at Fowey or Foye in Cornwall in 1599, and was entered of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in the year 1613. In 1617 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1622. On the 23d of December 1621, as I find from the Regiſtry of the Biſhop of London, he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Mountaine then biſhop of that ſee; and on June 8, 1623, he was ordained a prieſt. During his reſidence at Trinity college, he behaved ſo improperly, that he was once publickly whipped for his inſolence and contumacy*; but I do not find that he was

[5] In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 158, firſt folio, the following ſtage-direction is found: "Enter *Sinklo* and Humphrey. In the old play in quarto, entitled *The true tragedie of Richarde duke of Yorke*, "Enter *two keepers*."

[6] He was one of the children of the Revels. See the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of Ben Jonſon's *Silent Woman*.

[7] *Dramatis Perſonæ* of *Every man in his humour*.

* Warton's Milton, p. 432.

expelled. It is, however, not improbable that he was ruſticated for a time, for ſome miſconduct; and perhaps in that interval, inſtead of retiring to his parent's houſe in Cornwall, his reſtleſs ſpirit carried him to London, and induced him to tread the ſtage. If this was the caſe, it probably happened about the time of our author's death, when Hugh Peter was about eighteen years old.

Langbaine was undoubtedly miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Edward Alleyn was "an ornament to Blackfriars." Wright, who was much better acquainted with the ancient ſtage, ſays, "he never heard that Alleyn acted there:" and the liſt in the firſt folio edition of our author's plays proves deciſively that he was not of his company; for ſo celebrated a performer could not have been overlooked, when that liſt was forming. So early as in 1593, we find "Ned Alleyn's company mentioned *." Alleyn was ſole proprietor and manager of the Fortune theatre, in which he performed from 1599 (and perhaps before) till 1616, when, I believe, he quitted the ſtage. He was ſervant to the Lord Admiral (Nottingham): all the old plays therefore which are ſaid to have been performed by *the Lord Admiral's Servants*, were repreſented at the Fortune by Alleyn's company [8].

THE

* P. 197, n. 5.

[8] In a former edition I had ſaid, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that "Edward Alleyn, the player, mentions in his *Diary*, that he once had ſo ſlender an audience in his theatre called the *Fortune*, that the whole receipt of the houſe amounted to no more than three pounds and ſome odd ſhillings." But I have ſince ſeen Alleyn's *Diary*, (which was then miſlaid,) and find Mr. Oldys was miſtaken. The memorandum on which the intelligence conveyed by the Librarian of Dulwich College to that Antiquary, was founded, is as follows: "Oct. 3, 1617. I went to the Red Bull, and rd. for *The Younger Brother* but £. 3. 6. 4."

It appears from one of Lord Bacon's Letters that Alleyn had in 1618 left the ſtage. "Allen that *was* the player," he calls him. The money therefore which he mentions to have received for the play of *The Younger Brother*, muſt have been the produce of the ſecond day's repreſentation, in conſequence of his having ſold the property of that piece to the ſharers in the Red Bull theatre, or being in ſome other

THE hiſtory of the ſtage as far as it relates to Shakſpeare, naturally divides itſelf into three periods: the period which preceded his appearance as an actor or dramatick writer; that during which he flouriſhed; and the time which has elapſed ſince his death. Having now gone through the two former of theſe periods, I ſhall take a tranſient view of the ſtage from the death of our great poet to the year 1741, ſtill with a view to Shakſpeare, and his works.

Soon after his death, four of the principal companies then ſubſiſting, made a union, and were afterwards called *the United Companies*; but I know not preciſely in what this union conſiſted. I ſuſpect it aroſe from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each houſe occaſionally to aſſiſt their brethren in the other theatres in the repreſentation of plays. We have already ſeen that John Heminge in 1618 pay'd Sir George Buck, "*in the name of the four companys*, for a lenten diſpenſation in the holydaies, 44s.;" and Sir Henry Herbert obſerves that the play called *Come ſee a Wonder*, "written by John Daye for a company of ſtrangers," and repreſented Sept. 18, 1623, was "acted at the Red Bull, and licenſed without his hand to it, becauſe they [i. e. this company of ſtrangers] were none of the *four companys*." The old comedy entitled *Amends for Ladies*, as appears from its title-page, was acted at *Blackfriars* before the year 1618, "both by the *Prince's ſervants and Lady Elizabeth's*," though

other way entitled to a benefit from it. Alleyn's own play-houſe, the Fortune, was then open, but I imagine, he had ſold of his property in it to a kinſman, one Thomas Allen, an actor likewiſe. In his Diary he frequently mentions his going from Dulwich to London after dinner, and ſupping with him and ſome of "*the Fortune's men*." From this Mſ. I expected to have learned ſeveral particulars relative to our ancient ſtage; but unluckily the Diary does not commence till the year 1617, (at which time he had retired to his College at Dulwich,) and contains no theatrical intelligence whatſoever, except the article already quoted.

the

the theatre at Blackfriars then belonged to the king's ſervants.

After the death of Shakſpeare, the plays of Fletcher appear for ſeveral years to have been more admired, or at leaſt to have been more frequently acted, than thoſe of our poet. During the latter part of the reign of James the Firſt, Fletcher's pieces had the advantage of novelty to recommend them. I believe, between the time of Beaumont's death in 1615 and his own in 1625, this poet produced at leaſt twenty-five plays. Sir Aſton Cokain has informed us, in his poems, that of the thirty-five pieces improperly aſcribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio edition of 1647, much the greater part were written after Beaumont's death[9]; and his account is partly confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, from which it appears that Fletcher produced eleven new plays in the laſt four years of his life. If we were poſſeſſed of the Regiſter kept by Sir George Buck, we ſhould there, I make no doubt, find near twenty dramas written by the ſame author in the interval between 1615 and 1622. As, to aſcertain the ſhare which each of theſe writers had in the works which have erroneouſly gone under their joint names, has long been a *deſideratum* in dramatick hiſtory, I ſhall here ſet down as perfect a liſt as I have been able to form of the pieces produced by Fletcher in his latter years.

9 " ——— For what a foul
" And inexcuſable fault it is, *(that whole*
" *Volume of plays being almoſt every one*
" *After the death of Beaumont writ,)* that none
" Would certifie them ſo much?"
Verſes addreſſed by Sir Aſton Cokain to Mr. Charles Cotton.

See alſo his verſes addreſſed to Mr. Humphry Moſeley and Mr. Humphry Robinſon:
" In the large book of playes you late did print
" In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why in't
" Did you not juſtice? give to each his due?
" For Beaumont of thoſe many writ in few;
" And Maſſinger in other few; *the main*
" Being ſole iſſues of ſweet Fletcher's brain."

The

The Honeſt Man's Fortune, though it appeared firſt in the folio 1647, was one of the few pieces in that collection, which was the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. It was firſt performed at the Globe theatre in the year 1613, two years before the death of Beaumont *.

The Loyal Subject was the ſole production of Fletcher, and was firſt repreſented in the year 1618.

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the courſe of the year, were generally preſented at court at Chriſtmas. As therefore *The Iſland Princeſs*, *The Pilgrim*, and *The Wild Gooſe Chaſe* are found among the court exhibitions of the year 1621, we need not heſitate to aſcribe theſe pieces alſo to the ſame poet. *The Wild-Gooſe Chaſe*, though abſurdly printed under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, is expreſsly aſcribed to the latter by Lowin and Taylor, the actors who publiſhed it in 1652. *The Beggar's Buſh*, being alſo acted at court in 1622, was probably written by Fletcher. *The Tamer tamed* is expreſsly call'd his by Sir Henry Herbert, as is the *Mad Lover* by Sir Aſton Cokain: and it appears from the manuſcript ſo often quoted that *The Night-Walker* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, having been left imperfect by Fletcher, were corrected and finiſhed by Shirley.

I have now given an account of nine of the pieces in which Beaumont appears to have had no ſhare; and ſubjoin a liſt of eleven other plays written by Fletcher, (with the aſſiſtance of Rowley in one only,) preciſely in the order in which they were licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels.

1622. May 14, he produced a new play called *The Propheteſs*.
June 22, *The Sea Voyage*. This piece was acted at the Globe.
October 24, *The Spaniſh Curate*. Acted at Blackfriars.

* A Manuſcript copy of this play is now before me, marked 1613, 1623.

1623. Auguſt 29, *The Maid of the Mill*, written by Fletcher and Rowley; acted at the Globe.
October 17, *The Devill of Dowgate, or Uſury put to uſe*. Acted by the king's ſervants. This piece is loſt.
Decemb. 6. *The Wandering Lovers*; acted at Blackfriars. This piece is alſo loſt.

1624. May 27, *A Wife for a Month*. Acted by the King's ſervants.
Octob. 19. *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*.

1625-6. January 22. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. Acted at Blackfriars.
Feb. 3. *The Noble Gentleman*. Acted at the ſame theatre.

In a former page an account has been given of the court-exhibitions in 1622. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following "Note of ſuch playes as were acted at court in 1623 and 1624," which confirms what I have ſuggeſted, that the plays of Shakſpeare were then not ſo much admired as thoſe of the poets of the day.

"Upon Michelmas night att Hampton court, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. Company.

"Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the prince being there only, *The Mayd of the Mill* againe, with reformations.

"Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, *The Gipſye*, by the Cockpitt company.

"Upon St. Stevens daye, the king and prince being there, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon St. Johns night, the prince only being there, *The Bondman* by the queene [of Bohemia's] company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sonday, *The Buck is a theif*, the king and prince being there. By the kings company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon New-years night, by the K. company, *The*

The Wandering Lovers, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" Upon the Sonday after, beinge the 4 of January 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, *The Changelinge*; the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" Upon Twelfe night, the maſke being putt of, *More diſſemblers beſides Women**, by the kings company, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

" To the Ducheſs of Richmond, in the kings abſence, was given *The Winters Tale*, by the K. company, the 18 Janu. 1623. Att Whitehall.

" Upon All-hollows night, 1624, the king beinge at Roiſton, no play.

" The night after, my Lord Chamberlin had *Rule a wife and have a wife* for the ladys, by the king's company.

" Upon St. Steevens night, the prince only being there, [was acted] *Rule a wife and have a wife*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall.

" Upon St. Johns night, [the prince] and the duke of Brunſwick being there, *The Fox*, by the ———— Att Whitehall.

" Upon Innocents night, the [prince] and the duke of Brunſwyck being there, *Cupids Revenge*, by the Queen of Bohemias Servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

" Upon New-years night, the prince only being there, The firſt part of *Sir John Falſtaff*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall, 1624.

" Upon Twelve night, the Maſque being putt of, and the prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias ſervants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

" Upon the Sonday night following, being the ninthe of January, 1624, the Maſque was performd.

" On Candlemas night the 2 February, no play, the king being att Newmarket."

From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were ſhut up, his Manuſcript does not furniſh us with a regular

* " The worſt play that ere I ſaw," ſays the writer, in a marginal note.

account of the plays exhibited at court every year. Such, however, as he has given, I ſhall now ſubjoin, together with a few anecdotes which he has preſerved, relative to ſome of the works of our poet and the dramatick writers who immediately ſucceeded him.

"For the king's players. An olde playe called *Winters Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyſe by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was miſſinge; and therefore I returned itt without a fee, this 19 of Auguſt, 1623.

"For the king's company. *The Hiſtorye of Henry the Firſt*[1], written by Damport [Davenport]; this 10 April, 1624,—£. 1. 0. 0.

"For the king's company. An olde play called *The Honeſt Mans Fortune*, the originall being loſt, was reallowed by mee at Mr. Taylor's intreaty, and on condition to give mee a booke [*The Arcadia*], this 8 Februa. 1624."

The manuſcript copy of the *Honeſt Man's Fortune* is now before me, and is dated 1613. It was therefore probably the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. This piece was acted at the Globe, and the copy which had been licenſed by Sir George Buc, was without doubt deſtroyed by the fire which conſumed that theatre in the year 1613. The allowed copy of *The Winter's Tale* was probably deſtroyed at the ſame time.

"17 July, 1626. [Received] from Mr. Hemmings for a courteſie done him about their Blackfriers hous, £. 3. 0. 0.

"[Received] from Mr. Hemming, in their company's name, to forbid the playing of Shakeſpeares plays, to the Red Bull Company, this 11 of Aprill, 1627, £. 5. 0. 0.

"This day, being the 11 of Janu. 1630, I did refuſe to allow of a play of Meſſinger's[2], becauſe itt did contain

[1] This play in a late entry on the Stationers' books was aſcribed by a fraudulent bookſeller to Shakſpeare.

[2] Maſſinger's *Duke of Millaine* and *Virgin Martyr* were printed in 1623. It appears from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert that his other plays were produced in the following order:

The

contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian king of Portugal, by Phillip the [Second,] and ther being a peace

The Bondman, Dec. 3, 1623. Acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.

The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice, April 17, 1624. Acted at the Cockpitt.

The Parliament of Love, Nov. 3, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit. Of this play the last four acts are yet extant in manuscript.

The Spanish Viceroy, acted in 1624. This play is lost.

The Roman Actor, October 11, 1626. Acted by the king's company.

The Judge, June 6, 1627. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Great Duke was licensed for the Queen's Servants, July 5, 1627. This was, I apprehend, *the Great Duke of Florence*, which was acted by that company.

The Honour of Women was licensed May 6, 1628. I suspect that this was the original name of *The Maid of Honour*, which was printed in 1631, though not entered for the stage in Sir Henry Herbert's book.

The Picture, June 8, 1629. Acted by the king's company.

Minerva's Sacrifice, Nov. 3, 1629. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Emperor of the East, March 11, 1630-31. Acted by the king's company.

Believe as you list, May 7, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Unfortunate Piety, June 13, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Fatal Dowry does not appear to have been licensed for the stage under that title, but was printed in 1632. It was acted by the king's company.

The City Madam, May 25, 1632. Acted by the king's company.

A new way to pay old debts does not appear to have been licensed for the stage, but was printed in Nov. 1632.

The Guardian was licensed, Octob. 31, 1633. Acted by the king's company.

The Tragedy of Cleander, May 7, 1634. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

A Very Woman, June 6, 1634. Acted by the king's company.

The Orator, Jan. 10, 1634-5. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Bashful Lover, May 9, 1636. Acted by the king's company.

The King and the Subject, June 5, 1638. Acted by the same company. This title, Sir Henry Herbert says, was changed. I suspect it was new named *The Tyrant*. The play is lost.

a peace ſworen twixte the kings of England and Spayne. I had my fee notwithſtandinge, which belongs to me for the reading itt over, and ought to be brought always with the booke.

" Received of Knight[3], for allowing of Ben Johnſons play called *Humours reconcil'd, or the Magnetick Lady*, to bee acted, this 12th of Octob. 1632, £. 2. 0. 0.

" 18 Nov. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley[4], and acted by the Queens players, ther were divers

Alexius, or the Chaſte Lover, Sept. 25, 1639. Acted by the king's company.

The Fair Anchoreſs of Pauſilippo, Jan. 26, 1639-40. Acted by the king's company.

Several other pieces by this author were formerly in poſſeſſion of John Warburton, Eſq. Somerſet Herald, but I know not when they were written. Their titles are, *Antonio and Vallia, The Woman's Plot, Philenzo and Hippolita, Teſte and Welcome.*

3 The book-keeper of Blackfriars' playhouſe. The date of this piece of Ben Jonſon has hitherto been unaſcertained. Immediately after this entry is another, which accounts for the defect of ſeveral leaves in the edition of Lord Brooke's Poems, 1633: " Received from Henry Seyle for allowinge a booke of verſes of my lord Brooks, entitled *Religion*, Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor, this 17 of October 1632, in mony, £. 1. 0. 01 in books to the value of £. 1. 4. 0."—In all the publiſhed copies twenty leaves on the ſubject of Religion, are wanting, having been cancelled, probably by the order of Archbiſhop Laud.

The ſubſequent entry aſcertains the date of Cowley's earlieſt production:

" More of Seyle, for allowinge of two other ſmall peeces of verſes for the preſs, done by a boy of this town called Cowley, at the ſame time, £. 0. 10. 0."

4 Such of the plays of Shirley as were regiſtered by Sir Henry Herbert, were licenſed in the following order:

Love Tricks, with Complements, Feb. 10, 1624-5.
Mayds Revenge, Feb. 9, 1625-6.
The Brothers, Nov. 4, 1626.
The Witty Fair one, Octob. 3, 1628.
The Faithful Servant, Nov. 3, 1629.
The Traytor, May 4, 1631.
The Duke, May 17, 1631.
Lovers Cruelty, Nov. 14, 1631.
The Changes, Jan. 10, 1631-2.
Hyde Park, April 20, 1632.
The Ball, Nov. 16, 1632.
The Bewties, Jan. 21, 1632-3.

divers perſonated ſo naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Biſton [Chriſtopher Beeſton] promiſte many things which I found faulte withall ſhould be left out, and that he would not ſuffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deſerves to be puniſht; and the firſt that offends in this kind, of poets or players, ſhall be ſure of publique puniſhment.

"R. for allowinge of *The Tale of the Tubb*, Vitru Hoop's parte wholly ſtrucke out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lord chamberlin; exceptions being taken againſt it by Inigo Jones, ſurveyor of the kings workes, as a perſonal injury unto him. May 7, 1633,—*£*. 2. 0. 0."

In this piece, of which the preciſe date was hitherto unknown, *Vitru Hoop*, i. e. *Vitruvius* Hoop, undoubtedly was intended to repreſent Inigo Jones.

"The comedy called *The Yonge Admirall*, being free from oaths, prophaneſs, or obſceanes, hath given mee much delight and ſatisfaction in the readinge, and may ſerve for a patterne to other poetts, not only for the bettring of maners and language, but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received ſome bruſhings of late.

"When Mr. Sherley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him to purſue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry, and when other poetts heare and ſee his good ſucceſs, I am confident they will imitate

The Young Admiral, July 3, 1633.
The Gameſter, Nov. 11, 1633.
The Example, June 24, 1634.
The Opportunity, Nov. 29, 1634.
The Coronation, Feb. 6, 1634-5.
Chabot, Admiral of France, April 29, 1635.
The Lady of Pleaſure, Octob. 15, 1635.
The Dukes Miſtreſs, Jan. 18, 1635-6.
The Royal Maſter, April 23, 1638.
The Gentleman of Veniſe, 30 Octob. 1639.
Roſania, 1 June, 1640.
The Impoſtor, Nov. 10, 1640.
The Politique Father, May 26, 1641.
The Cardinall, Nov. 25, 1641.
The Siſters, April 26, 1642.

the original for their own credit, and make ſuch copies in this harmleſs way, as ſhall ſpeak them maſters in their art, at the firſt ſight, to all judicious ſpectators. It may be acted this 3 July, 1633.

"I have entered this allowance, for direction to my ſucceſſor, and for example to all poetts, that ſhall write after the date hereof.

"Received of Biſton, for an ould play called *Hymens Holliday*, newly revived at their houſe, being a play given unto him for my uſe, this 15 Aug. 1633, £. 3. 0. 0. Received of him for ſome alterations in it, £. 1. 0. 0.

"Meetinge with him at the ould exchange, he gave my wife a payre of gloves, that coſt him at leaſt twenty ſhillings.

"Upon a ſecond petition of the players to the High Commiſſion court, wherein they did mee right in my care to purge their plays of all offenſe, my lords Grace of Canterbury beſtowed many words upon mee, and diſcharged mee of any blame, and layd the whole fault of their play called *The Magneſick Lady*, upon the players. This happened the 24 of Octob. 1633, at Lambeth. In their firſt petition they would have excuſed themſelves on mee and the poett."

"On Saterday the 17th of Novemb.[5], being the Queens birth day, *Richard the Thirde* was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were preſent, it being the firſt play the queene ſawe ſince her M.ty's delivery of the Duke of York. 1633.

"On tuſday the 19th of November, being the king's birth-day, *The Yong Admirall* was acted at St. James by the queen's players, and likt by the K. and Queen.

"The Kings players ſent mee an ould booke of Fletchers called *The Loyal Subject*, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Novemb. 1618, which according to their deſire and agreement I did peruſe, and with ſome

5 This is a miſtake. It ſhould be the 16th of November. She was born Nov. 16, 1609.

reformations

reformations allowed of, the 23 of Nov. 1633, for which they ſent mee according to their promiſe £. 1. 0. 0.[6]

" On tuſday night at Saint James, the 26 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Taminge of the Shrew*. Likt.

" On thurſday night at St. James, the 28 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Tamer Tamd*, made by Fletcher. Very well likt.

" On tuſday night at Whitehall the 10 of Decemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queen, *The Loyal Subject*, made by Fletcher, and very well likt by the king.

" On Monday night the 16 of December, 1633, at Whitehall was acted before the King and Queen, *Hymens Holliday or Cupids Fegarys*, an ould play of Rowleys. Likte.

" On Wenſday night the firſt of January, 1633, *Cymbeline* was acted at Court by the Kings players. Well likte by the kinge.

" On Monday night the ſixth of January and the Twelfe Night, was preſented at Denmark-houſe, before the King and Queene, Fletchers paſtorall called *The Faithfull Shepheardeſſe*, in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor the yeare before of her owne paſtorall.

" The ſcenes were fitted to the paſtorall, and made, by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the great chamber, 1633.

" This morning being the 9th of January, 1633, the kinge was pleasd to call mee into his withdrawinge chamber to the windowe, wher he went over all that I had croſte in Davenants play-booke, and allowing of *faith* and *ſlight* to bee aſſeverations only, and no oathes, markt them to ſtande, and ſome other few things, but in the greater part allowed of my reformations. This was done upon a complaint of Mr. Endymion Porters in December.

" The kinge is pleasd to take *faith*, *death*, *ſlight*, for aſſeverations, and no oaths[7], to which I doe humbly

[6] In the margin the writer adds—" The firſt ould play ſent mee to be peruſed by the K. players."

[7] In a ſmall tract of the laſt age, of which I have forgot the title, we are told, that Charles the Second, being reprimanded by one of his biſhops for frequently introducing profane oaths in his diſcourſe, defended himſelf by ſaying, " Your martyr ſwore twice more than I do."

ſubmit as my maſters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and ſubmiſſion.

"The 10 of January, 1633, I returned unto Mr. Davenant his play-booke of *The Witts*, corrected by the kinge.

"The kinge would not take the booke at Mr. Porters hands; but commanded him to bring it unto mee, which he did, and likewiſe commanded Davenant to come to mee for it, as I believe; otherwiſe he would not have byn ſo civill.

"*The Guardian*, a play of Mr. Meſſengers, was acted at court on Sunday the 12 January, 1633, by the Kings players, and well likte.

"*The Tale of the Tub* was acted on tuſday night at Court, the 14 Janua. 1633, by the Queenes players, and not likte.

"*The Winters Tale* was acted on thurſday night at Court, the 16 Janu. 1633, by the K. players, and likt.

"*The Witts* was acted on tuſday night the 28 January, 1633, at Court, before the Kinge and Queene. Well likt. It had a various fate on the ſtage, and at court, though the kinge commended the language, but diſlikt the plott and characters.

"*The Night-walkers* was acted on thurſday night the 30 Janu. 1633, at Court, before the King and Queen. Likt as a merry play. Made by Fletcher [8].

"The Inns of court gentlemen preſented their maſque at court, before the kinge and queene, the 2 February, 1633, and performed it very well. Their ſhew through the ſtreets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph.—Mr. Surveyor Jones invented and made the ſcene; Mr. Sherley the poett made the proſe and verſe.

"On thurſday night the 6 of Febru. 1633, *The Gameſter* was acted at Court, made by Sherley, out of a plot of the king's, given him by mee; and well likte. The king ſayd it was the beſt play he had ſeen for ſeven years.

[8] In a former page the following entry is found:

"For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11 May, 1633, £.2. 0. 0. For the queen's players."

"On

" On Shrovetuſday night, the 18 of February, 1633, the Kinge dancte his Maſque, accompanied with 11 lords, and attended with 10 pages. It was the nobleſt maſque of my time to this day, the beſt poetrye, beſt ſcenes, and the beſt habitts. The kinge and queene were very well pleasd with my ſervice, and the Q. was pleasd to tell mee before the king, " Pour les habits, elle n'avoit jamais rien veu de ſi brave."

" *Buſſy d'Amboyſe* was playd by the king's players on Eaſter-monday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

" *The Paſtorall* was playd by the king's players on Eaſter-tuſday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

" I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febru. 1634, to the Marſhalſey, for lending a church-robe with the name of JESUS upon it to the players in Saliſbury Court, to preſent a Flamen, a prieſt of the heathens. Upon his petition of ſubmiſſion, and acknowledgment of his faulte, I releasd him, the 17 Febr. 1634.

" The Second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* playd at court the 16 Febru. 1635, with great approbation of K. and Queene.

" *The Silent Woman* playd at Court of St. James on thurſday ye 18 Febr. 1635.

" On Wenſday the 23 of Febru. 1635, the Prince d'Amours gave a maſque to the Prince Elector and his brother, in the Middle Temple, wher the Queene was pleaſd to grace the entertaynment by putting of majeſty, to putt on a citizens habitt, and to ſett upon the ſcaffold on the right hande amongſt her ſubjects.

" The queene was attended in the like habitts by the Marques Hamilton, the Counteſs of Denbighe, the Counteſs of Holland, and the Lady Elizabeth Feildinge. Mrs. Baſſe, the law-woman *, leade in this royal citizen and her company.

" The Earle of Holland, the Lord Goringe, Mr. Percy, and Mr. Jermyn, were the men that attended.

" The Prince Elector ſatt in the midſt, his brother

* i. e. the woman who had the care of the hall belonging to the Middle Temple.

Robert

Robert on the right hand of him, and the Prince d'Amours on the left.

" The Maſque was very well performd in the dances, ſcenes, cloathinge, and muſique, and the Queene was pleasd to tell mee at her going away, that ſhe liked it very well.

" Henry Lauſe } made the muſique.
" William Lauſe }

" Mr. Corſeilles made the ſcenes.

" *Loves Aſtergame*[9], played at St. James by the Saliſbury Court players, the 24 of Feb. 1635.

" *The Dukes Miſtres* played at St. James the 22 of Feb. 1635. Made by Sherley.

" The ſame day at Whitehall I acquainted king Charles, my maſter, with the danger of Mr. Hunts ſickneſs, and moved his Majeſty, in caſe he dyed, that he would bee pleasd to give mee leave to commend a fitt man to ſucceede him in his place of Yeoman of the Revells.

" The kinge tould mee, that till then he knew not that Will Hunt held a place in the Revells. To my requeſt he was pleasd to give mee this anſwer. Well, ſays the king, I will not diſpoſe of it, or, it ſhall not be diſpoſed of, till I heare you. *Ipſiſſimis verbis.* Which I enter here as full of grace, and for my better remembrance, ſinſe *my maſter's cuſtom affords not ſo many words, nor ſo ſignificant.*

" The 28 Feb. *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle* playd by the Q. men at St. James.

" The firſt and ſecond part of *Arviragus and Philicia* were acted at the Cockpitt, [Whitehall] before the Kinge and Queene, the Prince, and Prince Elector, the 18 and 19 Aprill, 1636, being monday and tuſday in Eaſter weeke.

" At the increaſe of the plague to 4 within the citty and 54 in all.—This day the 12 May, 1636, I received a warant from my lord Chamberlin for the ſuppreſſing of playes and ſhews, and at the ſame time delivered my ſeverall warants to George Wilſon for the four companys of players, to be ſerved upon them.

[9] *The Proxy, or Love's Aſtergame*, was produced at the theatre at Saliſbury Court, November 24, 1634.

" At Hampton Court, 1636.

" The firſt part of *Arviragus*, Monday Afternoon, 26 Decemb.

" The ſecond part of *Arviragus*, tuſday 27 Decemb.

" *Love and Honour*, on New-years night, ſonday.

" *The Elder Brother*, on thurſday the 5 Janua.

" *The Kinge and no Kinge*, on tuſday ye 10 Janua.

" *The Royal Slave*, on thurſday the 12 of Janu.—Oxford play, written by Caitwright. The king gave him forty pounds.

" *Rollo*, the 24 Janu.

" *Julius Cæſar*, at St. James, the 31 Janu. 1636.

" *Cupides Revenge*, at St. James, by Beeſton's boyes, the 7 Febru.

" *A Wife for a monthe*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 9 Febru.

" *Wit without money*, by the B. boyes, at St. James, the 14 Feb.

" *The Governor*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 17 Febru. 1636.

" *Philaſter*, by the K. players, at St. James, ſhrovtuſday, the 21 Febru. 1636.

" On thurſday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decreaſe the king gave the players their liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636. [1636-7.]

" The plague encreaſinge, the players laye ſtill untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play.

" Mr. Beeſton was commanded to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the ſame day.

" I diſpoſed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salſbury Court, and joynd them with the beſt of that company.

" Received of Mr. Lowens for my paines about Meſſinger's play called *The King and the Subject*, 2 June, 1638, £.1. 0. 0.

" The name of *The King and the Subject* is alterd, and I allowd the play to bee acted, the reformations moſt ſtrictly obſerved, and not otherwiſe, the 5th of June, 1638.

" At

" At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that hee would warant it.

" Monys? Wee'le rayſe ſupplies what ways we pleaſe,
" And force you to ſubſcribe to blanks, in which
" We'le mulct you as wee ſhall thinke fitt. The Cæſars
" In Rome were wiſe, acknowledginge no lawes
" But what their ſwords did ratifye, the wives
" And daughters of the ſenators bowinge to
" Their wils, as deities," &c.

" This is a peece taken out of Phillip Meſſingers play, called *The King and the Subject*, and enterd here for ever to bee rememberd by my ſon and thoſe that caſt their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my maſter, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, ſet his marke upon the place with his own hande, and in thes words:

" *This is too inſolent, and to bee changed.*"

" Note, that the poett makes it the ſpeech of a king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and ſpoken to his ſubjects.

" On thurſday the 9 of Aprill, 1640, my Lord Chamberlen beſtow'd a play on the Kinge and Queene, call'd *Cleodora, Queene of Arragon*, made by my cozen Abington. It was performd by my lords ſervants out of his owne family, and his charge in the cloathes and ſceanes, which were very riche and curious. In the hall at Whitehall.

" The king and queene commended the generall entertaynment, as very well acted, and well ſett out.

" It was acted the ſecond tyme in the ſame place before the king and queene.

" At Ealter 1640, the Princes company went to the Fortune, and the Fortune company to the Red Bull.

" On Monday the 4 May, 1640, William Beeſton was taken by a meſſenger, and committed to the Marſhalſey, by my Lord Chamberlens warant, for playinge a playe without licenſe. The ſame day the company at the

the Cockpitt was commanded by my Lord Chamberlens warant to forbeare playinge, for playinge when they were forbidden by mee, and for other diſobedience, and laye ſtill monday, tuſday, and wenſday. On thurſday at my Lord Chamberlens entreaty I gave them their liberty, and upon their petition of ſubmiſſion ſubſcribed by the players, I reſtored them to their liberty on thurſday.

"The play I cald for, and, forbiddinge the playinge of it, keepe the booke, becauſe it had relation to the paſſages of the K.s journey into the Northe, and was complaynd of by his M.tye to mee, with commande to puniſhe the offenders.

"On Twelfe Night, 1641, the prince had a play called *The Scornful Lady*, at the Cockpitt, but the kinge and queene were not there; and it was the only play acted at courte in the whole Chriſtmas.

"[1642. June.] Received of Mr. Kirke, for a new play which I burnte for the ribaldry and offenſe that was in it, £. 2. 0. 0.

"Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called *The Iriſhe Rebellion*, the 8 June, 1642, £. 2. 0. 0.

"Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642."

Sir William D'Avenant, we have already ſeen *, about ſixteen months after the death of Ben Jonſon, obtained from his majeſty (Dec. 13, 1638) a grant of an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* which he enjoyed as poet laureat till his death. In the following year (March 26, 1639) a patent paſſed the great ſeal authorizing him to erect a playhouſe, which was then intended to have been built behind *The Three Kings Ordinary* in Fleet-ſtreet: but this ſcheme was not carried into execution. I find from a Manuſcript in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, that after the death of Chriſtopher Beeſton, Sir W. D'Avenant was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, (June 27, 1639,) "Governor of the King and Queens company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, during the leaſe

* Vol. I. P. I. p. 401, n. 6.

which

which Mrs. Elizabeth Beeſton, *alias* Hutcheſon, hath or doth hold in the ſaid houſe:" and I ſuppoſe he appointed her ſon Mr. William Beeſton his deputy, for from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, he appears for a ſhort time to have had the management of that theatre.

In the latter end of the year 1659, ſome months before the Reſtoration of K. Charles II. the theatres, which had been ſuppreſſed during the uſurpation, began to revive, and ſeveral plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's-ſtreet, in that and the following year, before the return of the king. In June 1660, three companies ſeem to have been formed; that already mentioned; one under Mr. William Beeſton in Saliſbury Court, and one at the Cockpit in Drury Lane under Mr. Rhodes, who had been wardrobe-keeper at the theatre in Blackfriars before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. Sir Henry Herbert, who ſtill retained his office of Maſter of the Revels, endeavoured to obtain from theſe companies the ſame emoluments which he had formerly derived from the exhibition of plays; but after a long ſtruggle, and after having brought ſeveral actions at law againſt Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Mohun, and others, he was obliged to relinquiſh his claims, and his office ceaſed to be attended with either authority or profit. It received its death's wound from a grant from King Charles II. under the privy ſignet, Auguſt 21, 1660, authorizing Mr. Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of his Majeſty's bedchamber, and Sir William D'Avenant, to erect two new playhouſes and two new companies, of which they were to have the regulation; and prohibiting any other theatrical repreſentation in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſuburbs, but thoſe exhibited by the ſaid two companies.

Among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert ſeveral are preſerved relative to his diſputed claim, ſome of which I ſhall here inſert in their order, as containing ſome curious and hitherto unknown particulars relative to the ſtage at this time, and alſo as illuſtrative of its hiſtory at a precedent period.

I. For

I.

" For Mr. William Beeſton.

" Whereas the allowance of plays, the ordering of players and playmakers, and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes, hath, time out of minde whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, belonged to the Maſter of his Ma.ties office of the Revells; And whereas Mr. William Beeſton hath deſired authority and lycence from mee to continue the houſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe in a playhouſe, which was formerly built and erected into a playhouſe by the permiſſion and lycence of the Maſter of the Revells.

" Theſe are therefore by virtue of a grant under the greate ſeal of England, and of the conſtant practice thereof, to continue and conſtitute the ſaid houſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe into a playhouſe, and to authorize and lycence the ſaid Mr. Beeſton to ſett, lett, or uſe it for a playhouſe, wherein comedies, tragedies, tragicomedies, paſtoralls and interludes, may be acted. Provided that noe perſons be admitted to act in the ſaid playhouſe but ſuch as ſhall be allowed by the Maſter of his Ma.ties office of the Revells. Given under my hand and ſeale at the office of the Revells, this ——— "

[This paper appears to be only a copy, and is not dated nor ſigned; ending as above. I believe, it was written in June 1660.]

II.

" To the kings moſt excellent Majeſty,

" The humble Petition of John Rogers,

" Moſt humbly ſheweth,

" That your petitioner at the beginning of the late calamitys loſt thereby his whole eſtate, and during the warr ſuſteyned much detriment and impriſonment, and loſt his limbs or the uſe thereof; who ſerved his Excellency the now Lord General, both in England and Scotland, and performed good and faithfull ſervice; in conſideration

conſideration whereof and by being ſoe much decreapitt as not to act any more in the wars, his Excellency was favourably pleaſed, for your petitioners future ſubſiſtance without being further burthenſome to this kingdom, or to your Majeſty for a penſion, to grant him a tolleration to erect a playhouſe or to have a ſhare out of them already tollerated, your petitioner thereby undertaking to ſuppreſs all riots, tumults, or moleſtations that may thereby ariſe. And for that the ſaid graunt remains imperfect unleſs corroborated by your majeſty,

> "He therefore humbly implores your moſt ſacred Majeſty, in tender compaſſion, out of your kingly clemency to confirm unto him a ſhare out of the profitts of the ſaid playhouſes, or ſuch allowance by them to be given as formerly they uſed to alow to perſons for to keep the peace of the ſame, that he may with his wife and family be thereby preſerved and relieved in his maimed aged years; and he ſhall daily pray."

"At the Court at Whitehall, the 7th of Auguſt, 1660.

"His Majeſtyis graciouſly pleaſed to refer this petition to Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of his Majeſties Revells, to take ſuch order therein, as ſhall be agreable to equity, without further troubling his majeſty.

"(A true Copye.) J. HOLLIS."

"Auguſt 20, 1660. From the office of the Revells.

"In obedience to his M.ties command I have taken the matter of the Petitioners requeſt into conſideration, and doe thereuppon conceive it very reaſonable that the petitioner ſhould have the ſame allowance weekly from you and every of you, for himſelfe and his men *, for guarding your playhouſes from all moleſtations and

* It appears from another paper that his men were ſoldiers.

injuries,

injuries, which you formerly did or doe allow or pay to other perſons for the ſame or ſuch like ſervices; and that it be duly and truely paid him without denial. And the rather for that the Kings moſt excellent Ma.tie upon the Lord General Monks recommendation, and the conſideration of the Petitioners loſſes and ſufferings, hath thought fitt to commiſſerate the Petitioner John Rogers his ſaid condition, and to refer unto me the relief of the ſaid petitioner. Given at his Ma.ties office of the Revells, under my hand and the ſeale of the ſaid office, the twentieth day of Auguſt, in the twelve yeare of his Ma.ties raigne.

"To the Actors at the Playhouſes called the Red Bull, Cockpit, and theatre in Saliſbury Court, and to every of them, in and about the citties of London and Weſtminſter."

III.

"To the kings moſt excellent Majeſtie.

"The humble petition of Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, Maſter of your Majeſties office of the Revels.

"Sheweth,

"That whereas your Petitioner by vertue of ſeverall Grants under the great ſeale of England hath executed the ſaid office, as Maſter of the Revells, for about 40 yeares, in the times of King James, and of King Charles, both of bleſſed memory, with exception only to the time of the late horrid rebellion.

"And whereas the ordering of playes and playmakers and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes are peculiar branches of the ſaid office, and in the conſtant practice thereof by your petitioners predeceſſors in the ſaid office and himſelfe, with exception only as before excepted, and authorized by grante under the ſaid greate ſeale of England; and that no perſon or perſons have

erected any playhouſes, or rayſed any company of players, without licence from your petitioners ſaid predeceſſors or from your petitioner, but Sir William D'Avenant, Knight, who obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner owned not their authority.

And whereas your Majeſty hath lately ſignified your pleaſure by warrant to Sir Jeffery Palmer Knight and Bar. your Majeſties Attorney General, for the drawing of a grante for your Majeſties ſignature to paſs the greate ſeale, thereby to enable and empower Mr. Thomas Killegrew and the ſaid Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new playhouſes in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſubburbs thereof, and to make choice of two companies of players to bee under theire ſole regulation, and that noe other players ſhall be authorized to play in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſubburbs thereof, but ſuch as the ſaid Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant ſhall allow of.

" And whereas your petitioner hath been repreſented to your Ma.ty as a perſon conſenting unto the ſaid powers expreſſed in the ſaid warrant. Your petitioner utterly denies the leaſt conſent or fore-knowledge thereof; but looks upon it as an unjuſt ſurprize, and deſtructive to the power granted under the ſaid greate ſeale to your petitioner, and to the conſtant practice of the ſaid office, and exerciſed in the office ever ſince players were admitted by authority to act playes, and cannot legally be done as your petitioner is adviſed; and it may be of very ill conſequence, as your petitioner is adviſed, by a new grante to take away and cut of a branch of your ancient powers, granted to the ſaid office under the great ſeale.

" Your petitioner therefore humbly praies that your Ma.ty would be juſtly as graciouſly pleaſed to revoke the ſaid warrant from your Ma.ties ſaid Attorney Generall, or to refer the premiſes to the conſideration of your Ma.ties ſaid Attorney Generall, to certify your Ma.ty of the truth of them, and his judgement on the whole

masters

matters in queſtion betwixt the ſaid Mr. Killegrew, Sir William D'Avenant, and your petitioner, in relation to the legality and conſequence of their demands and your petitioners rights.

" And your petitioner ſhall ever pray."

" At the Court at Whitehall, 4 Auguſt, 1660.

" His Ma.tie is pleaſed to refer this petition to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Baronet, his Ma.ties Attorney Generall; who haveing called before him all perſons concerned, and examined the petitioners right, is to certify what he finds to be the true ſtate of the matters in difference, together with his opinion thereupon. And then his M.tie will declare his further pleaſure.

EDW. NICHOLAS."

" May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Ma.ty.

" Although I have heard the parties concerned in this petition ſeverally and apart, yet in reſpect Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, having notice of a time appointed to heare all parties together, did not come, I have forborne to proceed further; having alſo receaved an intimation, by letter from Sir William D'Avenant, that I was freed from further hearing this matter.

" 14 Sept. 1660. J. PALMER."

IV.

" From Mr. Moſely concerning the playes, &c.
Auguſt 30, 1660[1].

" Sir,

" I have beene very much ſolicited by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note under my hand to certifie unto your worſhp. what agreement I had made with Mr. Rhodes of the Cockpitt playhouſe. Truly, Sir, I am ſo farr from any agreement with him, that I never ſo much as treated with him, nor with any from him, nei-

[1] This is the indorſement, written by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

ther did I ever conſent directly or indirectly, that hee or any others ſhould act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and conſent had and procured. And the ſame alſo I doe certify concerning the Whitefryers playhouſe * and players.

Sir, this is all I have to trouble you withall att preſent, and therefore I ſhall take the boldneſſe to remaine,

Your Worſh.[a] moſt humble Servant,

HUMPHREY MOSELY.

Auguſt 30. 60[a].

V.

On the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1660, the following grant, againſt which Sir Henry Herbert had petitioned to be heard, paſſed the privy ſignet.

"Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the fayth, &c. to all to whome theſe preſents ſhall come greeting. Whereas wee are given to underſtand that certain perſons in and about our citty of London, or the ſuburbs thereof, doe frequently aſſemble for the performing and acting of playes and enterludes for rewards, to which divers of our ſubjects doe for their entertainment reſort; which ſaid playes, as we are informed, doe containe much matter of prophanation and ſcurrility, ſoe that ſuch kind of entertainments, which, if well managed, might ſerve as morall inſtructions in humane life, as the ſame are now uſed, doe for the moſt part tende to the debauchinge of the manners of ſuch as are preſent at them, and are very ſcandalous and offenſive to all pious and well diſpoſed perſons. We, takeing the premiſſes into our princely conſideration, yett not holding it neceſſary totally to ſuppreſſe the uſe of theaters, becauſe wee are aſſured, that, if the evill and ſcandall in the playes that now are or haue bin acted were taken away,

* I. e. the playhouſe in Saliſbury Court.

[a] The date inſerted by Sir Henry Herbert.

the

the ſame might ſerue as innocent and harmleſſe diuertiſement for many of our ſubjects; and haueing experience of the art and ſkill of our truſty and well beloued Thomas Killegrew, eſq. one of the Groomes of our Bedchamber, and of Sir William Dauenant, knight, for the purpoſes hereafter mentioned, doe hereby giue and grante vnto the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant full power and authority to erect two companies of players, conſiſtinge reſpectively of ſuch perſons as they ſhall chuſe and appoint, and to purchaſe, builde and erect, or hire at their charge, as they ſhall thinke fitt, two houſes or theaters, with all convenient roomes and other neceſſaries thereunto appertaining, for the repreſentation of tragydies, comedyes, playes, operas, and all other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places: and likewiſe to ſettle and eſtabliſh ſuch payments to be paid by thoſe that ſhall reſort to ſee the ſaid repreſentations performed, as either haue bin accuſtomely giuen and taken in the like kind, or as ſhall be reaſonable in regard of the great expences of SCENES, muſick, and ſuch new decorations as haue not bin formerly uſed; with further power to make ſuch allowances out of that which they ſhall ſo receiue, to the actors, and other perſons employed in the ſaid repreſentations in both houſes reſpectively, as they ſhall think fitt: the ſaid companies to be under the gouernement and authority of them the ſaid Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Dauenant. And in regard of the extraordinary licentiouſneſs that hath been lately uſed in things of this nature, our pleaſure is, that there ſhall be noe more places of repreſentations, nor companies of actors of playes, or operas by recitative, muſick, or repreſentations by danceing and ſcenes, or any other entertainments on the ſtage, in our citties of London and Weſtminſter, or in the liberties of them, then the two to be now erected by vertue of this authority. Nevertheleſs wee doe hereby by our authority royal ſtrictly enjoine the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, that they doe not at any time hereafter cauſe to be acted

or repreſented any play, enterlude, or opera, containing any matter of prophanation, ſcurrility or obſcenity: And wee doe further hereby authorize and command them the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Davenant to peruſe all playes that haue been formerly written, and to expunge all prophaneſſe and ſcurrility from the ſame, before they be repreſented or acted. And this our grante and authority made to the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Davenant, ſhall be effectuall and remaine in full force and vertue, notwithſtanding any former order or direction by us given, for the ſuppreſſing of playhouſes and playes, or any other entertainments of the ſtage. Given, &c. Auguſt 21, 1660."

VI.

The following paper is indorſed by Sir Henry Herbert:

"Warrant ſent to Rhodes, and brought backe by him the 10 of Octob. 60, with this anſwer—*That the Kinge did authorize him.*"

"Whereas by vertue of a grante under the great ſeale of England, playes, players and playmakers, and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes, have been allowed, ordered and permitted by the Maſters of his Maties office of the Revells, my predeceſſors ſucceſſively, time out of minde, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, and by mee for almoſt forty yeares, with exception only to the late times:

"Theſe are therefore in his Maties name to require you to attend mee concerning your playhouſe called the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane, and to bring with you ſuch authority as you have for erecting of the ſaid houſe into a playhouſe, at your perill. Given at his Ma.ties office of the Revells the 8th day of Octob. 1660.

HENRY HERBERT."

"To Mr. John Rhodes at the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane."

VII.

VII.

Copy of the Warrant ſent to the actors at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane by Tom Browne, the 13 Octob. 60.

"Whereas ſeverall complaints have been made againſt you to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty by Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant, concerning the unuſuall and unreaſonable rates taken at your playhouſe-doores, of the reſpective perſons of quality that deſire to refreſh or improve themſelves by the ſight of your morrall entertainments which were conſtituted for profitt and delight. And the ſaid complaints made uſe of by the ſaid Mr. Killegrew and Sir William Davenant as part of their ſuggeſtions for their pretended power, and for your late reſtrainte.

"And whereas complaints have been made thereof formerly to mee, wherewith you were acquainted, as innovations and exactions not allowed by mee; and that the like complaints are now made, that you doe practice the ſaid exactions in takeing of exceſſive and unaccuſtomed rates uppon the reſtitution of you to your liberty.

"Theſe are therefore in his Ma.ties name to require you and every of you to take from the perſons of qualitie and others as daily frequent your play-houſe, ſuch uſuall and accuſtomed rates only as were formerly taken at the Blackfryers by the late company of actors there, and noe more nor otherwiſe, for every new or old play that ſhall be allowed you by the Maſter of the Revells to be acted in the ſaid playhouſe or any other playhouſe. *And you are hereby further required to bringe or ſende to me all ſuch old plaies as you doe intend to act at your ſaid playhouſe, that they may be reformed of prophanes and ribaldry, at your perill. Given at the office of the Revells*[3],

HENRY HERBERT."

"To Mr. Michael Mohun, and the reſt of the actors of the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane. The 13th of October, 1660."

[3] The words in Italick characters were added by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

VIII.

" To the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie.

" The humble Petition of Michael Mohun, Robert Shatterel, Charles Hart, Nich. Burt, Wm. Cartwright, Walter Clun, and William Winterſell.

" Humbly ſheweth,

" That yourMajeſties humble petitioners, having been ſuppreſt by a warrant from your Majeſtie, Sir Henry Herbert informed us it was Mr. Killegrew had cauſed it, and if wee would give him ſoe much a weeke, he would protect them againſt Mr. Killegrew and all powers. The complaint againſt us was, ſcandalous plays, raiſing the price, and acknowledging noe authority; all which ended in ſoe much per weeke to him; for which wee had leave to play and promiſe of his protection: the which your Majeſty knows he was not able to performe, ſince Mr. Killegrew, having your Majeſties former grante, ſuppreſt us, untill wee had by covenant obliged ourſelves to act with WOEMEN, a new theatre, and habitts according to our SCEANES. And according to your Majeſties approbation, from all the companies we made election of one company; and ſo farre Sir Henry Herbert hath bene from protecting us, that he hath been a continual diſturbance unto us, who were [united] by your Majeſties commande under Mr. Killegrew as Maſter of your Majeſties Comedians; and wee have annext unto our petition the date of the warrant by which we were ſuppreſt, and for a protection againſt that warrant he forced from us ſoe much a weeke. And if your majeſtie be graciouſly pleaſed to caſt your eye upon the date of the warrant hereto annext, your majeſtie ſhall find the date to our contract ſucceeded; wherein he hath broke the covenants, and not your petitioners, haveing abuſed your majeſtie in giveing an ill character of your petitioners, only to force a ſum from theire poore endeavours; who never did nor ſhall refuſe him all the reſeits and juſt

juſt profitts that belong to his place; hee having now obtained leave to arreſt us, only to give trouble and vexation to your petitioners, hopeing by that meanes to force a ſumme of money illegally from us.

"The premiſes conſidered, your petitioners humbly beſeech your majeſtie to be gratiouſly pleaſed to ſignify your royal pleaſure to the Lord Chamberlaine, that your petitioners may not bee moleſted in their calling. And your petitioners in duty bound ſhall pray, &c.

"Nich. Burt. "Robt. Shatterel[4]."
William Winterſhall.
Charles Hart."

Mr. Thomas Betterton, having been a great admirer of Shakſpeare, and having taken the trouble in the beginning of this century, when he was above ſeventy years of age, of travelling to Stratford-upon-Avon to collect materials for Mr. Rowe's life of our author, is entitled to particular notice from an editor of his works. Very inaccurate accounts of this actor have been given in the *Biographia Britannica* and ſeveral other books. It is obſervable that biographical writers often give the world long diſſertations concerning facts and dates, when the fact conteſted might at once be aſcertained by viſiting a neighbouring pariſh-church: and this has been particularlythe caſe of Mr. Betterton. He was the ſon of Matthew Betterton (under-cook to King Charles the Firſt) and was baptized, as I learn from the regiſter of St. Margaret's pariſh, Auguſt 11, 1635. He could not have appeared on the ſtage in 1656, as has been aſſerted, no theatre being then allowed. His firſt appearance was at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in Mr. Rhodes's company, who played there by a licenſe in the year 1659, when Better-

[4] Michael Mohun, William Cartwright, and Walter Clun did not ſign.

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ton was twenty-four years of age. He married Mrs. Mary Saunderſon, an actreſs, who had been bred by Sir William D'Avenant, ſome time in the year 1663, as appears by the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of *The Slighted Maid*, printed in that year[5]. From a paper now before me which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled a *Breviat* of matters to be proved on the trial of an action brought by him againſt Mr. Betterton in 1662, I find that he continued to act at the Cockpit till November 1660, when he and ſeveral other performers entered into articles with Sir William D'Avenant; in conſequence of which they began in that month to play at the theatre in Saliſbury Court, from whence after ſome time, I believe, they returned to the Cockpit, and afterwards removed to a new theatre in Portugal-Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Theſe Articles were as follows:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT tripartite, indented, made, and agreed upon this fifth day of November in the twelfth yeere of the reigne of our ſovereigne Lord king Charles the Second, Annoque Domini 1660, between Sir Wm. Davenant of London, Kt. of the firſt part, and Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, of the ſecond part; and Henry Harris of the citty of London, painter, of the third part, as followeth.

[5] This celebrated actor continued on the ſtage fifty years, and died inteſtate in April 1710. No perſon appears to have adminiſtered to him. Such was his extreme modeſty, that not long before his death "he confeſſed that he was yet learning to be an actor." His wife ſurvived him two years. By her laſt will, which was made, March 10, 1711-12, and proved in the following month, ſhe bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Head, her ſiſter, and to two other perſons, 20l. apiece, "to be paid out of the arrears of the penſion which her Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant her;" to Mrs. Anne Betterton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Den:, Mr. Dogget, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, twenty ſhillings each for rings, and to her reſiduary legatee Mrs. Frances Williamſon, the wife of —— Williamſon, "her dearly beloved huſband's picture."

Mrs. Mary Head muſt have been Mr. Betterton's ſiſter; for Mrs. Betterton's own name was Mary.

Imprimis,

Imprimis, the ſaid Sir William Davenant doth for himſelf, his executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, covenant, promiſe, grant, and agree, to and with the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, that he the ſaid Sir William Davenant by vertue of the authority to him derived for that purpoſe does hereby conſtitute, ordeine and erect them the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton and their aſſociates, to bee a company, publiquely to act all manner of tragedies, comedies, and playes whatſoever, in any theatre or playhouſe erected in London or Weſtminſter or the ſuburbs thereof, and to take the uſual rates for the ſame, to the uſes hereafter expreſt, untill the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall provide a newe theatre with SCENES.

Item, it is agreed by and between all the ſaid parties to theſe preſents, that the ſaid company (untill the ſaid theatre bee provided by the ſaid Sir William Davenant) be authorized by him to act tragedies, comedies, and playes in the playhouſe called Saliſbury Court playhouſe, or any other houſe, upon the conditions only hereafter following, vizt.

That the generall receipte of money of the ſaid playhouſe ſhall (after the houſe-rent, hirelings*, and all other accuſtomary and neceſſary expences in that kind be defrayed) bee divided into fowerteene proportions or ſhares, whereof the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall have foure full proportions or ſhares to his own uſe, and the reſt to the uſe of the ſaid companie.

That dureinge the time of playing in the ſaid playhouſe, (untill the aforeſaid theatre bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant,) the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant

* i. e. men hired occaſionally by the night: in modern language, *ſupernumeraries*.

ſhall

ſhall depute the ſaid Thomas Batterton, James Noakes, and Thomas Sheppey, or any one of them particularly, for him and on his behalfe, to receive his proportion of thoſe ſhares and to ſurvey the accompte conduceinge thereunto, and to pay the ſaid proportions every night to him the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant or his aſſignes, which they doe hereby covenant to pay accordingly.

That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the reſt of the ſaid company ſhall admit ſuch a conſort of muſiciens into the ſaid playhouſe for their neceſſary uſe, as the ſaid Sir William ſhall nominate and provide, duringe their playinge in the ſaid playhouſe, not exceedinge the rate of 30s. the day, to bee defrayed out of the generall expences of the houſe before the ſaid fowerteene ſhares bee devided.

"That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the reſt of the ſaid companie ſoe authorized to play in the playhouſe in Saliſbury Court or elſewhere, as aforeſaid, ſhall at one weeks warninge given by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires or aſſignes, diſſolve and conclude their playeing at the houſe and place aforeſaid, or at any other houſe where they ſhall play, and ſhall remove and joyne with the ſaid Henry Harris, and with other men and women provided or to bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, to performe ſuch tragedies, comedies, playes, and repreſentations in that theatre to be provided by him the ſaid Sir William as aforeſaid.

Item, It is agreed by and betweene all the ſaid parties to theſe preſents in manner and form followinge, vizt. That when the ſaid companie, together with the ſaid Henry Harris, are joyned with the men and women to be provided by the ſaid Sir William Davenant to act and performe in the ſaid theatre to bee provided by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, that the generall receipte of the ſaid theatre (the generall expence firſt beinge deducted) ſhall bee devided into fifteene ſhares or proportions, whereof two ſhares or proportions ſhall bee paid to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes,

aſſignes, towards the houſe-rent, buildinge, ſcaffoldinge, and makeing of frames for SCENES, and one other ſhare or proportion ſhall likewiſe bee paid to the ſaid Sir William, his executors, adminiſtrators and aſſignes, for proviſion of habitts, properties, and SCENES, for a ſupplement of the ſaid theatre.

That the other twelve ſhares (after all expences of men hirelinges and other cuſtomary expences deducted) ſhall bee devided into ſeaven and five ſhares or proportions, whereof the ſaid Sir Wm. D'Avenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſhall have ſeaven ſhares or proportions, to mainteine all the women that are to performe or repreſent womens parts in the aforeſaid tragedies, comedies, playes, or repreſentations; and in conſideration of erectinge and eſtabliſhinge them to bee a companie, and his the ſaid Sir Wms. paines and expences to that purpoſe for many yeeres. And the other five of the ſaid ſhares or proportions is to bee devided amongſt the reſt of the perſons [parties] to theis preſents, whereof the ſaid Henry Harris is to have an equal ſhare with the greateſt proportion in the ſaid five ſhares or proportions.

That the generall receipte of the ſaid theatre (from and after ſuch time as the ſaid Companie have performed their playeinge in Saliſbury Court, or in any other playhouſe, according to and noe longer than the tyme allowed by him the ſaid William as aforeſaid) ſhall bee by ballatine, or tickets ſealed for all doores and boxes.

That Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators or aſſignes, ſhall at the generall chardge of the whole receipte provide three perſons to receive money for the ſaid tickets, in a roome adjoyning to the ſaid theatre; and that the actors in the ſaid theatre, nowe parties to theſe preſents, who are concerned in the ſaid five ſhares or proportions, ſhall dayly or weekely appoint two or three of themſelves, or the men hirelings deputed by them, to ſit with the aforeſaid three perſons appointed by the ſaid Sir William, that they may ſurvey or give an accompt of the money received for the ſaid tickets:

That

That the ſaid ſeaven ſhares ſhall bee paid nightly by the ſaid three perſons by the ſaid Sir Wm. deputed, or by anie of them, to him the ſaid Sir Wm. his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes.

That the ſaid Sir William Davenant ſhall appoint half the number of the door-keepers neceſſary for the receipt of the ſaid tickets for doores and boxes, the wardrobe-keeper, barber, and all other neceſſary perſons as hee the ſaid Sir Wm. ſhall think fitt, and their ſallary to bee defrayed at the publique chardge.

That when any ſharer amongſt the actors of the aforeſaid ſhares, and parties to theſe preſents, ſhall dye, that then the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators or aſſignes, ſhall have the denomination and appointment of the ſucceſſor and ſucceſſors. And likewiſe that the wages of the men hirelings ſhall be appointed and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes.

That the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes, ſhall not bee obliged out of the ſhares or proportions allowed to him for the ſupplyeinge of cloathes, habitts, and ſcenes, to provide eyther hatts, feathers, gloves, ribbons, ſworde-belts, bands, ſtockings, or ſhoes, for any of the men actors aforeſaid, unles it be a propertie.

That a private boxe bee provided and eſtabliſhed for the uſe of Thomas Killigrew, Eſq. one of the groomes of his Ma.ties bedchamber, ſufficient to conteine fixe perſons, into which the ſaid Mr. Killigrew, and ſuch as he ſhall appoint, ſhall have liberty to enter without any ſallary or pay for their entrance into ſuch a place of the ſaid theatre as the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires, executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſignes, ſhall appoint.

That the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleſton, doe hereby for themſelves covenant, promiſe, grant and agree, to and with the ſaid Sir

W.D.

W. D. his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, by theſe preſents, that they and every of them ſhall become bound to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, in a bond of 5000l. conditioned for the performance of theſe preſents. And that every ſucceſſor to any part of the ſaid five ſhares or proportions ſhall enter into the like bonds before hee or they ſhall bee admitted to ſhare anie part or proportion of the ſaid ſhares or proportions.

And the ſaid Henry Harris doth hereby for himſelf his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, covenant, promiſe, grant and agree, to and with the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſignes, by theſe preſents, that hee the ſaid Henry Harris ſhall within one weeke after the notice given by Sir Wm. Davenant for the concludinge of the playeinge at Saliſbury Court or any other houſe elſe aboveſaid, become bound to the ſaid Sir Wm. Davenant in a bond of 5000l. conditioned for the performance of theſe [preſents]. And that evey ſucceſſor to any of the ſaid five ſhares ſhall enter into the like bond, before hee or they ſhall bee admitted to have any part or proportion in the ſaid five ſhares.

Item, it is mutually agreed by and betweene all the parties to theſe preſents, that the ſaid Sir William Davenant alone ſhall bee Maſter and Superior, and ſhall from time to time have the ſole government of the ſaid Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moſeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner and Thomas Lilleſton, and alſo of the ſaid Henry Harris, and their aſſociates, in relation to the playes [play-houſe] by theſe preſents agreed to bee erected.

On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under theſe articles at the theatre in Saliſbury Court, at which houſe or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April 1662. In October 1660, Sir Henry Herbert had brought an action on the

caſe againſt Mr. Mohun and ſeveral others of Killigrew's company, which was tried in December 1661, for repreſenting plays without being licenſed by him, and obtained a verdict againſt them, as appears from a paper which I ſhall inſert in its proper place. Encouraged by his ſucceſs in that ſuit, ſoon after D'Avenant's company opened their new theatre in Portugal Row, he brought a ſimilar action (May 6, 1662,) againſt Mr. Betterton, of which I know not the event*. In the declaration, now before me, it is ſtated that D'Avenant's company, between the 15th of November 1660, and the 6th of May 1662, produced ten new plays and 100 revived plays; but the latter number being the uſual ſtyle of declarations at law, may have been inſerted without a ſtrict regard to the fact.

Sir Henry Herbert likewiſe brought two actions on the ſame ground againſt Sir William Davenant, in one of which he failed, and in the other was ſucceſsful. To put an end to the conteſt, Sir William in June 1662 beſought the king to interfere.

"To the Kings moſt Sacred Majeſty.

"The humble petition of Sir William Davenant, Knight.

"Sheweth,

"That your petitioner has bin moleſted by Sir Henry Harbert with ſeveral proſecutions at law.

* From a paper which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled "*A Briveat*" of matters to be proved on this trial, it appears that he was poſſeſſed of the Office-books, of his predeceſſors, Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc; for, among other points of which proof was intended to be produced, he ſtates, that "Several plays were allowed by Mr. Tilney in 1598, which is 62 years ſince:

"As { *Sir William Longſword* / *The Fair Maid of London* / *Richard Cordelion.* } Allowed to be acted in 1598. See the bookes.

King and no King allowed to be acted in 1611, and the ſame to be printed. *Hegg hath loſt its pearle*, and hundreds more. } Allowed by Sir George Buck."

That

"That thoſe proſecutions have not proceeded by your petitioners default of not paying the ſaid Henry Harbert his pretended fees, (he never having ſent for any to your petitioner,) but becauſe your petitioner hath publiquely preſented plaies; notwithſtanding he is authoriz'd thereunto by pattent from your Majeſties moſt royall Father, and by ſeveral warrants under your Majeſties royal hand and ſignet.

"That your petitioner (to prevent being out-law'd) has bin inforc'd to anſwer him in two tryals at law, in one of which, at Weſtminſter, your petitioner hath had a verdict againſt him, where it was declar'd that he hath no juriſdiction over any plaiers, nor any right to demand fees of them. In the other, (by a London jury) the Maſter of Revels was allow'd the correction of plaies, and fees for ſoe doing; but not to give plaiers any licence or authoritie to play, it being prov'd that no plaiers were ever authoriz'd in London or Weſtminſter, to play, by the commiſſion of ye Maſter of Revels, but by authoritie immediately from the crowne. Neither was the proportion of fees then determin'd, or made certaine; becauſe ſeverall witneſſes affirm'd that variety of payments had bin made; ſometimes of a noble, ſometimes of twenty, and afterwards of forty ſhillings, for correcting a new play; and that it was the cuſtome to pay nothing for ſuperviſing reviv'd plaies.

"That without any authoritie given him by that laſt verdict, he ſent the day after the tryall a prohibition under his hand and ſeale (directed to the plaiers in Little Lincolnes Inn fields) to forbid them to act plaies any more.

"Therefore your petitioner humbly praies that your Majeſty will graciouſly pleaſe (two verdicts having paſs'd at common law contradicting each other) to referr the caſe to the examination of ſuch honourable perſons as may ſatisfy your Majeſty of the juſt authoritie of the Maſter of Revells, that ſo his fees (if any be due to him) may be made

certaine, to prevent extorſion; and time preſcribed how long he ſhall keep plaies in his hands, in pretence of correcting them; and whether he can demand fees for reviv'd plaies; and laſtly, how long plaies may be lay'd aſyde, ere he ſhall judge them to be reviv'd.

"And your petitioner (as in duty bound) ſhall ever pray," &c.

"At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th of June, 1662.

"His Majeſty, being graciouſly inclin'd to have a juſt and friendly agreement made betweene the petitioner and the ſaid Sir Henry Harbert, is pleas'd to referr this petition to the right honorable the Lord high Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chamberlaine, who are to call before them, as well the petitioner, as the ſaid Sir Henry Harbert, and upon hearing and examining their differences, are to make a faire and amicable accomodation between them, if it may be, or otherwiſe to certify his Majeſty the true ſtate of this buſineſs, together with their Lord.ps opinions.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

"Wee appoint Wedneſday morning next before tenn of the clock to heare this buſineſſe, of which Sir Henry Harbert and the other parties concern'd are to have notice, my Lord Chamberlaine having agreed to that hour.

"July 7, 1662. CLARENDONE."

On the reference to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert preſented the following ſtatement of his claims.

"To

" To the R.t Honn.rble Edward Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Edward Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Ma.ties Household.

" In obedience to your lordships comandes signifyed unto mee on the ninth of this instant July, do make a remembrance of the fees, profittes, and incidents, belongeing to ye office of the Reuells. They are as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
" For a new play, to bee brought with the booke - -	002	00	00
" For an old play, to be brought with the booke - -	001	00	00
" For Christmasse fee - -	003	00	00
" For Lent fee - - -	003	00	00
" The profittes of a summers day play at the Black fryers, valued at -	050	00	00
" The profitts of a winters day*, at Blackfryers - - -	050	00	00
" Besides seuerall occasionall gratuityes from the late K.s company at B. fryers.			
" For a share from each company of four companyes of players (besides the late Kinges Company) valued at a 100l. a yeare, one yeare with another, besides the usuall fees, by the yeare	400	00	00
" That the Kinges Company of players couenanted the 11th of August, 60, to pay Sir Henry Herbert per week, from that tyme, aboue the usual fees - -	004	00	00

* It is extraordinary that the Master of the Revels should have ventured to state fifty pounds as the produce of each of the benefits given him by the King's company. We have seen (p. 153,) that at an average they did not produce nine pounds each, and after a trial of some years he compounded with that company for the certain sum of ten pounds for his winter's day, and the like sum for his summer benefit.

" That Mr. William Beeſton couenanted to pay weekly to Sir Henry Herbert the ſumme of - - } 004 00 00

" That Mr. Rhodes promiſed the like per weeke - - } 004 00 00

" That the 12l. per weeke from the three forenamed companyes hath been totally deteyned from Sir Henry Herbert ſince the ſaid 11th Aug. 60, by illegal and unjuſt means; and all uſuall fees, and obedience due to the office of the Revells.

" That Mr. Thomas Killegrew drawes 19l. 6s. per week from the Kinges Company, as credibly informed.

" That Sir William Dauenant drawes 10 ſhares of 15 ſhares, which is valued at 200l. per week, cleer profitt, one week with another, as credibly informed.

" Allowance for charges of ſuites at law, for that Sir Henry Herbert is unjuſtly putt out of poſſeſſion and profittes, and could not obtaine an appearance gratis.

" Allowance for damages ſuſteyned in creditt and profittes for aboue two yeares ſince his Ma.tie's happy Reſtauration.

" Allowance for their New Theatre to bee uſed as a playhouſe.

" Allowance for new and old playes acted by Sir William Dauenantes pretended company of players at Saliſbery Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall-Rowe, from the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their firſt conjunction with Sir William Dauenant.

" Allowance for the fees at Chriſtmaſſe and at Lent from the ſaid tyme.

" A boxe for the Maſter of the Reuells and his company, gratis;—as accuſtomed.

" A ſubmiſſion

" A ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Revells for the future, and that noe playes, new or old, bee acted, till they are allowed by the Maſter of the Reuells.

" That rehearſall of plays to be acted at court, be made, as hath been accuſtomed, before the Maſter of the Reuells, or allowance for them.

" Wherefore it is humbly pray'd, that delay being the ſaid Dauenants beſt plea, wch he hath exerciſed by illegall actinges for almoſt two yeares, he may noe longer keep Sir Henry Herbert out of poſſeſſion of his rightes; but that your Lordſhippes would ſpeedily aſſert the rights due to the Maſter of the Reuells, and aſcertaine his fees and damages, and order obedience and payment accordingly. And in caſe of diſobedience by the ſaid Dauenant and his pretended company of players, that Sir Henry Herbert may bee at liberty to purſue his courſe at law, in confidence that he ſhall have the benefitt of his Ma.^tys^ juſtice, as of your lordſhippes fauour and promiſes in ſatisfaction, or liberty to proceed at law. And it may bee of ill conſequence that Sir Henry Herbert, dating for 45 yeares meniall ſervice to the Royal Family, and hauing purchaſed Sir John Aſhleys intereſt in the ſaid office, and obtained of the late Kings bounty a grante under the great ſeale of England for two liues, ſhould have noe other compenſation for his many yeares faithfull ſervices, and conſtant adherence to his Ma.^tys^ intereſt, accompanyed with his great ſufferinges and loſſes, then to bee outed of his juſt poſſeſſion, rightes and profittes, by Sir William Dauenant, a perſon who exerciſed the office of Maſter of the Reuells to Oliuer the Tyrant, and wrote *the Firſt and Second Parte of Peru*, acted at the Cockpitt, in Oliuers tyme, and ſoly in his fauour; wherein hee ſett of the juſtice of Oliuers actinges, by compariſon with the Spaniards, and endeavoured thereby to make Oliuers crueltyes appeare mercyes, in reſpect of the Spaniſh crueltyes; but the mercyes of the wicked are cruell.

" That the ſaid Dauenant publiſhed a poem in vindication and juſtification of Oliuers actions and gouern-

ment, and an Epithalamium in praiſe of Olivers daughter M^s. Rich;—as credibly informed*.

"The matters of difference betweene Mr. Thomas Killigrew and Sir Henry Herbert are upon accomodation.

"My Lordes,

"Your Lordſhippes very humble Servant,

"July 11th 62. HENRY HERBERT."

Cary-houſe.

Another paper now before me will explain what is meant by Sir Henry Herbert's concluding words.

"ARTICLES of agreement, indented, made and agreed upon, this fourthe day of June, in the 14 yeare of the reigne of our ſouveraigne lord Kinge Charles the Second, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1662, betweene Sir Henry Herbert of Ribsford in the county of Worceſter, knight, of the one part, and Thomas Killegrew of Covent Garden, Eſq. on the other parte, as followethe:

"*Imprimis*, It is agreed, that a firme amity be concluded for life betweene the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert and the ſaid Thomas Killegrew.

"*Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grant, and agree, to paye or cauſe to be pay'd unto Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, on or before the fourthe day of Auguſt next, all monies due to the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert from the Kinge and Queens company of players, called Mychaell Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the reſt of that company, for the new plaies at fortie ſhillings a play, and for the old reuiued plaies at twentie ſhillings a play, they the ſaid players haue acted ſince the eleuenthe of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

"*Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, to paye or

* This poem Sir William D'Avenant ſuppreſſed, for it does not appear in his works.

cauſe

cauſe to be pay'd unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, on or before the fourthe day of Auguſt next, ſuch monies as are due to him for damages and loſſes obteyned at law ag.t Mychaell Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, upon an action of the caſe brought by the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert in the courte of Comon Pleas ag.t ye ſaid Mychael Mohun, William Winterſhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, wherupon a verdict hath been obtayned as aforefaid ag.t them. And likewiſe doe promiſe and agree that the coſtes and charges of ſuite upon another action of the caſe brought by the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert ag.t the ſaid Mychaell Mohun & ye reſt of ye players aboue nam'ed, ſhall be alſo payd to the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert or to his aſſignes, on or before the ſaid fourthe day of Auguſt next.

" *Item*, The ſaid Thomas Killegrew doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante and agree, that the ſaid Michaell Mohun and the reſt of the Kinge and Queenes company of players ſhall, on or before the ſaid fourthe day of Auguſt next, paye or cauſe to be pay'd unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert, or to his aſſignes, the ſum of fiftie pounds, as a preſent from them, for his damages ſuſteyned from them and by their means.

" *Item*, That the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. doth couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, to be aydinge and aſſiſtinge unto the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert in the due execution of the Office of the Reuells, and neither directly nor indirectly to ayde or aſſiſte Sir William Dauenant, Knight, or any of his pretended company of players, or any other company of players to be rays'd by him, or any other company of players whatſoever, in the due execution of the ſaid office as aforeſaide, ſoe as ye ayd ſoe to bee required of ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew extend not to ye ſilencing or oppreſſion of ye ſaid King and Queenes company.

" And the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, not to moleſt ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. or his heirs, in any ſuite at lawe or otherwiſe, to the preiudice of the grante made unto

him by his Ma.tie, or to diſturbe the receiuinge of ye profits aryſing by contract from the Kinge and Queens company of players to him, but to ayde and aſſiſte the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, in the due execution of the legall powers granted unto him by his Ma.tie for the orderinge of the ſaid company of players, and in the levyinge and receiuinge of ye monies due to him the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, or which ſhall be due to him from ye ſaide company of players by any contract made or to be made between them or amongſt the ſame; and neither directly nor indirectly to hinder the payment of ye ſaid monies to be made weekly or otherwiſe by ye ſaid company of players to ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. or to his aſſignes, but to be ayding and aſſiſtinge to the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, Eſq. and his aſſignes therein, if there be cauſe for it, and that the ſaid Thomas Killegrew deſire it of ye ſaid Sir Henry Herbert.

"And the ſaid Sir Henry Herbert doth for himſelfe couenant, promiſe, grante, and agree, upon the performance of the matters which are herein contayned, and to be performed by the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, accordinge to the daies of payment, and other things lymited and expreſſed in theſe articles, to deliuer into the hands of ye ſaid Thomas Killegrew the deede of couenants, ſealed and deliuered by the ſaid Mychaell Mohun and ye others herein named, bearing date the 11 Auguſt, 1660; to be cancelled by the ſaid Thomas Killegrew, or kept, as he ſhall thinke fitt, or to make what further advantage of the ſame in my name or right as he ſhall be aduiſed*."

The actors who had performed at the Red Bull, acted under the direction of Mr. Killigrew during the years 1660, 1661, 1662, and part of the year 1663, in Gibbon's tennis-court in Vere-ſtreet, near Clare-market; during which time a new theatre was built for them in

* On the back of this paper Sir Henry Herbert has written—"Copy of the Articles ſealed and delivered the 5th June, 62, between Sir H. H. and Thomas Killegrew. Bonds of 5000l. for the performance of covenants."

Drury

Drury Lane, to which they removed in April 1663. The following liſt of their ſtock-plays, in which it is obſerveable there are but three of Shakſpeare, was found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, and was probably furniſhed by them ſoon after the Reſtoration.

" Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors.

The Humorous Lieutenant.	*Elder Brother.*
Beggars Buſhe.	*The Silent Woman.*
Tamer Tamed.	*The Weddinge.*
The Traytor.	*Henry the Fourthe.*
Loves Cruelty.	*Merry Wives of Windſor.*
Wit without money.	*Kinge and no Kinge.*
Maydes Tragedy.	*Othello.*
Philaſter.	*Dumboys.*
Rollo Duke of Normandy.	*The Unfortunate Lovers.*
Claricilla. .	*The Widow.*

Downes the prompter has given a liſt of what he calls the principal old ſtock plays acted by the king's ſervants, (which title the performers under Mr. Killigrew acquired,) between the time of the Reſtoration and the junction of the two companies in 1682; from which it appears that the only plays of Shakſpeare performed by them in that period, were *K. Henry IV.* P. I. *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, *Othello*, and *Julius Cæſar*. Mr. Hart repreſented Othello, Brutus, and Hotſpur; Major Mohun Iago, and Caſſius; and Mr. Cartwright Falſtaff. Such was the lamentable taſte of thoſe times that the plays of Fletcher, Johnſon and Shirley were much oftner exhibited than thoſe of our author. Of this the following liſt furniſhes a melancholy proof. It appears to have been made by Sir Henry Herbert in order to enable him to aſcertain the fees due to him, whenever he ſhould eſtabliſh his claims, which however he never accompliſhed. Between the play entitled *Argalus and Parthenia*, and *The Loyal Subject*, he has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumſtances, I imagine that the plays which I have printed in Italicks were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards became the king's ſervants.

1660.

1660. Monday the 5 Nov. *Wit without money.*
Tueſday the 6 Nov. *The Traytor.*
Wenſday the 7 Nov. *The Beggars Buſhe.*
Thurſday the 8 Nov. *Henry the Fourth.*
[Firſt play acted at the new theatre.]
Friday the 9 Nov. *The Merry Wives of Windſor.*
Saturday the 10 Nov. *The Sylent Woman.*
Tuſday the 13 Nov. *Love lies a bleedinge.*
Thurſday the 15 Nov. *Loves Cruelty.*
Friday the 16 Nov. *The Widow.*
Saterday the 17 Nov. *The Mayds Tragedy.*
Monday the 19 Nov. *The Unfortunate Lovers.*
Tuſday the 20 Nov. *The Beggars Buſhe.*
Wenſday the 21 Nov. *The Scornfull Lady.*
Thurſday the 22 Nov. *The Traytor.*
Friday the 23 Nov. *The Elder Brother.*
Saturday the 24 Nov. *The Chances.*
Monday the 26 Nov. *The Opportunity.*
Thurſday the 29 Nov. *The Humorous Lieutenant.*
Saterday the 1 Dec. *Clarecilla.*
Monday the 3 Dec. *A Kinge and no Kinge.*
Thurſday the 6 Dec. *Rollo, Duke of Normandy.*
Saterday the 8 Dec. *The Moore of Veniſe.*
Monday the 9 Jan. *The Weddinge.*
Saterday the 19 Jan. *The Loſt Lady.*
Thurſday the 31 Jan. *Argalus and Parthenia.*

Loyal Subject.
Feb. Mad Lover.
The Wild-gooſe Chaſe.
1661. March, April, May - - All's Loſte by Luſte.
The Mayd in the Mill.
A Wife for a Monthe.
The Bondman.
Decemb. 10 - - A Dancing Maſter.
Decemb. 11 - - Vittoria Corombona.
Decemb. 13 - - The Country Captaine.

1661.	Decemb. 16	The Alchymiſt.
	Decemb. 17	Bartholmew Faire.
	Decemb. 20	The Spaniſh Curate.
	Decemb. 23	The Tamer Tamed.
	Decemb. 28	Aglaura.
	Decemb. 30	Buſſy D'ambois.
	Janu. 6	Mery Devil of Edmonton.
	Jan. 10	The Virgin Martyr.
	Jan. 11	Philaſter.
	Jan. 21	Jovial Crew.
	Jan. 28	Rule a wife and have a wife.
	Feb. 15	Kinge and no Kinge.
	Feb. 25	The Mayds Tragedy.
	Feb. 27	Aglaura; the tragical way.
	March 1	Humorous Lieutenant.
	March 3	Selindra—a new play.
	March 11	The Frenche Dancinge Ma-
	March 15	The Little Theef. [ſter.
1662.	April 4	Northerne Laſſe.
	April 19	Fathers own ſon.
	April 25	The Surpriſal—a new play.
	May 5	Kt. of the Burning peſtle.
	May 12	Brenoralt.
	May 17	Love in a maze.

1661.	Octob. 26	Loves Miſtreſs.
		Diſcontented Collonell.
		Love at firſt ſight.
1662.	June 1.	Cornelia, a new play.—Sir W. Bartleys.
	June 6	Renegado.
	July 6	The Brothers.
		The Antipodes.
	July 23	The Cardinall.

From another liſt, which undoubtedly was made by Sir Henry Herbert for the purpoſe I have mentioned, I learn that *Macbeth* was revived in 1663 or 1664; I ſuppoſe as altered by D'Avenant.

"Nov. 3. 1663. *Flora's Figaries*	-	£. 2.	- -
" A paſtoral called *The Expoſure*	-	2.	- -
" 8 more - - -		16.	- -
" A new play - - -		1.	- -
" *Henry the 5th* - - -		2.	- -
" Revived play. *Taming the Shrew*		1.	- -
" *The Generall* - - -		2.	- -
" *Parſons Wedinge* - - -		2.	- -
" Revived play. *Macbeth*		1.	- -
" *K. Henry* 8. Revived play	-	1.	- -
" *Houſe to be let* - - -		2.	- -
" More for plays, whereof *Elvira* the laſt - - - -		9.	- -
" For playes	-	£. 41."	

Sir William D'Avenant's Company, after having played for ſome time at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and at Saliſbury Court, removed in March or April 1662, to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mr. Betterton, his principal actor, we are told by Downes, was admired in the part of Pericles, which he frequently performed before the opening of the new theatre; and while this company continued to act in Portugal Row, they repreſented the following plays of Shakſpeare, and it ſhould ſeem thoſe only: *Macbeth* and *The Tempeſt*, altered by D'Avenant; *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *King Henry the Eighth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth Night*. In *Hamlet*, the Prince of Denmark was repreſented by Mr. Betterton; the Ghoſt by Mr. Richards; Horatio by Mr. Harris; the Queen by Mrs. Davenport; and Ophelia by Mrs. Saunderſon. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo was repreſented by Mr. Harris, Mercutio by Mr. Betterton, and Juliet by Mrs. Saunderſon. Mr. Betterton in *Twelfth Night* performed Sir Toby Belch, and in *Henry the Eighth*, the King. He was without doubt alſo the performer of *King Lear*. Mrs. Saunderſon repreſented Catharine in *King Henry the Eighth*, and it may be preſumed, Cordelia, and Miranda.

She

She alſo performed Lady Macbeth, and Mr. Betterton Macbeth.

The theatre which had been erected in Portugal Row, being found too ſmall, Sir William D'Avenant laid the foundation of a new playhouſe in Dorſet Garden, near Dorſet Stairs, which however he did not live to ſee completed; for he died in May 1668, and it was not opened till 1671. There being ſtrong reaſon to believe that he was our poet's ſon, I have been induced by that circumſtance to inquire with ſome degree of minuteneſs into his hiſtory. I have mentioned in a preceding page that the account given of him by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, was taken from Mr. Aubrey's Manuſcript. Since that ſheet was printed, Mr. Warton has obligingly furniſhed me with an exact tranſcript of the article relative to D'Avenant, which, as it contains ſome particulars not noticed by Wood, I ſhall here ſubjoin:

"MS. Aubrey. Mus. Ashmol. Lives.

SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, KNIGHT, POET-LAUREAT[6],

was borne about the end of February in ——— ſtreet in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne; baptized 3 of March A. D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and diſcreet citizen: his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of a very good witt, and of converſation extremely agreable. They had 3 ſons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas; (Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon. then preferd to the vicarage of Weſtkington by Bp. Davenant, whoſe chaplain he was; Nicholas was an attorney:) and 2 handſome daughters; one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C. beneficed in the vale of White Horſe; another to Dr. Sherburne, miniſter of *Pembordge* [—bridge] in Heref. and canon of that church. Mr. Wm Shake-

[6] Mr. Warton informs me, that "it appears by Aubrey's letters that this Life of Davenant was ſent to Wood, and drawn up at his requeſt."

ſpeare

ſpeare was wont to goe into Warwickſhire once a yeare, and did comonly in his journey lie at this houſe in Oxon. where he was exceedingly reſpected. Now Sir William would ſometimes, when he was pleaſant over a glaſſe of wine with his moſt intimate friends, (*e. g.* Sam Butler, author of Hudibras, *etc. etc.*) ſay, that it ſeem'd to him, that he writt with the very ſpirit that Shakeſpeare [wrote with], and was contented enough to bee thought his ſon: he would tell them the ſtory as above. He went to ſchoole at Oxon. to Mr. Silveſter; Charles Wheare, F. [*filius*] Degorii W., was his ſchoolfellow: but I feare, he was drawne from ſchoole, before he was ripe enoughe. He was preferred to the firſt Dutcheſs of Richmond, to wayte on her as a page. I remember, he told me, ſhe ſent him to a famous apothecary for ſome unicorne's horne, which he was reſolved to try with a ſpyder, which he empaled in it, but without the expected ſucceſs: the ſpider would goe over and through and thorough, unconcerned. He was next a ſervant (as I remember, a page alſo) to Sir Fulke Grevil Ld. Brookes, with whom he lived to his death; which was, that a ſervant of his that had long wayted on him, and his lor— [lordſhip] had often told him, that he would doe ſomething for him, but did not, but ſtill put him off with delay; as he was truſſing up his lord's pointes, comeing from ſtoole, [for then their breeches were faſtened to the doubletts with pointes; then came in hookes and eies, which not to have faſtened was in my boyhood a great crime,] ſtabbed him. This was at the ſame time that the duke of Buckingham was ſtabbed by Felton; and the great noiſe and report of the duke's, Sir W. told me, quite drown'd this of his lord's, that was ſcarce taken notice of. This Sir Fulke G. was a good wit, and had been a good poet in his youth: he wrote a poeme in folio, which he printed not, till he was old, and then, as Sir W. ſaid, with too much judgement and refining ſpoiled it, which was at firſt a delicate thing. He [Dav.] writt a play, or plays, and verſes, which he did with ſo much ſweetneſſe and grace, that by it he got the love and friendſhip of his two Mæcenaces, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Henry

Henry Jermyn, [ſince E. of St. Albans] to whom he has dedicated his poem called Madegaſcar. Sir John Suckling was his great and intimate friend. After the death of Ben Johnſon, he was made in his place Poet Laureat. He gott a terrible c—p of a black handſome wench, that lay in Axe-Yard, Weſtm.: whom he thought on, when he ſpeaks of Dalga, [in Gondibert] which coſt him his noſe; with which unlucky miſchaunce many witts were ſo cruelly bold, *e. g.* Sir John Menis, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.* In 1641, when the troubles began, he was faine to fly into France, and at Canterbury he was ſeized on by the Mayor.

For Will had in his face the flaws
And markes received in country's cauſe.
They flew on him like lyons paſſant,
And tore his noſe, as much as was on't;
And call'd him ſuperſtitious groome,
And Popiſh dog, and cur of Rome.
—— 'twas ſurely the firſt time,
That Will's religion was a crime.

In the Civill Warres in England, he was in the army of William Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle, [ſince Duke] where he was generall of the ordinance. I have heard his brother Robert ſay, for that ſervice there was owing to him by King Charles the Firſt 100col. During that warre 'twas his hap to have two Aldermen of Yorke his priſoners, who were ſomethinge ſtubborne, and would not give the ranſome ordered by the councill of warre. Sir William uſed them civilly, and treated them in his tent, and ſate them at the upper end of his table *á la mode de France.* And having done ſo a good while to his charge, told them (privately and friendly) that he was not able to keepe ſo chargeable gueſts, and bade them take an opportunity to eſcape; which they did; but having been gon a little way, they conſidered with themſelves, that in gratitude they ought to goe back, and give Sir William their thankes, which they did: but it was like to have been to their great danger of being taken by the ſoldiers; but they happened to gett ſafe to Yorke.

The

The king's party being overcome, Sir W. Davenant, (who had the honour of knighthood from the D. of Newcaſtle by commiſſion) went into France, and reſided in Paris, where the prince of Wales then was. He then began to write his romance in verſe, called Gondibert; and had not writt above the firſt booke, but being very fond of it printed it, before a quarter finiſhed, with an epiſtle of his to Mr. Th. Hobbes, and Mr. Hobbes' excellent epiſtle to him printed before it. The courtiers, with the Prince of Wales, could never be at quiet about this piece, which was the occaſion of a very witty but ſatirical little booke of verſes in 8vo. about 4 ſheets, writt by G. D. of Bucks, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.*

"That thou forſak'd thy ſleepe, thy diet,
"And what is more than that, our quiet *."

This laſt word, Mr. Hobbes told me, was the occaſion of their writing.

Here he lay'd an ingenioſe deſigne to carry a conſiderable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) from hence to Virginia; and by Mary the Q's. mother's meanes he got, favour from the K. of France to goe into the priſons, and pick and chuſe: ſo when the poor dammed wretches underſtood, what the deſigne was, they cryed *uno ore, tout tiſſeran*, we are all weavers. Well, 36, as I remember, he got, if not more, and ſhipped them; and as he was in his voyage towards Virginia, he and his *tiſſeran* were all taken by the ſhips then belonging to the parliament of England. The ſlaves, I ſuppoſe, they ſold, but Sir William was brought priſoner into England. Whether he was firſt a priſoner at Careſbroke Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, or at the Towr of London, I have forgott; he was priſoner at both: his Gondibert was finiſhed at Careſbroke Caſtle. He expected no mercy from the parliament, and had no hopes of eſcaping with his life. It pleaſed God, that the two aldermen of Yorke aforeſaid,

* Theſe lines are inaccurately quoted by memory from *Certain Verſes written by ſeveral of the author's friends, to be re-printed with the ſecond edition of Gondibert*, 1653.

hearing

hearing that he was taken and brought to London to be tryed for his life, which they underſtood was in extreme danger, they were touched with ſo much generoſity and goodnes, as upon their own accounts and mere motion to try what they could to ſave Sir William's life, who had been ſo civill to them, and a means of ſaving theirs; to come to London; and acquainting the parliament with it, upon their petition, *etc.* Sir William's life was ſaved[7]. 'Twas Harry Martyn, that ſaved Sir William's life in the houſe: when they were talking of ſacrificing one, then ſaid Hen. that "in ſacrifices they always offered pure and without blemiſh; now ye talk of making a ſacrifice of an old rotten raſcal." Vid. H. Martyn's life, where by this rare jeſt, then forgot, the L.d Falkland ſaved H. Martyn's life.

Being freed from impriſonment, becauſe plays (ſcil. trage. and comedies) were in theſe preſbyterian times ſcandalous, he contrives to ſet up an opera, *ſtylo recitativo*; wherein Sergeant Maynard and ſeveral citizens were engagers: it began in Rutland Houſe in Charter-houſe-yard: next, ſcilicet anno — at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, where were acted very well, *ſtylo recitativo*, *Sir Francis Drake*, and the *Siege of Rhodes*, 1ſt and 2nd part. It did affect the eie and eare extremely. This firſt brought SCENES in faſhion in England: before, at plays was *only an hanging**.

Anno Domini 1660, was the happy reſtauration of his Majeſty Charles IInd; then was Sir William made — — — — — and the Tennis-Court in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields was turned into a playhouſe for the Duke of York's players, where Sir William had lodgings, and where he dyed, Aprill —— 166—. I was at his funeral: he had a coffin of walnut tree: Sir

7 Mr. Warton obſerves to me, that "Aubrey does not ſay here that *Milton* (with the two aldermen) was inſtrumental in ſaving D'Avenant's life. Dr. Johnſon is puzzled on what authority to fix this anecdote. *Life of Milton*, p. 181, 8vo. edit. I believe that anecdote was firſt retailed in print by Wood, *Ath. Oxon. II.* 412."

* Here we have another and a deciſive confirmation of what has been ſtated in a former page on the ſubject of ſcenes. See p. 72, et ſeq.

John Denham ſaid, that it was the fineſt coffin that he ever ſaw. His body was carried in a hearſe from the playhouſe to Weſtminſter Abbey, where at the great weſt dore he was received by the ſing [ing] men and choriſters, who ſang the ſervice of the church (*I am the Reſurrection, etc. etc.*) to his grave, which is near to the monument of Dr. Iſaac Barrow, which is in the South Croſſe aiſle, on which in a paving ſtone of marble is writt, in imitation of that on Ben. Johnſon, O rare Sir William Davenant.

His firſt lady was Dr. ———'s daughter, phyſitian, by whom he had a very beautiful and ingenioſe ſon, that dyed above twenty years ſince. His ſecond lady was daughter of ———, by whom he had ſeveral children. I ſaw ſome very young ones at the funerall. His eldeſt is Charles Davenant, the Doctor, who inherits his father's beauty and phancy. He practices at Doctor's Commons. He writt a play called *Circe*, which has taken very well. Sir William hath writt about 25 plays, the Romance called Gondibert, and a little poem called Madagaſcar.

His private opinion was, that religion at laſt [*e. g.* a hundred years hence] would come to ſettlement; and that in a kind of ingenioſe Quakeriſme [8].

On

8 The following plays, written by Sir William D'Avenant, were licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels in the following order:

The Cruel Brother, Jan. 12, 1626-7.
The Colonel, July 22, 1629.
The Juſt Italian, Octob. 2, 1629.
The Wits, Jan. 19, 1633-4.
Love and Honour, Nov. 20, 1634.
News from Plymouth, Aug. 1, 1635.
Platonick Lovers, Nov. 16, 1635.
Brittannia Triumphans, licenſed for preſs, Jan. 8, 1637.
Unfortunate Lovers, April 16, 1638.
Fair Favourite, Nov. 17, 1638.
The Spaniſh Lovers, Nov. 30, 1639.

This piece is probably the play which in his works is called *The Diſtreſſes*.

Love and Honour was originally called *The Courage of Love*. It was afterwards named by Sir Henry Herbert, at D'Avenant's requeſt, *The Nonpareilles, or the Matchleſs Maids*.

In

On the 9th of Novemb. 1671, D'Avenant's company removed to their new theatre in Dorſet Gardens, which was

In 1668 was publiſhed *Sir William D'Avenant's Voyage to the other world, with his adventures in the poet's Elizium*, written by Richard Flecknoe, which I ſubjoin to the memoirs of that poet. Conſiſting of only a ſingle ſheet, the greater part of the impreſſion has probably periſhed, for I have never met with a ſecond copy of this piece:

"Sir William D'Avenant being dead, not a poet would afford him ſo much as an elegie; whether becauſe he ſought to make a monopoly of the art, or ſtrove to become rich in ſpight of Minerva: it being with poets as with muſhrooms, which grow onely on barren ground, inrich the ſoyl once, and then degenerate: onely one, more humane than the reſt, accompany'd him to his grave with this elogium.

Now Davenant's dead, the ſtage will mourn,
And all to barbariſm turn;
Since he it was, this later age,
Who chiefly civiliz'd the ſtage.

Great was his wit, his fancy great,
As e're was any poet's yet;
And more advantage none e'er made
O' th' wit and fancy which he had.

Not onely Dedalus' arts he knew,
But even Prometheus's too;
And living machins made of men,
As well as dead ones, for the ſcene.

And if the ſtage or theatre be
A little world, 'twas chiefly he,
That, Atlas-like, ſupported it,
By force of induſtry and wit.

All this, and more, he did beſide,
Which having perfected, he dy'd:
If he may properly be ſaid
To die, whoſe fame will ne'er be dead.

"Another went further yet, and uſing the privilege of your antient poets, who with allmoſt as much certainty as your divines, can tell all that paſſes in the other world, did thus relate his voyage thither, and all his adventures in the poets' elyſium.

"As every one at the inſtant of their deaths, have paſſports given them for ſome place or other, he had his for the poets' elyſium; which not without much difficulty he obtained from the officers of Parnaſſus:

was opened, not with one of Shakſpeare's plays, but with Dryden's comedy called *Sir Martin Marall*[9].

Between

for when he alledg'd, he was an heroick poet, they aſk'd him why he did not continue it? when he ſaid he was a dramatick too, they aſk'd him, why he left it off, and onely ſtudied to get money; like him who ſold his horſe to buy him provender: and finally, when he added, he was a poet laureate, they laugh'd, and ſaid, bayes was never more cheap than now; and that ſince Petrarch's time, none had ever been legitimately crown'd.

"Nor had he leſs difficulty with Charon, who hearing he was rich, thought to make booty of him, and aſk'd an extraordinary price for his paſſage over; but coming to payment, he found he was ſo poor, as he was ready to turn him back again, he having hardly ſo much as his *naulum*, or the price of every ordinary paſſenger.

"Being arriv'd, they were all much amaz'd to ſee him there, they having never heard of his being dead, neither by their weekly gazets, nor cryers of verſes and pamphlets up and down; (as common a trade there, almoſt as it is here:) nor was he leſs amaz'd than they, to find never a poet there, antient nor modern, whom in ſome ſort or other he had not diſobliged by his diſcommendations; as Homer, Virgil, Taſſo, Spencer, and eſpecially Ben. Johnſon; contrary to Plinies rule, never to diſcommend any of the ſame profeſſion with our ſelves: 'for either they are better or worſe than you (ſays he); if better, if they be not worthy commendations, you much leſs; if worſe, if they be worthy commendations, you much more: ſo every ways advantagious 'tis for us to commend others.' Nay, even Shakeſpear, whom he thought to have found his greateſt friend, was as much offended with him as any of the reſt, for ſo ſpoiling and mangling of his plays. But he who moſt vext and tormented him, was his old antagoniſt Jack Donne, who mock'd him with a hundred paſſages out of Gondibert; and after a world of other railing and ſpightful language (at which the doctor was excellent) ſo exaſperated the knight, at laſt, as they fell together by the ears: when but imagine

What tearing noſes had been there,
Had they but noſes for to tear*.

"Mean

* John Donne, the eldeſt ſon of Donne the poet, was a Civilian. He is ſaid to have met with a misfortune ſimilar to that of D'Avenant.

9 The building, ſcenes, &c. of that theatre coſt 5000l. according to a ſtatement given in a petition preſented to Queen Anne about the year 1709, by Charles D'Avenant, Charles Killegrew, Chriſtopher Rich, and others.

Between the year 1671 and 1682, when the King's and the Duke of York's ſervants united, (about which time Charles

" Mean time the comick poets made a ring about them, as boys do when they hiſs dogs together by the ears; till at laſt they were ſeparated by Pluto's officers, as diligent to keep the peace and part the fray, as your Italian Sbirri, or Spaniſh Alguazilo; and ſo they drag'd them both away, the doctor to the ſtocks, for raiſing tumults and diſturbances in hell, and the knight to the tribunal, where Minos, Æacus and Rhadamanthus were to ſit in judgement on him, with Momus the common accuſer of the court.

" Here being arriv'd, and ſilence commanded, they aſk'd him his quality and profeſſion: to whom he anſwer'd, he was a Poet-laureate, who for poetry in general had not his fellow alive, and had left none to equal him now he was dead: and for eloquence,

How never any hyperbolies
Were higher, or farther ſtretch'd than his;
Nor ever compariſons again
Made things compar'd more clear and plain.

Then for his plays or dramatick poetry.

How that of The Unfortunate Lovers
The depth of tragedy diſcovers;
In's Love and Honour *you might ſee*
The height of tragecomedy;
And for his Wits, *the comick fire*
In none yet ever flam'd up higher:
But coming to his Siege of Rhodes,
It outwent all the reſt by odds;
And ſomewhat's in't, that does out-do
Both th' antients and the moderns too.

" To which Momus anſwered: that though they were never ſo good, it became not him to commend them as he did; that there were faults enough to be found in them; and that he had mar'd more good plays, than ever he had made; that all his wit lay in hyberbolies and compariſons, which, when acceſſory, were commendable enough, but when principal, deſerved no great commendations; that his muſe was none of the nine, but onely a mungril, or by-blow of Parnaſſus, and her beauty rather ſophiſticate than natural; that he offer'd at learning and philoſophy, but as pullen and ſtubble geeſe offer'd to fly, who after they had flutter'd up a while, at length came fluttering down as faſt agen; that he was with his high-ſounding words, but like empty hogſheads, the higher they ſounded, the emptier ſtill they were; and that, finally, he ſo perplex'd himſelf and readers with parentheſis on parentheſis, as, juſt as in a wilderneſs or labyrinth, all ſenſe was loſt in them.

Charles Hart [1], the principal ſupport of the former company, died,) *King Lear, Timon of Athens, Macbeth*, and *The*

"As for his life and manners, they would not examine thoſe, ſince 'twas ſuppoſ'd they were liceſtious enough: onely he won'd ſay,

He was a good companion for
The rich, but ill one for the poor;
On whom he lack'd ſo, you'd believe
He walk'd with a face negative:
Whilſt he muſt be a lord at leaſt,
For whom he'd ſmile or break a jeaſt.

"And though this, and much more, was exaggerated againſt him by Momus, yet the judges were ſo favourable to him, becauſe he had left the muſes for Pluto, as they condemned him onely to live in Pluto's court, to make him and Proſerpina merry with his facetious jeaſts and ſtories; with whom in ſhort time he became ſo gracious, by complying with their humours, and now and then dreſſing a diſh or two of meat for them *, as they joyn'd him in patent with Momus, and made him ſuperintendent of all their ſports and recreations: ſo as, onely changing place and perſons, he is now in as good condition as he was before; and lives the ſame life there, as he did here.

"POSTSCRIPT.

"*To the Actors of the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields.*

"I promiſed you a ſight of what I had written of Sir William D'Avenant, and now behold it here: by it you will perceive how much they abuſed you, who told you it was ſuch an abuſive thing. If you like it not, take heed hereafter how you diſoblige him, who can not onely write for you, but againſt you too.

RICH. FLECKNOE."

[1] From the preface to Settle's *Fatal Love*, 1680, it ſhould ſeem that he had then retired from the ſtage, perhaps in the preceding year; for in the prologue to the *Ambitious Stateman*, 1679, are theſe lines, evidently alluding to him and Mr. Mohun:

"The time's neglect and maladies have thrown
"The two great pillars of our playhouſe down."

Charles Hart, who, I believe, was our poet's great nephew, is ſaid to have been Nell Gwin's firſt lover, and was the moſt celebrated tragedian of his time.

"What

* This ſeems to allude to a fact then well known. D'Avenant was probably admitted to the private ſuppers of Charles the Second.

The Tempeſt, were the only plays of our author that were exhibited at the theatre in Dorſet Gardens; and the three

"What Mr. Hart delivers, (ſays Rymer) every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepoſſeſſed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet's can approach their ears; and to the moſt wretched of characters he gives a luſtre and brilliant, which dazzles the ſight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived." "Were I a poet, ſays another contemporary writer, nay a Fletcher, a Shakſpeare, I would quit my own title to immortality, ſo that one actor might never die. This I may modeſtly ſay of him, (nor is it my particular opinion, but the ſenſe of all mankind,) that the beſt tragedies on the Engliſh ſtage have received their luſtre from Mr. Hart's performance; that he has left ſuch an impreſſion behind him, that no leſs than the interval of an age can make them appear again with half their majeſty from any ſecond hand."

In a pamphlet entitled *The Life of the late famous comedian*, J. Hayns, 8vo. 1701, a characteriſtick trait of our poet's kinſman is preſerved:

"About this time [1673] there happened a ſmall pick between Mr. Hart and Jo, upon the account of his late negotiation in France*, and there ſpending the company ſo much money to ſo little purpoſe, or, as I may more properly ſay, to no purpoſe at all.

"There happened to be one night a play acted called *Catiline's Conſpiracy*, wherein there was wanting a great number of ſenators. Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the houſe, would oblige Jo to dreſs for one of theſe ſenators, although his ſalary, being 50s. per week, freed him from any ſuch obligation.

"But Mr. Hart, as I ſaid before, being ſole governour of the play-houſe, and at a ſmall variance with Jo, commands it, and the other muſt obey.

"Jo, being vexed at the ſlight Mr. Hart had put upon him, found out this method of being revenged on him. He gets a Scaramouch dreſs, a large full ruff, makes himſelf whiſkers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long Merry Andrew's cap, a ſhort pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged ſtool in his hand; and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the ſtage, ſets himſelf down behind him, and begins to ſmoke his pipe, laugh, and point at him. Which comical figure put all the houſe in an uproar, ſome laughing, ſome clapping, and ſome hollaing. Now Mr. Hart, as thoſe who knew him can aver, was a man of that exactneſs and grandeur on the ſtage, that let what would happen, he'd never diſcompoſe himſelf, or mind any thing but what he then repreſented; and had a ſcene fallen behind him, he would

* Soon after the theatre in Drury Lane was burnt down, Jan. 1671-2, Hayns had been ſent to Paris by Mr. Hart and Mr. Killigrew, to examine the machinery employed in the French Operas.

three latter were not repreſented in their original ſtate, but as altered by D'Avenant[2] and Shadwell. Between 1682 and 1695, when Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, obtained a licence to open a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Othello*, *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, are the only plays of Shakſpeare which Downes the prompter mentions, as having been performed by the united companies: *A Midſummer-Night's Dream* was transformed into an opera, and *The Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited as altered by Lacy. Dryden's *Troilus and Creſſida*, however, the two parts of *K. Henry IV.* *Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *King Henry VIII.* *Julius Cæſar*, and *Hamlet*, were without doubt ſometimes repreſented in the ſame period: and Tate and Durfey furniſhed the ſcene with miſerable alterations of *Coriolanus*, *K. Richard II.* *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline**. Otway's *Caius Marius*,

would not at that time look back, to have ſeen what was the matter; which Jo knowing, remained ſtill ſmoaking; the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting, and wondering at this unuſual occaſion of their mirth; ſometimes thinking it ſome diſturbance in the houſe, again that it might be ſomething amiſs in his dreſs: at laſt turning himſelf toward the ſcenes, he diſcovered Jo in the aforeſaid poſture; whereupon he immediately goes off the ſtage, ſwearing he would never ſet foot on it again, unleſs Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no ſooner ſpoke, but put in practice."

[2] "The tragedy of *Macbeth*, altered by Sir William D'Avenant, being dreſt in all its finery, as new cloaths, new ſcenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the ſinging and dancing in it, (the firſt compoſed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joſeph Prieſt,) it being all excellently performed, *being in the nature of an opera*, it recompenced double the expence: it proves ſtill a laſting play." *Roſcius Anglicanus*, p. 33. 8vo. 1708.

"In 1673, *The Tempeſt or the Inchanted Iſland*, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all new in it, as ſcenes, machines; one ſcene painted with myriads of aerial ſpirits, and another flying away, with a table furniſhed out with fruits, ſweatmeats, and all ſorts of viands, juſt when duke Trinculo and his company were going to dinner; all things were performed in it ſo admirably well, that not any ſucceeding opera got more money." *Ibidem*, p. 34.

* *King Richard II.* and *King Lear* were produced by Tate in 1681, before the union of the two companies; and *Coriolanus*, under the title of *The Ingratitude of a Common wealth*, in 1682. In the ſame year appeared Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, under the title of *The Injured Princeſs*.

which

which was produced in 1680, uſurped the place of our poet's *Romeo and Juliet* for near ſeventy years, and Lord Lanſdown's *Jew of Venice* kept poſſeſſion of the ſtage from the time of its firſt exhibition in 1701, to the year 1741. Dryden's *All for Love*, from 1678 to 1759, was performed inſtead of our author's *Antony and Cleopatra*; and D'Avenant's alteration of *Macbeth* in like manner was preferred to our author's tragedy, from its firſt exhibition in 1663, for near eighty years.

In the year 1700 Cibber produced his alteration of *K. Richard III.* I do not find that this play, which was ſo popular in Shakſpeare's time, was performed from the time of the Reſtoration to the end of the laſt century. The play with Cibber's alterations was once performed at Drury Lane in 1703, and lay dormant from that time to the 28th of Jan. 1710, when it was revived at the Opera Houſe in the Haymarket; ſince which time it has been repreſented, I believe, more frequently than any of our author's dramas, except *Hamlet*.

On April 23, 1704, *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, by command of the Queen, was performed at St. James's, by the actors of both houſes, and afterwards publickly repreſented at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, May 18, in the ſame year, by Mr. Betterton's company; but although the whole force of his company was exerted in the repreſentation, the piece had ſo little ſucceſs, that it was not repeated till Nov. 3, 1720, when it was again revived at the ſame theatre, and afterwards frequently performed.

From 1709, when Mr. Rowe publiſhed his edition of Shakſpeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet's *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæſar*, *K. Henry VIII.* *Othello*, *K. Richard III.* *King Lear*, and the two parts of *King Henry IV.* were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, ſuch was the wretched taſte of the audiences of thoſe days, that in many inſtances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals.

Durfey's

Durfey's *Injured Princeſs*, which had not been acted from 1697, was again revived at Drury Lane, October 5, 1717, and afterwards often repreſented. Even Ravencroft's *Titus Andronicus*, in which all the faults of the original are greatly aggravated, took its turn on the ſcene, and after an intermiſſion of fifteen years was revived at Drury Lane in Auguſt 1717, and afterwards frequently performed both at that theatre and the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it was exhibited for the firſt time, Dec. 21, 1720. *Coriolanus*, which had not been acted for twenty years, was revived at the theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Dec. 13, 1718; and in Dec. 1719, *King Richard II.* was revived at the ſame theatre: but probably neither of theſe plays was then repreſented as originally written by Shakſpeare[3]. *Meaſure for Meaſure*, which had not been acted, I imagine, from the time of the ſuppreſſion of the theatres in 1642[4], was revived at the ſame theatre, Dec. 8, 1720, for the purpoſe of producing Mr. Quin in the character of the Duke, which he frequently performed with ſucceſs in that and the following years. *Much ado about nothing*, which had not been acted for thirty years, was revived at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Feb. 9, 1721; but after two repreſentations, on that and the following evening, was laid aſide. In Dec. 1723, *King Henry V.* was announced for repreſentation, "on Shakſpeare's foundation," and performed at Drury Lane ſix times in that month; after which we hear of it no more: and on Feb. 26, 1737, *King John* was revived at Covent Garden. Neither of theſe plays, I believe, had been exhibited from the time of the downfall of the ſtage. At the ſame theatre our poet's ſecond part of *King Henry IV.* which had for fifty years been driven

[3] In the theatrical advertiſement, Feb. 6, 1738, *King Richard II.* (which was then produced at Covent Garden,) was ſaid not to have been acted for *forty* years.

[4] On the revival of this play in 1720, it was announced as not having been acted for *twenty* years; but the piece which had been performed in the year 1700, was not Shakſpeare's, but Gildon's.

from

from the ſcene by the play which Mr. Betterton ſubſtituted in its place, reſumed its ſtation, being produced at Covent Garden, Feb. 16, 1738; and on the 23d of the ſame month Shakſpeare's *K. Henry V.* was performed there as originally written, after an interval, if the theatrical advertiſement be correct, of forty years. In the following March the ſame company once exhibited *the Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* for the firſt time, as they aſſerted, for fifty years[5]. *As you like it* was announced for repreſentation at Drury Lane, December 20, 1740, as not having been acted for forty years, and repreſented twenty-ſix times in that ſeaſon. At Goodman's Fields, Jan. 15, 1741, *The Winter's Tale* was announced, as not having been acted for one hundred years; but was not equally ſucceſsful, being only performed nine times. At Drury Lane, Feb. 14, 1741, *The Merchant of Venice*, which, I believe, had not been acted for one hundred years, was once more reſtored to the ſcene by Mr. Macklin, who on that night firſt repreſented Shylock; a part which for near fifty years he has performed with unrivalled ſucceſs. In the following month the company at Goodman's Fields endeavoured to make a ſtand againſt him by producing *All's well that ends well*, which, they aſſerted, "had not been acted ſince Shakſpeare's time." But the great theatrical event of this year was the appearance of Mr. Garrick at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, Oct. 19, 1741; whoſe good taſte led him to ſtudy the plays of Shakſpeare with more aſſiduity than any of his predeceſſors. Since that time, in conſequence of Mr. Garrick's admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent repreſentation of his plays in nearly their original ſtate, and above all, the various reſearches which have been made for the purpoſe of explaining and illuſtrating his works, our poet's reputation has been yearly increaſing, and

[5] *King Henry VI.* altered from Shakſpeare by Theophilus Cibber, was performed by a ſummer company at Drury Lane, July 5, 1723; but it met with no ſucceſs, being repreſented only once.

is now fixed upon a baſis, which neither the lapſe of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to ſhake. Here therefore I conclude this imperfect account of the origin and progreſs of the Engliſh Stage.

EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I. PART I.

Page 73. l. 4.] The mark ❧ has been placed by the careleſſneſs of the compoſitor before the edition of 1565. It ought to have been placed before that of 1567.

Pag. 119. l. 2.] To Shakſpeare's income from his real and perſonal property muſt be added £. 200 per Ann. which he probably derived from the theatre, while he continued on the ſtage. See Vol. I. Part II. p. 156.

Pag. 119. n. 7. l. 10.] For iii s. r. xiii s. The miſtake was made by Dugdale.

Pag. 123. n. 2.] Dr. Hall's pocket-book after his death fell into the hands of a ſurgeon of Warwick, who publiſhed a tranſlation of it, (with ſome additions of his own) under the title of *Select Obſervations on Engliſh Bodies of eminent perſons, in deſperate diſeaſes*, &c. The third edition was printed in 1683.

Pag. 128. l. 11.] For 1623, r. 1621.

Pag. 131. n. 2. l. 4.] After *&c. add* — And in the fifth line we find a thought which our poet has alſo introduced in *K. Henry VIII.*

" Ever belov'd and loving may his rule be!
" And, when old time ſhall lead him to his grave,
" *Goodneſs and he fill up one monument!*"

This epitaph muſt have been written after the year 1600, for Venetia Stanley, who afterwards was the wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, was born in that year. With a view to aſcertain its date more preciſely, the churches of Great and Little Waltham have been examined for the

the monument ſaid to have been erected to Lady Lucy Stanley and her four daughters, but in vain; for no trace of it remains: nor could the time of their reſpective deaths be aſcertained, the regiſters of thoſe pariſhes being loſt.

Pag. 137. l. 14 of the note.] For *her*, r. *his*.

Pag. 161. n. 7. l. 5.] For *tuum*, r. *tuus*.

Pag. 162. n. 8. l. 2.] For 1685, r. *in or about* 1682.

Pag. 171. n. 1. l. 2.] For *ten*, r. *eighteen*.

Pag. 173. n. 7. l. 4.] For *born*, r. *baptized*.

Pag. 187. n. 5. l. 5.] For *July*, r. *June*.

Pag. 197. n. 1. l. 9.] For 1735, r. 1635. After line 10, add—

William Baſſe, according to Wood, [*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812,] "was of Moreton near Thame in Oxfordſhire, and was ſometime a retainer to the Lord Wenman of Thame Park." There are ſome verſes by him in *Annalia Dubrenſia*, 4to. 1636; and in *Bathurſt's Life and Remains* by the Rev. Thomas Warton, 8vo. 1761, there is a poem by Dr. Bathurſt "to Mr. William Baſſe, upon the *intended* publication of his Poems, Jan. 13, 1651." The volume never, I believe, appeared.

Pag. 209.] To the letters *I. M. S.* add this note.

Probably, Jaſper Mayne, *Student*. He was born in the year 1604, and became a Member of Chriſt Church, in Oxford, in 1623, where he was ſoon afterwards elected a Student. In 1628 he took a bachelor's degree, and in June 1631, that of a Maſter of Arts. Theſe verſes firſt appeared in the folio, 1632.

Pag. 212, n. 5.] *Dele* this note. The Fortune company, I find from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, removed to the Red Bull, and the Prince's Company to the Fortune, in the year 1640; theſe verſes therefore could not have been written ſo early as 1623.

Pag. 230. l. 17.] For 1789. r. 1790.

Pag. 234. l. 7.] For 1789. r. 1790.

Pag. 264. n. 4. l. 7.] For *Theſe were not*, r. *None of theſe, except* Othello, *were*—

Pag.

Pag. 309. l. 19.] For *the children of the queen's chapel*, r. *the ſinging boys of St. Paul's.*

Pag. 310. l. 20.] For *among the children of the chapel*, r. *by the younger breed of players.*

Pag. 331. l. 6.] *Add*— That they were inſtituted about the year 1603, when King James acceded to the Engliſh throne, may be collected from the account given of them by Wood in his *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812: "The ſaid games were *begun*, and continued at a certain time of the year for 40 years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Burton on the heath in Warwickſhire; who did, *with leave from King James I.* ſelect a place on Cotſwold-hills in Glouceſterſhire, whereon thoſe games ſhould be acted. Dover was conſtantly there in perſon, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of thoſe games, even till the raſcally rebellion was begun by the Preſbyterians, which gave a ſtop to their proceedings, and ſpoiled all that was generous and ingenious elſewhere."

Pag. 348. *The Winter's Tale.*] I have obſerved in a note that Ben Jonſon has ridiculed this play and the *Tempeſt*, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, which firſt appeared in the year 1614, and that he might have been induced to do ſo from their having been acted at court in the preceding year. But I am now inclined to think that he rather joined theſe plays in the ſame cenſure, in conſequence of their having been produced at no great diſtance of time from each other; and that *The Winter's Tale* ought to have been aſcribed to the year 1613. In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert I obſerve, that among the court-plays performed at Chriſtmas were generally included the laſt new pieces which had been exhibited on the publick ſtage. Several of Fletcher's latter plays were performed at court in the ſame year in which they were firſt repreſented. But the entry which has been quoted in a preceding page[6], relative to *The Winter's Tale*, furniſhes a ſtill ſtronger reaſon for

[6] P. 226.

referring

referring it to this year; for it appears that it had been originally licenſed by Sir George Buck, and that the licenſed copy had been loſt. The licenſed copy of *The Honeſt Man's Fortune*, which was produced in the year 1613, was likewiſe loſt, and afterwards re-licenſed by Sir Henry Herbert on its revival in 1624-5. It is highly probably that *The Winter's Tale* was firſt exhibited at the Globe in the ſame year, and that both theſe pieces were deſtroyed by the fire which conſumed that theatre, June 30, 1613.

Though Sir George Buck obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels, in 1603, which title Camden has given him in the edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1607, it appears from various documents in the Pells-office that he did not get complete poſſeſſion of his place till Auguſt 1610.

Pag. 376. *Coriolanus.*] I have ſome doubts concerning the concluding remark on the date of this play. The tree which is fit for breeding ſilk-worms, is the *white* mulberry, of which great numbers were imported into England in the year 1609: but *perhaps* we had the other ſpecies, which produces the beſt fruit, before that time. If that was the caſe, my hypotheſis concerning the time when our poet planted the celebrated mulberry tree, may be controverted. *Valeat quantum valere poſſit.*

Pag. 406. l. 6.] One of the leaves of Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, which was miſſing, having been recovered ſince this page was printed, I find that *The Ladies Trial* was performed for the firſt time at the Cockpit theatre in May 1638, on the 3d of which month it was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels.

EMENDATIONS

EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I. PART II.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

Juſt as this work was iſſuing from the preſs, ſome curious Manuſcripts relative to the ſtage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly tranſmitted to me from thence. One of theſe is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Philip Henſlowe, who appears to have been proprietor of the Rose Theatre near the Bankſide in Southwark.

The celebrated player, Edward Alleyn, who has erroneouſly been ſuppoſed by Mr. Oldys, the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, to have had three wives, was married, as appears from an entry in this book, to Joan Woodward, on the 22d of October, 1592, at which time he was about twenty-ſix years old. This lady, who died in 1623, was the daughter of Agnes, the widow of —— Woodward, whom Mr. Philip Henſlowe, after the death of Woodward, married: ſo that Mr. Henſlowe was not, as has been ſuppoſed, Alleyn's father-in-law, but only ſtep-father to his wife.

This Mſ. contains a great number of curious notices relative to the dramatick poets of the time, and their productions, from the year 1597 to 1603, during which time Mr. Henſlowe kept an exact account of all the money which he diſburſed for the various companies of which he had the management, for copies of plays and the apparel which he bought for their repreſentation. I find here notices of a great number of plays now loſt, with the authors' names, and ſeveral entries that tend to throw a light on various particulars which have been diſcuſſed in the preceding *Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage*, as well as the *Eſſay on the order of time in which Shakſpeare's plays were written*. A ſtill more curious part of this

this Mſ. is a regiſter of all the plays performed by the ſervants of Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral, and by other companies, between the 19th of February 1591-2, and November 5, 1597. This regiſter ſtrongly confirms the conjectures that have been hazarded relative to the firſt part of *King Henry VI.*, and the play which I have ſuppoſed to have been written on the ſubject of *Hamlet*. In a bundle of looſe papers has alſo been found an exact Inventory of the Wardrobe, play-books, properties, &c. belonging to the lord Admiral's ſervants.

Though it is not now in my power to arrange theſe very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick ſhould be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford; and therefore ſhall extract from them all ſuch notices as appear to me worthy of preſervation.

In the regiſter of plays the ſame piece is frequently repeated: but of theſe repetitions I have taken no notice, having tranſcribed only the account of the firſt repreſentation of each piece, with the ſum which Mr. Henſlowe gained by it [1].

By

[1] It is clear from ſubſequent entries made by Mr. Henſlowe that the ſums in the margin oppoſite to each play, were not the total receipts of the houſe, but what he received as a proprietor from either half or the whole of the galleries, which appear to have been appropriated to him to reimburſe him for expences incurred for dreſſes, copies, &c. for the theatre. The profit derived from the rooms or boxes, &c. was divided among ſuch of the players as poſſeſſed *ſhares*. In a ſubſequent page I find—"Here I begynne to receve the *whole gallereys* from this day, beinge 29 of July, 1598." At the bottom of the account, which ends Oct. 13, 1599, is this note: "Received with the company of my lord of Nottinghams men, to this place, being the 13 of October 1599, and yt doth apeare that I have received of the *deate* which they owe unto me, iij hundred fiftie and eyght pounds."

Again: "Here I begane to receive the gallereys agayne, which they received, begynninge at Mihellmas weeke, being the 6 of October, 1599, as followeth."

By the ſubſequent repreſentations, ſometimes a larger, and ſometimes a leſs, ſum, was gained. The figures within crotchets ſhew how often each piece was repreſented within the time of each account.

"[1] *In the name of God, Amen*, 1591, *beginninge the* 19 *of febreary my g.* lord Stranges men, *as followeth*, 1591:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
R. at *fryer bacone*[2], the 19 of febreary, (ſaterday) [4] - -	o.	xvii.	iii.
—— *mulomurco*[3], the 20 of febr. [11]	o.	xxix.	o.
—— *orlando*[4], the 21 of febreary [1]	o.	xvi.	vi.
—— ſpanes (Spaniſh) comedye, *don oracio*, (Don Horatio) the 23 of febreary, [3] -	o.	xiii.	vi.
—— *Syr John mandeville*, the 24 of febreary, [5] - -	o.	xii.	vi.
—— *harey of cornwell*, (Henry of Cornwall) the 25 of febreary 1591, [3] - -	o.	xxxii.	o.
—— *the Jew of malltuſe*, (Malta) the 26 of febreary 1591, [10]	o.	l.	o.
—— *clorys and orgaſto* the 28 of febreary 1591, [1] - -	o.	xviii.	o.
—— *poope Jone*, the 4 of marche 1591, [1] - - -	o.	xv.	o.

Again: "My lord of Pembrokes men beganne to playe at the Roſe, the 28 of October, 1600, as followeth:

s. d.

"R. at *licke unto licke* 11. 6.

"R. at *Raderick*—— v. —"

Five ſhillings could not poſſibly have been the total receipt of the houſe, and therefore muſt have been that which the proprietor received on his ſeparate account.

[2] *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene.

[3] In a ſubſequent entry called *Mulamulluco*. The play meant was probably *The Battle of Alcazar*. See the firſt ſpeech:

"This brave barbarian lord, *Muly Molocco*," &c.

[4] *Orlando Furioſo*, by Robert Greene, printed in 1599.

R. at

R. at *matchavell*, the 2 of marche 1591, [3] - - -	*l.* 0.	*s.* xiii.	*d.* 0.
—— *henery the vi*[5]. the 3 of marche 1591, [13] - -	iii.	vi.	8.
—— *bendo*[6] *and Richardo*, the 4 of marche 1591, [3] - -	0.	xvi.	0.
—— *iiii playes in one*[7], the 6 of marche 1591, [4] -	iii.	xi.	0.
—— *the looking-glaſs*[8], the 8 of marche 1591, [4] -	0.	vii.	0.
—— *ſenobia*, (Zenobia) the 9 of marche 1591, [1] -	0.	xxii.	vi.
—— *Jeronimo*, the 14 of marche 1591, [14] - -	iii.	xi.	0.
—— *conſtantine*, the 21 of marche 1591, [1] - - -	0.	xii.	0.
—— *Jeruſalem*[9], the 22 of marche 1591, [2] - - -	0.	xviii.	0.
—— *brandymer*, the 6 of aprill 1591, [2] - - - -	0.	xxii.	0.
—— *the comedy of Jeronimo*, the 10 of April 1591, [4] - -	0.	xxviii.	0.

[5] In the *Diſſertation on the three parts of K. Henry VI.* I conjectured that the piece which we now call *The* firſt *part of K. Henry VI.* was, when firſt performed, called *The play of King Henry VI.* We find here that ſuch was the fact. This play, which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakſpeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular, being repreſented in this ſeaſon between March 3 and June 19, [1592] no leſs than thirteen times. Hence Naſhe in a pamphlet publiſhed in this year ſpeaks of ten thouſand ſpectators that had ſeen it. See *Diſſertation*, &c. Vol. VI. p. 390.

[6] Afterwards written *Byndo*.

[7] This could not have been the piece called *All's one, or four plays in one*, of which *the Yorkſhire Tragedy* made a part, becauſe the fact on which that piece is founded happened in 1605.

[8] *The Looking glaſs for London and England*, by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, printed in 1598.

[9] Probably *The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*, by Dr. Thomas Legge. See Wood's *Faſt. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 133.

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *Titus and Veſpaſian*, (Titus Veſpaſian) the 11 of Aprill 1591, [7] - - -	iii.	iiii.	o.
—— *the ſecond pte of tamberzanne*, (Tamberlane) the 28 of april 1592, [5] - -	iii.	iiii.	o.
—— *the tanner of Denmarke*, the 28 of maye 1592, [1] -	iii.	xiii.	o.
—— *a knacke to know a knave**, 10 day [of June] 1592, [3]	iii.	xii.	o.

" *In the name of God Amen*, 1592; *beginning the* 29 *of Deſember.*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *the gelyons comedey* (Julian of Brentford) the 5 of Jenewary 1592, [1] - -	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
—— *the comedy of coſmo*, the 12 of Jenewary 1592, [2] -	o.	xxxx.	iiii.
—— *the tragedey of the guyes*[1], 30 of Jenewary[2], [1] -	iii.	iiii.	o.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginning the* 27 *of Deſember* 1593, *the earle of Suſſex his men.*

	l.	s.	d.
R. at *God ſpede the plough*, [2] - -	iii.	i.	o.
—— *hewen of Burdocks*, (Huon of Bourdeaux) the 28 of Deſember 1593, [3] - -	iii.	x.	o.
—— *george a-green*[3], the 29 of Deſember 1593, [4] -	iii.	x.	o.
—— *buckingham*, the 30 of Deſember 1593, [4] - -	o.	li.	o.

* Printed in 1594.

[1] Probably *The Maſſacre of Paris*, by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[2] In conſequence of the great plague in the year 1593, all theatrical entertainments were forbid.

[3] This play is printed.

R. at

	s.	s.	d.
R. at *Richard the Confeſſor*[4], the 31 of Deſember 1593, [2] -	o.	xxxviii.	o.
—— *william the conkerer*, the 4 of Jenewary 1593, [1] -	o.	xxii.	o.
—— *frier francis*, the 7 of Jenewary 1593, [3] - - -	iii.	i.	o.
—— *the piner of wakefeild*[5], the 8 of Jenewary 1593, [1] -	o.	xxiii.	o.
—— *abrame & lotte*, the 9 of Jenewary 1593, [3] - -	o.	lii.	o.
—— *the faire mayd of ytale* (Italy) the 12 of Jenewary 1593, [2]	o.	ix.	o.
—— *King lude*, (*Lud*) the 18 of Jenewary 1593, [1] -	o.	xxii.	o.
—— *titus and andronicus*[6], the 23 of Jenewary, [3] - -	iii.	viii.	o.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge at eaſter, the* queenes men and my lord of Suſſex *together.*

R. at *the Rangers comedy*, 2 of April 1593, [1] - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— *kinge leare*[7], the 6 of April 1593, [2][8] -	o.	xxxviii.	o.

4 This piece ſhould ſeem to have been written by the tinker in *The Taming of the Sbrew*, who talks of *Richard Conqueror*.

5 This play was printed in 1599.

6 The manager of this theatre, who appears to have been extremely illiterate, has made the ſame miſtake in the play of *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*. There can be no doubt that this was the original piece, before our poet touched it. At the ſecond repreſentation Mr. Henſlowe's ſhare was forty ſhillings; at the third, the ſame ſum.

7 This old play was entered on the Stationers' books in the following year, and publiſhed in 1605; but the bookſeller, that it might be miſtaken for Shakſpeare's, took care not to mention by whoſe ſervants it had been performed.

8 Five other old plays were repreſented, whoſe titles have been already given.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the* 14 *of maye* 1594, *by my* lord admiralls men.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
R. at *Cutlacke*, the 16 of maye 1594, [1][9] - - -	0.	xxxxii.	0.

" *In the name of God Amen, beginning at* newington [1], *my* lord admirell men *and* my lord chamberlen men, *as followeth*, 1594.

	s.	*s.*	*d.*
R. the 3 of June 1594, at *beaſter and aſhewer os* [2], [2] - -	0.	viii.	0.
—— 5 of June 1594, at *andronicus*, [2] - - - - -	0.	xii.	0.
—— 6 of June 1594, at *cutlacke*, [12] - - - - -	0.	xi.	0.
—— 8 of June, at *bellendan*, [17]	0.	xvii.	0.
—— 9 of June 1594, at *hamlet* [3], [1]	0.	viii.	0.
—— 11 of June 1594, at *the taminge of a ſhrewe* [4], [1] - -	0.	ix.	0.

9 Two other old plays, whoſe titles have been already given, on the 14th and 15th of May.

1 Howes in his Continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1631, mentions among the ſeventeen theatres, which had been built within ſixty years, " one in former time at *Newington Buts*."

2 *Heſter and Abaſuerus*.

3 In the *Eſſay on the Order of Shakſpeare's plays* I have ſtated my opinion, that there was a play on the ſubject of *Hamlet*, prior to our author's; and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be ſuppoſed that our poet's play ſhould have been performed but once in the time of this account, and that Mr. Henſlowe ſhould have drawn from ſuch a piece but the ſum of eight ſhillings, when his ſhare in ſeveral other plays came to three and ſometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's plays was played at Newington Buts; if one had been performed, we ſhould certainly have found more. The old *Hamlet* had been on the ſtage before 1589; and to the performance of the ghoſt in this piece in the ſummer of 1594, without doubt it is, that Dr. Lodge alludes, in his *Wits Miſerie*, &c. 4to. 1596, when he ſpeaks of " a foul lubber, who looks as pale as the vizard of the ghoſt, who cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge*."

4 The play which preceded Shakſpeare's. It was printed in 1607. There is a ſlight variation between the titles; our poet's piece being called *The Taming of* the *Shrew*.

R. the

R. the 12 of June 1594, at *the Jew of malta*, [18] - -	*l.* iiii.	*s.* o.	*d.* o.
—— 18 of June 1594, at *the rangers comedy*, [10] - -	o.	xxii.	o.
—— 19 of June, at *the guies* [5], [10]	o.	liii.	o.
—— 26 of June 1594, at *galiaſſe* [6], [9]	iii.	o.	o.
—— 9 of July 1594, at *phillipo* and *hewpolyto* [7], [12] - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 19 of July 1594, at *the 2 pte of Godfrey of Bullen*, [11]	iii.	o.	o.
—— 30 of July 1594, at *the marchant of camdew* [8], [1] -	iii.	viii.	o.
—— 12 of Auguſt 1594, at *taſſoes mellencoley* [9], [13] -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 15 of Auguſt 1594, at *mahomett* [1], [8] - -	iii.	v.	o.
—— 25 of Auguſt 1594, at *the veneſyan* (Venetian) *comedy*, [11] - - - - -	o.	l.	vi.
—— 28 of Auguſt 1594, at *tamberlen*, [23] - - -	iii.	xi.	o.
—— 17 of ſeptember 1594, at *palamon & arſett* [2], [4] - -	o.	li.	o.
—— 24 of ſeptember 1594, at *Veneſyon & the love of and* [an] *Ingleſhe lady*, [1] -	o.	xxxxvii.	o.

[5] *The Guiſe.* It is afterwards called *The Maſacre*, i. e. *The Maſſacre of Paris*, by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[6] Q. *Julius Cæſar.*

[7] This is probably the play which a knaviſh bookſeller above ſixty years afterwards entered on the Stationers' books as the production of Philip Maſſinger. See p. 228, n. 2.

[8] Q. — of *Candia.*

[9] *Taſſo's Melancholy.* "I rather ſpited than pitied him, (ſays old Montagne) when I ſaw him at Ferrara, in ſo pitious a plight, that he ſurvived himſelfe, mis-acknowledging both himſelfe and his labours, which, unwitting to him and even to his face, have been publiſhed both uncorrected and maimed." Florio's tranſlation, 1603.

[1] Probably Peele's play, entitled *Mahomet and Hiren, the fair Greek.* See Vol. V. p. 332. n. 9.

[2] *Palamon and Arcite.* On this old play *The Two noble Kinſmen* was probably founded.

R. the 30 of ſeptember 1594, at *dr. ter fauſteſſe*[1], [24] -	iii.	xii.	o.
—— 4 of october 1594, at *the love of a greſyan lady*, [12] -	o.	xxvi.	o.
—— 18 of october 1594, at *the frenſhe doctor*, [11] -	o.	xxii	o.
—— 22 of october 1594, at *a knacke to know a honeſte*[2], [19] -	o.	xxxx.	o.
—— 8 of november 1594, at *ceſer & pompie*[3], [8] - -	iii.	ii.	o.
—— 16 of november 1594, at *deo-cleſyan*, [2] - -	o.	xxxxiii.	o.
—— 30 of november 1594, at *war-lam cheſter*, [7] - -	o.	xxxviii.	o.
—— 2 of deſember 1594, at *the wiſe men of cheſter*, [20] -	o.	xxviii.	o.
—— 14 of deſember 1594, at *the mawe*[4], [4] - - -	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
—— 19 of deſember 1594, at *the 2 pte of tamberlen*, [11] -	o.	xxxxvi.	o.
—— 26 of deſember 1594, at *the ſege of london*, [12] -	iii.	iii.	o.
—— 11 of febreary 1594, at *the frenſhe comedey*, [6] -	o.	l.	o.
—— 14 of febreary 1594, at *long mege of weſtmeſter*, [18] -	iii.	ix.	o.
—— 21 of febreary 1594, at *the macke*[5], [1] - - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 5 of marche 1594, at *ſeleo & olempo*[6], [7] - -	iii.	o.	o.

[1] *Dr. Fauſtus*, by Chriſtopher Marlowe.

[2] *A knack to know an honeſt man.* This play was printed in 1596.

[3] Stephen Goſſon mentions a play entitled *The Hiſtory of Cæſar and Pompey*, which was acted before 1580.

[4] The *maw* was a game at cards. The play is afterwards called *The four* (ſuit) *at mawe.*

[5] This alſo was a game at cards.

[6] *Seleo* is afterwards written *Selyo*, and the play is in a ſubſequent entry called *Olimpo* and *Hengengo*.

R. the

R. the 7 of maye 1595, at *the firſte pte of Herculous* [7], [10] - iiii. xiii. o.
—— 23 of maye 1595, at *the 2 pte of Hercolaus*, [8] - - iii. x. o.
—— 3 of June 1595, at *the vii dayes of the weeke*, [19] - - iii. o. o.
—— 18 of June 1595, at *the 2 pte of ſeſore*, (Cæſar[8]) [2] - o. lv. o.
—— 20 of June 1595, at *antony & vallea*[9], [3] - - o. xx. o.
—— 29 of auguſt 1595, at *longe-ſhancke*[1], [14] - - o. xxxx. o.
—— 5 of of ſeptember 1595, at *cracke mee this notte*, [16] iii. o. o.
—— 17 of ſeptember 1595, at *the worldes tragedy*, [11] - iii. v. o.
—— 2 of octobor 1595, at *the deſgyſes*, [6] - - - o. xxxxiii. o.
—— 15 of octobor 1595, at *the wonder of a woman*, [10] - o. liii. o.
—— 29 of octobor 1595, at *barnardo & fiamata*, [7].
—— 14 of november 1595, *at a toye to pleaſe my ladye*[2], [7]
—— 28 of november 1595, at *harry the v.*[3], [13] - - iii. vi. o.
—— 29 of november 1595, at *the welſheman*, [1] - - o. vii. o.

7 *Hercules*, written by Martin Slaughter.
8 Probably on the ſubject of Shakſpeare's play.
9 This piéce was entered in the Stationers' books by Humphrey Moſely, June 29, 1660, as the production of Philip Maſſinger.
1 Probably Peele's play, entitled *The famous Chronicle of King Edward I. ſirnamed Edward Long-ſhankes*, printed in 1593.
2 Afterwards called *A toy to pleaſe chaſte ladies*.
3 I ſuppoſe, the play entitled *The famous victories of K. Henry V. containing the honourable battel of Agincourt*, 1598; in which may be found the rude outlines of our poet's two parts of *K. Henry IV.* and *K. Henry V.*

R. the

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 3 of Jenewary 1595, at *chrisom of Ingland*, [11] - -	o.	l.	o.
—— 15 of Jenewary 1595, at *pethagerus*[4], [13] - -	o.	xviii.	o.
—— 3 of febreary 1595, at the 1 *p. of Fortunatus*[5], [7] -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 12 of febreary 1595, at *the blind beger of Alexandria*[6], [13] - - -	iii.	o.	o.
—— 29 of aprill 1596, at *Julian the apoſtata*, [3] - -	o.	xxxviii.	o.
—— 19 of maye 1596, at *the tragedie of ffocaſſe*[7], [7] -	o.	xxxv.	o.
—— 22 of June 1596, at *Troye*, [4]	iii.	o.	o.
—— 1 of July 1596, at *paradox*, [1]	o.	xxxv.	o.
—— 18 of July 1596, at *the tincker of totnes*, - -	iii.	o.	o.

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginning one* [*on*] *Simone and Jewds day*, my lord admeralles men, *as followeth*; 1596.

[Here twenty plays are ſet down as having been performed between October 27, and November 15, 1596: but their titles have all been already given.]

" *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the 25 of november* 1596, *as followeth*, the lord admerall players:

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 4 of deſember 1596, at *Valteger*, [12] - - -	o.	xxxv.	o.
—— 11 of deſember 1596, at *Stewkley*[8], [11] - -	o.	xxxx.	o.

4 *Pythagoras*, written by Martin Slaughter.
5 By Thomas Dekker. This play is printed.
6 By George Chapman. Printed in 1598.
7 *Phocas*, by Martin Slaughter.
8 This play was printed in black letter in 1605.

R. the

	l.	s.	d.
R. the 19 of desember 1596, at *nebu-cadonizer*, [8] - -	o.	xxx.	o.
—— 30 of desember 1596, at *what will be shall be*, [12] -	o.	l.	o.
—— 14 of Jenewary 1597, at *alex-ander & lodwicke*, [15]	o.	lv.	o.
—— 27 of Jenewary 1597, at *woman hard to please*, [12] -	6.	7.	8.
—— 5 of febreary 1597, at *Oseryck*, [2] - -	3.	2.	1.
—— 19 of marche 1597, at *guido*, [5][9] - -	-	-	-
—— 7 of aprill 1597, at *v plays in one*, [10] -	-	-	-
—— 13 of aprill 1597, at *times triumph and foxtus*, [1] -	-	-	-
—— 29 of aprill 1597, at *Uter pendragon*, [5] -	-	-	-
—— 11 of maye 1597, at *the comedy of umers*, (humours[1]) [11]	-	-	-
—— 26 of maye 1597, at *harey the fifte life and death*[2], [6]	-	-	-
—— 3 of June 1597, at *frederycke and baselliers*[3], [4] -	-	-	-
—— 22 of June 1597, at *Henges*, [1]	-	-	-
—— 30 of June 1597, at *life and death of Martin Swarte*, [3]	-	-	-
—— 14 of July 1597, at *the wiche [witch] of Islyngton*[4], [2]	-	-	-

9 The sums received by Mr. Henslowe from this place are ranged in five columns, in such a manner as to furnish no precise information.

1 Perhaps Ben Jonson's *Every man in his humour*. It will appear hereafter that he had money dealings with Mr. Henslowe, the manager of this theatre, and that he wrote for him. The play might have been afterwards purchased from this company by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, by whom it was acted in 1598.

2 This could not have been the play already mentioned, because in that Henry does not die; nor could it have been Shakspeare's play.

3 Afterwards written—*Baselia*.

4 This piece was performed a second time on the 18th of July, when this account was closed.

" *In the name of God, Amen, the* 11 *of October, begann* my lord admeralls and my lord of pembrokes men *to playe at my howſe*, 1597 :

October 11.	at *Jeronymo*,	-	-	-
12.	at *the comedy of ameers*,	-	-	-
16.	at *doctor ſoſtes*,	-	-	-
19.	at *bardacunte*,	-	-	-
31.	at *frier ſpendelton*,	-	-	-
November 2.	at *Bourbon*,"	-	-	-

The following curious paper furniſhes us with more accurate knowledge of the properties, &c. of a theatre in Shakſpeare's time, than the reſearches of the moſt induſtrious antiquary could have attained.

" *The booke of the Inventary of the goods of my* Lord Admeralles men, *taeken the* 10 *of Marche in the yeare* 1598.

Gone and loſte.

Item, j orenge tawey ſatten dublet, layd thycke with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafetie ſewt.
Item, j payr of carnatyon ſatten Veneſyons, layd with gold lace.
Item, j longe-ſhanckes ſewte.
Item, j Sponnes dublet pyncket.
Item, j Spanerds gyrcken.
Item, Harey the fyftes dublet.
Item, Harey the fyftes vellet gowne.
Item, j fryers gowne.
Item, j lyttell dublet for boye.

" *The Enventary of the Clownes Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with dievers other ſewtes, as followeth*, 1598, *the* 10 *of March.*

Item, j ſenetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 ſenetores capes.
Item, j ſewtte for Nepton; Fierdrackes ſewtes for Dobe.
Item, iiij geneſareyes gownes, and iiij torchberers ſewtes.

Item,

Item, iij payer of red ſtraſets, [ſtroſſers] and iij fares gowne of buekrome.

Item, iiij Herwodes cottes, and iij ſogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.

Item, vj grene cottes for Roben Hoode, and iiij knaves ſewtes.

Item, ij payer of grene hoſſe, and Anderſones ſewte. j whitt ſhepen clocke.

Item, ij roſſet cottes, and j black freſe cotte, and iij preſtes cottes.

Item, ij whitt ſheperdes cottes, and ij Danes ſewtes, and j payer of Danes hoſſe.

Item, The Mores lymes[5], and Hercolles lymes, and Will. Sommers ſewtte.

Item, ij Orlates ſewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.

Item, Cathemer ſewte, j payer of cloth whitte ſtockens, iiij Turckes hedes.

Item, iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, and j fooles coate, cape, and babell, and branhowlttes bodeys, [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

Item, ij black ſaye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede ſaye gowne.

Item, j mawe gowne of calleco for the quene[6], j carnowll [cardinal's] hatte.

Item, j red ſewt of cloth for pyge [Pſyche], layed with whitt lace.

Item, v payer of hoſſe for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.

Item, iij payer of canvas hoſſe for aſane, ij payer of black ſtrocers.

Item, j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes dublett poke.

[5] I ſuſpect that theſe were the limbs of *Aaron* the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*, who in the original play was probably tortured on the ſtage. This ancient exhibition was ſo much approved of by Ravenſcroft, that he introduced it in his play.—In *The Battle of Alcazar* there is alſo a Moor, whoſe dead body is brought on the ſtage, but not in a diſlocated ſtate.

[6] In the play called *Maw*.

Item,

Item, Eves bodeyes, [bodice] j pedante truſſer, and iij donnes hattes.
Item, j payer of yelow cotton ſleves, j goſtes ſewt, and j goſtes bodeyes.
Item, xviij copes and hattes, Verones ſonnes hoſſe.
Item, iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a baſſe viall, a bandore, a fytteren, j anſhente, [ancient] j whitt hatte.
Item, j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobihorſe.
Item, v ſhertes, and j ſerpelowes, [ſurplice] iiij ferdingalles.
Item, vj head-tiers, j fane, [fan] iiij rebatos, ij gyrke-truſes.
Item, j longe ſorde.

"*The Enventary of all the aparell for my* Lord Admeralles men, *tacken the* 10 *of marche* 1598.—*Leaſt above in the tier-houſe in the cheaſt.*

Item, My Lord Caffes [Caiphas'] gercken, & his hooſſe.
Item, j payer of hoſſe for the Dowlfen [Dauphin].
Item, j murey lether gyrcken, & j white lether gercken.
Item, j black lether gearken, & Nabeſathe ſewte.
Item, j payer of hoſſe, & a gercken for Valteger.
Item, ij leather anteckes cottes with baſſes, for Fayeton [Phaeton].
Item, j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.

"*The Enventary tacken of all the properties for my* Lord Admeralles men, *the* 10 *of Marche* 1598.

Item, j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j Helle mought [Hell-mouth].
Item, j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bedſteade.
Item, viij lances, j payer of ſtayers for Fayeton.
Item, ij ſtepells, & j chyme of belles, & j beacon.
Item, j hecſor for the playe of Faeton, the limes dead.
Item, j globe, & j golden ſcepter; iij clobes [clubs].
Item, ij marchepanes, & the ſittie of Rome.
Item, j gowlden fleece; ij rackets; j baye tree.
Item, j wooden hatchett; j lether hatchete.

Item,

Item, j wooden canepie; owld Mahemetes head.
Item, j lyone ſkin; j beares ſkyne; & Faetones lymes, & Faeton charete; & Argoſſe [Argus's] heade.
Item, Nepun [Neptune's] forcke & garland.
Item, j croſers ſtafe; Kentes woden leage [leg].
Item, Ieroſſes [Iris's] head, & raynbowe; j litteil alter.
Item, viij viſerdes; Tamberlyne brydell; j wooden matook.
Item, Cupedes bowe, & quiver; the clothe of the Sone & Mone[7].
Item, j bores heade & Serberoſſe [Cerberus] iij heades.
Item, j Cadeſeus; ij moſe [moſs] banckes, & j ſnake.
Item, ij fanes of feathers; Belendon ſtable; j tree of gowlden apelles; Tanteloufe tre; jx eyorn [iron] targates.
Item, j copper targate, & xvij foyles.
Item, iiij wooden targates; j greve armer.
Item, j ſyne [ſign] for Mother Readcap; j buckler.
Item, Mercures wings; Taſſo picter; j helmet with a dragon; j ſhelde, with iij lyones; j elme bowle.
Item, j chayne of dragons; j gylte ſpeare.
Item, ij coffenes; j bulles head; and j vylter.
Item, iij tymbrells; j dragon in foſtes [Fauſtus.]
Item, j lyone; ij lyon heades; j great horſe with his leages [legs]; j ſack-bute.
Item, j whell & frame in the Sege of London.
Item, j paire of rowghte gloves.
Item, j poopes miter.
Item, iij Imperial crownes; j playne crowne.
Item, j goſtes crown; j crown with a ſone.
Item, j frame for the heading in Black Jone.
Item, j black dogge.
Item, j cauderm for the Jewe[8].

[7] Here we have the only attempt which this Inventory furniſhes of any thing like ſcenery, and it was undoubtedly the *ne plus ultra* of thoſe days. To exhibit a ſun or moon, the art of perſpective was not neceſſary.

[8] *The Jew of Malta.*

The

"*The Enventorey of all the aparell of the* Lord Admeralles men, *taken the* 13*th of March* 1598, *as followeth:*

Item, j payer of whitte ſaten Veneſons cut with coper lace.
Item, j aſh coller ſatten doublett, lacyd with gold lace.
Item, j peche coller ſatten doublett.
Item, j owld whitte ſatten dublette.
Item, j bleu tafitie ſewtte.
Item, j Mores cotte.
Item, Pyges [Pſyches] damaſk gowne.
Item, j black ſatten cotte.
Item, j harcoller tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, j white tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, Vartemar ſewtte.
Item, j great pechcoller dublet, with ſylver lace.
Item, j white ſatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j owld white ſatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j payer of ſatten Veneſyan ſatten ymbradered.
Item, j payer of French hoſſe, cloth of gowld.
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoſſe with ſylver paines.
Item, j payer of cloth of ſilver hoſſe with ſatten and ſylver panes.
Item, Tamberlynes cotte, with coper lace.
Item, j read clock with white coper lace.
Item, j read clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of taney ſatten with ſleves.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of black ſatten with ſleves.
Item, Labeſyas clocke, with gowld buttenes.
Item, j payer of read cloth hoſſe of Veneſyans, with ſylver lace of coper.
Item, Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
Item, Junoes cotte.
Item, j hode for the wech [witch.]
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with whitte coper lace.
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j cloth clocke of ruſſete with coper lace, called Guydoes clocke.
Item, j ſhort clocke of black velvet, with ſleves faced with ſhagg.

Item,

Item, j ſhort clocke of black vellet, faced with white fore [fur].
Item, j manes gown, faced with whitte fore.
Item, Dobes cotte of cloth of ſylver.
Item, j payer of pechecoler Veneſyones uncut, with read coper lace.
Item, j read ſcarllet clocke with ſylver buttones.
Item, j longe black velvet clock, layd with brod lace black.
Item, j black ſatten ſewtte.
Item, j blacke velvet clocke, layed with twyſt lace blacke.
Item, Perowes ſewt, which Wm. Sley were.
Item, j payer of pechcoler hoſſe with ſylver corlled panes.
Item, j payer of black cloth of ſylver hoſſe, drawne owt with tufed tafittie.
Item, Tamberlanes breches, of crymſon vellvet.
Item, j payer of ſylk howſe with panes of ſylver corlled lace.
Item, j Faeytone ſewte.
Item, Roben Hoodes ſewtte.
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoſe with gowld corlle panes.
Item, j payer of rowne hoſſe buffe with gowld lace.
Item, j payer of mows [mouſe] coller Veneſyans with R. brode gowld lace.
Item, j flame collerde dublet pynked.
Item, j blacke ſatten dublet, layd thyck with blacke and gowld lace.
Item, j carnacyon dubled cutt, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j white ſatten dublet, faced with read tafetie.
Item, j grene gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j black gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j read gyrcken with ſylver lace.
Item, j read Spanes [Spaniſh] dublett ſtyched.
Item, j peche coller ſatten caſſe.
Item, Taſoes robe.
Item, j murey robe with ſleves.

Item, j blewe robe with ſleves.
Item, j oren taney [orange tawny] robe with ſleves.
Item, j pech collerd hallf robe.
Item, j lane [long] robe with ſpangells.
Item, j white & orenge taney ſkarf ſpangled.
Item, Dides [Dido's] robe.
Item, iij payer of baſſes.
Item, j white tafitie ſherte with gowld frenge.
Item, the fryers truſſe in Roben Hoode.
Item, j littell gacket for Pygge [Pſyche].
Item, j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
Item, j orenge taney vellet gowe [gown] with ſylver lace, for women.
Item, j black velvet gowne ymbradered with gowld lace.
Item, j yelowe ſatten gowne ymbradered with ſylk & gowld lace, for women.
Item, j greve armer.
Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne.
Item, j payer of crymſon ſatten Venyſiones, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafitie ſewte, layd with ſylver lace.
Item, j Longeſhankes ſeute.
Item, j orange coller ſatten dublett, layd with gowld lace.
Item, Harye the v. ſatten dublet, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j Spanes caſſe dublet of crymſon pyncked.
Item, j Spanes gearcken layd with ſylver lace.
Item, j wattſhode [watchet] tafitie dublet for a boye.
Item, ij payer of baſſes, j whitte, j blewe, of ſaſnett.
Item, j freyers gowne of graye.

A Note

A Note of all ſuch bookes as belong to the Stocke, and ſuch as I have bought ſince the 3d of March, 1598.

Black Jonne
The Umers.
Hardicanewtes.
Borbonne.
Sturgflaterey.
Brunhowlle.
Cobler quen hive.
Frier Pendelton.
Alls Perce.
Read Cappe.
Roben Hode, 1.
Roben Hode, 2.
Phaeyton.
Treangell cockowlls.
Goodwine.
Woman will have her will.
Welchmans price.
King Arthur, life and death.
1 pt of Hercules.
2 pte of Hercoles.
Pethagores.
Focaſſe.
Elexſander and Lodwicke.
Blacke Battman.
2 p. black Battman.
2 pt of Goodwine.
Mad mans morris.
Perce of Wincheſter.
Vayvode.

A Note of all ſuche goodes as I have bought for the Companey of my Lord Admirals men, *ſence the 3 of Aprell*, 1598, *as followeth:*

	£.	s.	d.
Bowght a damaſke caſock garded with velvett	0	18	0
Bowght a payer of paned rownd hoſſe of cloth whiped with ſylk, drawne out with tafitie, Bowght j payer of long black wollen ſtockens,	0	8	0
Bowght j black ſatten dublett - - Bowght j payer of rownd howſſe paned of vellevet - - - - -	4	15	0
Bowght a robe for to goo inviſebell - Bowght a gown for Nembia - -	3	10	0
Bowght a dublett of whitt ſatten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hoſſe of cloth of ſylver, the panes layd with gowld lace - - -	7	0	0
Bowght of my ſonne v ſewtes - -	20	0	0
Bowght of my ſonne iiij ſewtes - -	17	0	0

In the folio manuſcript already mentioned I have found notices of the following plays, and their ſeveral authors:

Oct. 1597. *The Cobler.*

Dec. 1597. Jan. *Mother Redcap*, by Anthony Mundy[4], and Michael Drayton.

1597-8. *Dido and Æneas.*

Phaeton, by Thomas Dekker[5].

The World runs upon Wheels, by G. Chapman.

Feb. 1597-8. *The firſt part of Robin Hood*, by Anthony Mundy[6].

The ſecond part of the downfall of earl Huntington, ſirnamed Robinhood, by Anthony Mundy, and Henry Chettle.

A woman will have her will[7], by William Haughton[8].

The Miller, by Robert Lee.

4 "The beſt for comedy amongſt us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maiſter Rowleye, once a rare ſcholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maiſter Edwardes, one of her Majeſties chappell, eloquent and witty John Lily, Lodge, Gaſcoyne, Greene, Shakſpeare, Thomas Naſhe, Anthony Mundye our beſt plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilſon, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." *Wits Treaſury, being the Second Part of Wits Common-Wealth*, by Francis Meres, 1598, p. 283. The latter writer, Henry Chettle, is the perſon whoſe teſtimony with reſpect to our poet's merit as an actor has been already produced. Chettle, it appears, wrote ſingly, or in conjunction with others, not leſs than thirty plays, of which one only (*Hoffman's Tragedy*) is now extant.

5 In the following month I find this entry:

"Lent unto the company, the 4 of Febreary 1598, to diſcharge Mr. Dicker owt of the cownter in the powltrey, the ſome of fortie ſhillinges, I ſay dd [delivered] to Thomas Downton, xxxxs."

6 In a ſubſequent page is the following entry: "Lent unto Robarte Shawe, the 18 of Novemb. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Cheattle, upon the mending of *the firſt part of Robart Hoode*, the ſum of xs."

And afterwards—"For mending of *Robin Hood* for the corte."

This piece and its ſecond part have hitherto, on the authority of Kirkman, been falſely aſcribed to Thomas Heywood.

7 Printed in 1616, under the title of *Engliſhmen for my money, or a woman will have her will.*

8 The only notice of this poet that I have met with, except what is contained in theſe ſheets, is the following: "Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 10 of Marche 1599, [1600] to lend Mr. Haughton out of *the clynke*, the ſome of xs."

"*A booke wherein is a part of a Welchman,*" by Michael Drayton and Henry Chettle[9].

Mar. 1598. *The Triplicity of Cuckolds*, by Thomas Dekker.

The famous wars of Henry the Firſt and the Prince of Wales, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker [1].

Earl Goodwin aad his three ſons [2], by Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, and Robert Wilſon.

The ſecond Part of Goodwin, &c. by Michael Drayton.

Pierce of Exton [3], by the ſame four authors.

April 1598. *The Life of Arthur king of England*, by Richard Hathwaye.

The firſt part of Black Batman of the North, by Henry Chettle.

The ſecond part of Black Batman, by Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilſon.

May 1598. The firſt part of *Hercules*, The ſecond part of *Hercules*, *Phocas*, *Pythagoras*, *Alexander and Lodowick* [4], } by Martin Slaughter.

[9] Perhaps *The Valiant Welchman*, printed in 1615.

[1] There was a play on this ſubject written by R. Davenport, and acted by the king's company in 1624; as appears by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript. Perhaps it was only the old play new-modelled. It was afterwards (1660) entered on the Stationers' books by a knaviſh bookſeller, and aſcribed to Shakſpeare.

Subjoined to the account of this play is the following article: "Lent at that time unto the company, for to ſpend at the reading of that boocke at the ſonne [Sun] in new Fiſh Street, v s."

[4] "Lent unto Thomas Dowton the 11 of Aprill 1598, to bye tafitie to macke a rochet for the biſhoppe in earle Goodwine, xxiiij s."

[3] I ſuppoſe a play on the ſubject of *K. Richard II.*

[4] "Lent unto the company, the 16 of Maye 1598, to bye v boockes of Martin Slather, called 2 ptes of Hercolus, & focas, & pethagores, and alyxander and lodieck, which laſt boocke he hath not yet delyvered, the ſome of viili." He afterward received 20s. more on delivering the play laſt named.—He was a player, and one of the Lord Admiral's Servants.

These plays, we have already ſeen, had been acted ſome years before. It appears from various entries in this book, that the price of an old play, when transferred from one theatre to another, was two pounds.

Love Prevented, by Henry Porter.
The funeral of Richard Cordelion, by Robert Wilſon, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton.
June 1598. *The Will of a Woman*, by George Chapman.
The Mad Man's Morris, by Robert Wilſon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
Hannibal and Hermes, by Robert Wilſon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
July 1598. *Valentine and Orſon*, by Richard Hathwaye, and Anthony Mundy.
Pierce of Winchester, by Thos. Dekker, Robert Wilſon, and Michael Drayton.
The Play of a Woman, by Henry Chettle.
The Conqueſt of Brute, with the firſt finding of the Bath, by John Daye, Henry Chettle, and John Singer[1].
Aug. 1598. *Hot anger ſoon cold*, by Henry Porter, Henry Chettle, and Benjamin Jonſon.
William Longſword, by Michael Drayton.
Chance Medly, by Robert Wilſon, Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Deckker.
Catilines Conſpiracy, by Robert Wilſon, and Henry Chettle.
Vayvoode, by Thomas Downton.
Worſe afeared than hurt, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.
Sept. 1598. *The Firſt Civil Wars in France*, by the ſame authors.
The Second Part of the Civil Wars in France, by the ſame.
The Third Part of the Civil Wars of France, by the ſame.
The Fountain of new Faſhions, by George Chapman.
Mulmutius Donwallow, by William Rankins.

[1] I find in a ſubſequent page, "Lent unto Sam. Rowley, the 12 of Deſember, 1598, to bye divers thinges for to macke cottes for Kyngs in Brute, the ſome of xxs."

Connan,

Cannda, Prince of Carnwall, by Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Nov. 1598. *'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver*, by Henry Chettle.

Dec. 1598. *War without blows and Love without ſuit*, by Thomas Heywood. In a ſubſequent entry "——Love without *ſtrife*."

The Second Part of the Two Angry Women of Abington, by Henry Porter.

Feb. 1598-9. *Joan as good as my lady*, by Thos. Heywood [2].

Friar

[2] Thomas Heywood had written for the ſtage in 1596, for in another page I find—"Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto them [the Lord Admiral's Servants] for Hawodes booke, xxxs." From another entry in the ſame page it appears that *Fletcher* wrote for the ſtage ſo early as in the year 1596. "Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto Martyne, [Martin Slaughter] to fetch *Fleatcher*, vis." Again, *ibidem*: "Gave the company to give *Fleatcher*, and the have promiſed me payment,—xxs." —Heywood was in the year 1598 *an hireling*, by which name all the players who were not *ſharers*, were denominated. They received a certain ſum by the week. In Mr. Henſlowe's book the following article occurs:

"Memorandum, that this 25 of Marche, 1598, Thomas Hawoode came and hiered him ſealfe with me as a covenanted ſervante for ij yeares, by the receveing of ij ſyngell pence, according to the ſtatute of Wincheſter, and to beginne at the daye above written, and not to playe any wher publicke abowt lundon, not whille theſe ij yeares be expired, but in my howſe. Yf he do, then he doth forfett unto me by the receving of this iid. ſortie powades. And witneſs to this, Anthony Monday, William Borne, Gabriel Spencer, Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Richard Jones, Richard Alleyn."

William Borne, *alias* Bird, a dramatick poet, whoſe name frequently occurs in this manuſcript, was likewiſe *an hireling*, as is aſcertained by a memorandum, worth tranſcribing on another account:

"Memorandum, that the 10 of auguſt, 1597, Wm. Borne came and ofered him ſealfe to come and play with my lord admiralles men at my houſe called by the name of the Roſe, ſetewate one [on] the banck, after this order followinge. He hath received of me ijd. upon and [an] aſſumſett to forfett unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of Ingland, yf he do not performe thes thinges following; that is, preſentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come & to playe with my lorde admiralles men at my howſſe aforſayd, & not in any other howſſe publick abowt london, for the ſpace of iij yeares being imediatly after this reſtraynt is receiled by the lordes of the counſell, which reſtraynt is by the menes of playinge *the Keyle of Dooges* [Iſle of Dogs]. Yf he do not, then he forfetts this aſumpſet afore, or ells not. Witneſs to this E. Alleyn & Robſone."

Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford, by Thos. Downton, and Samuel Redly.

Æneas' Revenge, with the tragedy of Polyphemus, by Henry Chettle.

The Two Merry Women of Abington[3], by Henry Porter.

The Four Kings.

March 1598-9. *The Spencers*, by Henry Porter.

Orestes' furies, by Thomas Dekker.

June 1599. *Agamemnon*, by Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker.

The Gentle Craft, by Thomas Dekker.

Bear a brain, by Thomas Dekker.

Aug. 1599. *The Poor man's Paradise*, by Wm. Haughton.

The Stepmother's Tragedy, by Henry Chettle.

The lamentable tragedy of Peg of Plymouth, by Wm. Bird, Thos. Downton, and Wm. Jubey.

Nov. 1599. *The Tragedy of John Cox of Colmiſton*, by Wm. Haughton and John Day.

The ſecond part of Henry Richmond, by Robert Wilſon[4].

The tragedy of Thomas Merry, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The ſtipend of an hireling is aſcertained by the following memorandum:

"Memorandom, that the 27 of Jewley 1597, I heayred Thomas Hearne with ij pence for to ſerve me ij yeares in the quaietie of playenge, for *five ſhillinges* a weeck for one yeare, and vj s. viij d. for the other yere, which he hath covenanted hime ſealfe to ſerve me, & not to depart from my company till thes ij yeares is ended. Witneſs to this, John Synger, James Donſton, Thomas Towne.

3 The note relative to this play is worth preſerving. "Lent unto Harey Porter, at the requeſt of the company, in earneſt of his booke called ij merey wemen of abington, the ſome of forty ſhellengs, and for the reſayte of that money he gave me his faythfull promiſe that I ſhold have alle his bookes which he writte ether him ſelfe or with any other, which ſome was dd. [delivered] the 28th of febreary 1598."—The ſpelling of the word *receyte* here ſhews how words of that kind were pronounced in our author's age, and confirms my note in Vol. X. p. 20, n. 3.

4 For this piece the poet received eight pounds. The common price was ſix pounds.

Dec.

Dec. 1599. *Patient Griſſell*, by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.

The Arcadian Virgin, by Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.

Jan. 1599-1600. *Owen Tudor*, by Michael Drayton, Richard Hathwaye, Anthony Mundy, and Rt. Wilſon.

The Italian Tragedy, by John Day.

Jugurtha, by William Boyle.

Truth's Supplication to Candlelight, by Tho. Dekker.

The Spaniſh Morris, by Thomas Dekker, Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

Damon and Pythias, by Henry Chettle.

March. 1599-1600. *The Seven Wiſe Maſters*, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day.

April 1600. *Ferrex and Porrex*[5], by Wm. Haughton.

The Engliſh Fugitives, by the ſame.

The golden Aſs and Cupid and Pſyche, by Thomas Dekker, John Daye, and Henry Chettle.

The Wooing of Death, by Henry Chettle.

Alice Pierce.

Strange news out of Poland, by William Haughton, and —— Pett.

The Blind Beggar of Bethnell Green, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.

June 1600. *The fair Conſtance of Rome*, by Anthony Mundy, Richard Hathwaye, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

The ſecond part of the fair Conſtance of Rome, by the ſame.

5 Here and above, (ſee *Damon and Pithias*) we have additional inſtances of old plays being re-written. There was a dramatick piece by Lord Buckhurſt and Thomas Norton, with the title of *Ferrex and Porrex*, printed in 1570. *Damon and Pythias*, by Richard Edwards, was printed in 1582.

December *Robinhood's Pennſworths*, by Wm. Haughton.
1600. *Hannibal and Scipio*, by Richard Hathwaye, and William Rankins.
Feb. *Scogan and Skelton*, by the ſame.
1600-1. *The Second Part of Thomas Strowde*[6], by William Haughton, and John Day[7].
March *The conqueſt of Spain by John of Gaunt*, by Richard Hathwaye, —— Hawkins, John Day, and Wm. Haughton.
All is not gold that gliſters, by Samuel Rowley, and Henry Chettle.
April *The Conqueſt of the Weſt Indies*, by Wentworth
1601. Smith, William Haughton, and John Day.
Sebaſtian king of Portugal, by Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.
The Six Yeomen of the Weſt, by William Haughton, and John Day.
The Third Part of Thomas Strowde, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
The honourable life of the humorous earl of Gloſter, with his conqueſt of Portugal,
Aug. 12. by Anthony Wadeſon.
1601. *Cardinal Wolſey*[8], by Henry Chettle.
The proud woman of Antwerp, by William Haughton, and John Day.
The Second Part of Thomas Dough, by John Day, and William Haughton.
Sept. 1601. *The Orphan's tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.

6 This play appears to have been ſometimes called *Thomas Strowde*, and ſometimes *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. See the title-page of that play.

7 "Paid unto John Daye, at the apoyntment of the company, the 2 of maye 1601, after the playing of the 2 pte of Strowde, the ſome of xs."

8 "Layd out at the apoyntment of my ſone and the company, unto harey chettle, for the alterynge of the booke of carnowlle Wollſey, the 28 of June 1601, the ſome of xxs." I ſuſpect, this play was not written originally by Chettle.

Nov.

Nov. 12, 1601. *The Riſing of Cardinal Wolſey*[9], by Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, and Wentworth Smith.

The Six Clothiers of the weſt, by Richard Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith, and Wm. Haughton.

The Second Part of the Six Clothiers, by the ſame.

Nov. 1601. *Too good to be true*, by Henry Chettle, Rich. Hathwaye, and Wentworth Smith.

Judas, by William Haughton, Samuel Rowley[1], and William Borne.

Jan. 1601-2. *The Spaniſh Fig.*

Apr. 1602. *Malcolm king of Scots*, by Charles Maſſy.

May 1602. *Love parts friendſhip*, by Henry Chettle, and Wentworth Smith.

The Second Part of Cardinal Wolſey[2], by Henry Chettle.

The Briſtol Tragedy, by John Day[3].

Tobyas, by Henry Chettle.

Jeffha, by Henry Chettle.

9 So called in one place; in another *The Firſt Part of Cardinal Wolſey*. It was not produced till ſome months after the play written or altered by Chettel. Thirty-eight pounds were expended in the dreſſes, &c. for Chettel's play; of which ſum twenty-five ſhillings were paid "for velvet and mackynge of the doctors gowne." The two parts of *Cardinal Wolſey* were performed by the earl of Worceſter's ſervants.

1 This author was likewiſe a player, and in the ſame ſituation with Heywood, as appears from the following entry:

"Memorandum, that the 16 of november, 1598, I hired Charles Maſſey and Samuel Rowley, for a year and as muche as to fraſtide, [Shrovetide] begenynge at the day above written, after the ſtatute of Winchester, with ij ſyngell pence; and forther they have covenanted with me to playe in my howſſe and in no other howſſe (dewringe the time) publick but in mine: yf they do withowt my conſent to forfitt unto me xxxxlb. a pece. Witneſs Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Edw. Jubey."

2 "Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 18th of may, [1602] to bye maſkynge antycke ſewts for the 2 parte of Carnowlle Wollſey, the ſome of iij lb. vs."—"27 of may, to bye Wm. Somers cotte, and other thinges, the ſome of iij lb."

3 Probably *The Fair Maid of Briſtol*, printed in 1605.

Two

Two Harpies, by Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Webster, and Mundy.

July 1602. *A Danish Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.

1602. *The Widow's Charm*[4], by Anthony Mundy.

A Medicine for a Curst Wife, by T. Dekker.

Sampson, by Samuel Rowley, and Edw. Jubye.

Sept. 1602. *William Cartwright*, by William Haughton.

Felmelanco, by Henry Chettle, and —— Robinson.

Joshua, by Samuel Rowley.

Oct. 1602. *Randall earl of Chester*, by T. Middleton.

Nov. 1602. *As merry as may be*, [acted at court] by J. Daye, Wentworth Smith, and R. Hathwaye.

Albeke Galles, by Thomas Heywood, and Wentworth Smith.

Marshal Osrick, by Thomas Heywood, and Wentworth Smith.

The Three Brothers, a tragedy, by Wentworth Smith.

Lady Jane, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Wentworth Smith, and John Webster.

The Second part of Lady Jane, by Thomas Heywood, John Webster, Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

Christmas comes but once a year, by T. Dekker.

The Overthrow of Rebels.

The Black Dog of Newgate, by Richard Hathwaye, John Day, Wentworth Smith, and another poet.

The second part of the same, by the same.

The Blind eats many a fly, by T. Heywood.

The Fortunate General, a French History, by Wentworth Smith, John Day, and Richard Hathwaye.

Dec. 1602. *The Set at Tennis*, by Anthony Mundy.

The London Florentine, by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

4 Perhaps the play afterwards called *The Puritan Widow*.

5 Probably his play called *The Mayor of Queenborough*.

The

The ſecond part of the London Florentine, by by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.
The Tragedy of Hoffman *, by Henry Chettle.
Singer's Voluntary, by John Singer.
The four ſons of Amon, by Robert Shawe.
Feb. *A Woman kill'd with kindneſs*, by T. Heywood.
1602-3. *The Boaſt of Billinsgate*, by John Day, and
March Richard Hathwaye.
1602-3. *The Siege of Dunkerk*, by Charles Maſſy.
The patient man and honeſt whore, by Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton.
The Italian Tragedy, by Wentworth Smith, and John Day.
Pontius Pilate.
Jane Shore, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.
Baxter's Tragedy.

The following notices, which I have reſerved for this place, relate more immediately to our author. I have mentioned in a former page, that I had not the ſmalleſt doubt that the name of Shakſpeare, which is printed at length in the title-pages of *Sir John Oldcaſtle*, 1600, and *The London Prodigall*, 1605, was affixed to thoſe pieces by a knaviſh bookſeller without any foundation; and am now furniſhed with indubitable evidence on this ſubject; for under the year 1599 the following entry occurs in Mr. Henſlowe's folio Manuſcript:

"The 16th of October, 99. Received by me Thos. Downton of Philip Henſlowe, to pay Mr. Monday, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Wilſon, and Hathway, for *The firſt part of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcaſtell*, and in earneſt of *the Second Pte*, for the uſe of the company, ten pound, I ſay received 10 lb."

Received [Nov. 1599] of Mr. Hinchelo for Mr. Munday and the reſte of the poets, at the playinge of *Sir John Oldcaſtell* the firſte tyme, x s. as a gifte."

Received [Dec. 1599] of Mr. Henſlowe, for the uſe of the company, to pay Mr. Drayton for the ſecond parte

* This play was printed in 1631.

of

of *Sir Jhon Ouldcaſtell*, foure pound, I ſay receiued [illegible] me Thomas Downton, iiij li[i].[4]"

We have here an indiſputable proof of a fact which has been doubted, and can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careleſs about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made anſwerable for compoſitions which were not his own, without uſing any means to undeceive the publick.

The bookſeller for whom the firſt part of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* was printed, "as it hath bene lately acted by the Right Honorable the earl of Noringham Lord High Admirall of England his ſervants," was *Thomas Pavier*, who however had the modeſty to put only the initial letters of his chriſtian and ſurname (T. P.) in the ſpurious title-page which he prefixed to it. In 1602, he entered the old copy of *Titus Andronicus* on the Stationers books, with an intention (no doubt) to affix the name of Shakſpeare to it, finding that our poet had made ſome additions to that piece.

To this perſon we are likewiſe indebted for the miſtake which has ſo long prevailed[5], relative to the two old plays entitled *The Firſt Part of the Contention betweeh the two famous houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, and *The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which were printed *anonymouſly* in 1600, as acted by the *earl of Pembroke's Servants*, and have erroneouſly been aſcribed to our poet, in conſequence of Pavier's reprinting them in the year 1619, and then for the firſt time fraudulently affixing Shakſpeare's name to them. To thoſe plays, as to *Oldcaſtle*, he put only the initial letters of his chriſtian and ſurname. For him likewiſe *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, was printed in the year 1608, and our poet's name affixed to it.

The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, publiſhed in 1602, and aſcribed to W. S. and *The Puritan Widow*,

4 That this ſecond Part of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* was performed on the ſtage, as well as the former, is aſcertained by the following entry;

"Dd. [delivered] unto the littel taylor, at the apoyntment of Robert Shawe, the 12 of marche, 1599, [1600] to macke thinges for the 2 *pte of owldcaſtell*, ſome of xxx s."

5 See the *Diſſertation on the Three Parts of K. Henry VI.* in Vol. VI.

which

which was publiſhed in 1607, with the ſame initial letters, were probably written by *Wentworth Smith*, a dramatick writer whoſe name has ſo often occurred in the preceding pages, with perhaps the aid of Anthony Mundy, or ſome other of the ſame fraternity. *Locrine*, which was printed in 1595, as *newly ſet forth, overſeen, and corrected by W. S.* was probably reviſed by the ſame perſon.

It is extremely probable from the regiſter of dramatick pieces in a former page, that *Cardinal Wolſey* had been exhibited on the ſtage before our poet produced him in *K. Henry VIII.* To the liſt of plays written by Shakſpeare upon ſubjects which had already been brought upon the ſcene[6], muſt alſo be added *Troilus and Creſſida*, as appears from the following entries:

"Aprel 7. 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Deckers, & harey cheattel, in earneſt of ther boocke called *Troyeles and Creaſſedaye*, the ſome of iii lb."

"Lent unto harey cheattell, & Mr. Dickers, in pte of payment of their booke called *Troyelles & Creſſeda*, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xx s."

I ſuſpect the authors changed the name of this piece before it was produced, for in a ſubſequent page are the following entries:

"Lent unto Mr. Deckers and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earneſt of a booke called *Troylles and Creſeda*, the ſome of xx s." In this entry a line is drawn through the words *Troylles and Creſeda*, and "*the tragedie of Agamemnon*" written over them.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, the 30 of maye 1599, in fulle payment of the boocke called *the tragedie of Agamemnon*, the ſome of iii li. v s.—to Mr. Deckers, and harey Chettell."

"Paid unto the Maſter of the Revells man for lycenſyng of a boocke called *the Tragedie of Agamemnon* the 3 of June, 1599, vii s."

[6] See Vol. VI. p. 429.

We

We have ſeen in the liſt of plays performed in 1593-4 by the ſervants of the earl of Suſſex, the old play of *Titus Andronicus*, in which on its revival by the king's ſervants, our author was induced, for the advantage of his own theatre, to make ſome alterations, and to add a few lines. The old play of *K. Henry VI.* which was played with ſuch ſucceſs in 1591, he without doubt touched in the ſame manner, in conſequence of which it appeared in his works under the title of the *Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* How common this practice was, is proved by the following entries made by Mr. Henſlowe.

"Lent unto the companye, the 17 of Auguſt, 1602, to pay unto Thomas Deckers, for new *adycions* to *Owldcaſtell*, the ſome of xxxx s."

"Lent unto John Thane, the 7 of ſeptember, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his *adicions* in *Owldcaſtell*, the ſome of x s."

"Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 14 of deſember, 1600, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his paynes in *Fayeton*, [*Phaeton*] ſome of x s. For the corte."

"Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 22 of deſember, 1601, to geve unto Thomas Decker, for *altering* of *Fayton* [*Phaeton*] for the corte, xxx s."

"Pd. unto Thomas Deckers, at the apoyntment of the company, the 16 of janeuary 1601, towards the *altering* of *Taſſo*, the ſome of xx s.

"Lent unto Mr. ſonne E. Alleyn, the 7 of november, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for *mending* of the playe of *Taſſo*, the ſome of xxxx s.

"Lent unto Mr. Birde, the 4 of Deſember, 1602, to paye unto Thomas Deckers, in pt of payment for *Taſſo*, the ſome of xx s.

Theſe two old playes of *Phaeton* and *Taſſo's Melancholy*, we have ſeen in a former page, had been exhibited ſome years before.

"Lent unto the company, the 22 of november, 1602, to paye unto William Birde, and Samuel Rowley, for ther *adycions* in *Doctor Fauſtes*, the ſome of iiii lb."

"Pd.

"Pd. unto Thomas Hewode, the 20 of ſeptember, [1602] for the new *adycions* of *Cutting Dick*, the ſome of xx s."

The following curious notices occur, relative to our poet's old antagoniſt, Ben Jonſon; the laſt two of which furniſh a proof of what I have juſt obſerved with reſpect to *Titus Andronicus*, and the Firſt Part of *King Henry VI.*; and the laſt article aſcertains that he had the audacity to write a play, after our author, on the ſubject of *K. Richard III.*

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnſon, player, the 22 of July, 1597, in redy mony, the ſome of fower poundes, to be payd yt again whenſoever ether I or my ſonne [Edw. Alleyn] ſhall demand yt. I ſaye iiij lb.

"Witneſs E. Alleyn, & John Synger."

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnſone, the 3 of deſember, 1597, upon a booke which he was to writte for us before cryſmas next after the date hereof, which he ſhowed the plotte unto the company: I ſaye, lent in redy mony unto hime the ſome of xx s.

"Lent Bengemyn Johnſon, the 5 of Jenewary, 1597, [1597-8] in redy mony, the ſome of v s.

"Lent unto the company, the 18 of aguſt, 1598, to bye a boocke called *Hoate anger ſone cowld*, of Mr. Porter, Mr. Cheattell, & Bengemen Johnſon, in full payment, the ſome of vi lb.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, & Jewbey, the 23 of octob. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chapman, one [on] his playe boocke, & ij actes of a tragedie of *Bengeman's* plott, the ſome of iij lb.

"Lent unto Wm. Borne, *alias* Birde, the 10 of aguſt, 1599, to lend unto Bengemyn Johnſon and Thomas Dekker, in earneſt of ther booke which they are a writing, called *Pagge of Plim*[?], the ſome of xxxx s.

"Lent

[?] Theſe three words are ſo blotted, that they can only be gueſſed at. I find in the next page—"Lent unto Mr. Birde, Thomas Downton, and William Jube, the 2 of Septembes 1599, to paye in full payment for a boocke called the lamentable tragedie of *Pagge of Plymouth*,

" Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of ſeptember, 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnſon, Harey Cheattell, and other jentellmen, in earneſt of a playe called *Robart the ſecond kinge of Scottes tragedie*, the ſome of xxxx s.

" Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 23 of ſeptember, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnſone, in earneſt of a boocke called *the ſcottes tragedie*, the ſome of xx s.

" Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25 of ſeptember, 1601, to lend unto Bengemen Johnſon, upon his writing of his *adycians* in *Jeronymo*[8], xxxx s.

" Lent unto Bengemy Johnſone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn, and Wm. Birde, the 22 of June, 1602, in earneſt of a boocke called *Richard Crook-back*, and for new *adycions* for *Jeronymo*, the ſome of x lb."

I inſert the following letter, which has been lately found at Dulwich College, as a literary curioſity. It ſhews how very highly Alleyn the player was eſtimated. What the wager alluded to was, it is now impoſſible to aſcertain. It probably was, that Alleyn would equal his predeceſſors Knell and Bently, in ſome part which they had performed, and in which his contemporary, George Peel, had likewiſe been admired.

" Your anſwer the other night ſo well pleaſed the gentlemen, as I was ſatisfied therewith, though to the hazarde of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to

mouth, the ſome of vi lb."; which ſhould ſeem to be the ſame play; but ſix pounds was the full price of a play, and the authors are different.—Bird, Downton, and Jubey, were all actors.

[8] *The Spaniſh Tragedy*, written by Thomas Kyd, is meant, which was frequently called *Jeronymo*, though the former part of this play expreſsly bore that name. See the title-page to the edition of *the Spaniſh Tragedy* in 1610, where theſe new additions are particularly mentioned. Jonſon himſelf alludes to them in his *Cynthia's Revels*, 1602: " Another ſwears down all that are about him, that the *old Hieronymo*, as it was *at firſt* acted, was the only beſt and judiciouſly penned play in Europe."—Mr. Hawkins, when he republiſhed this piece in 1773, printed moſt of Jonſon's additions to it, at the bottom of the page, as " foiſted in by the players."

prejudice

prejudice *Peele's* credit, neither wolde it, though it pleased you so to excuse it. But beinge now growen farther in question, the partie affected to Bently scornynge to win the wager by your deniall, hath now given you libertie to make choyce of any one play that either Bently or Knell plaide; and least this advantage agree not with your mind, he is contented both the plaie and the tyme shalbe referred to the gentlemen here present. I see not how you canne any waie hurt your credit by this action: for if you excell them, you will then be famous; if equall them, you win both the wager and credit; if short of them, wee must and will saie, NED ALLEN STILL.

Your friend to his power,

W. P.

"Deny mee not, sweet Ned; the wager's downe,
"And twice as muche commaunde of me or myne;
"And if you wynne, I swear the half is thine,
"And for an overplus an English crowne:
"Appoint the tyme, and stint it as you pleas,
"Your labor's gaine, and that will prove it ease."

The two following letters, which were found among Mr. Henslowe's papers, ascertain the low state of the dramatick poets in his time. From the former of them it should seem, that in a few years after the accession of James the First, the price of a play had considerably risen. Neither of them are dated, but I imagine they were written some time between the years 1612 and 1615. Mr. Henslowe died about the 8th of January, 1615-16.

"Mr. Hinchlow,

"I have ever since I saw you kept my bed, being so lame that I cannot stand. I pray, Sir, goe forward with that reasonable bargayn for *The Bellman.* We will have *but twelve pounds, and the overplus of the second day*; whereof I have had ten shillings, and desyre but twenty shillings more, till you have three sheets of my papers.

Good Sir, conſider how for your ſake I have put myſelf out of the aſſured way to get money, and from *twenty pounds* a play am come to *twelve*. Thearfor in my extremity forſake me not, as you ſhall ever comand me. My wife can aquaint you how infinit great my occaſion is, and this ſhall be ſufficient for the receipt, till I come to ſet my hand to the booke.

Yours at comand,
ROBERT DABORNE."

At the bottom of this letter Mr. Henſlowe has written the following memorandum:

"Lent Mr. Daborne upon this note, the 23 of aguſt, in earneſt of a play called *The Bellman of London*, xxs."

"To our moſt loving friend,
Mr. Phillip Hinchlow,
Eſquire, Theſe.

"Mr. Hinchlow,

"You underſtand our unfortunate extremitie, and I doe not thincke you ſo void of chriſtianitie but that you would throw ſo much money into the Thames as wee requeſt now of you, rather then endanger ſo many innocent lives. You know there is x^l. more at leaſt to be receaved of you for the play. We deſire you to lend us vl. of that; which ſhall be allowed to you; without which wee cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be diſpatch'd. It will loſe you xx^l. ere the end of the next weeke, beſide the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, Sir, conſider our caſes with humanity, and now give us cauſe to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Daviſon to deliver this note, as well to witneſſe your love as our promiſes, and alwayes acknowledgment to be ever

Your moſt thanckfull and loving freinds,
NAT. FIELD.

"The money ſhall be abated out of the money remayns for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours.
ROB. DABORNE."

"I have

"I have ever found you a true loving freind to mee, and in ſoe ſmall a ſuite, it beeinge honeſt, I hope you will not faile us.

PHILIP MASSINGER."

Indorſed:

"Received by mee Robert Daviſon of Mr. Hinchlow, for the uſe of Mr. Daboerne, Mr. Feeld, Mr. Meſſenger, the ſome of vl.

ROBERT DAVISON."

The dimenſions and plan of the Globe Playhouſe, as well as the time when it was built, are aſcertained by the following paper. I had conjectured that it was not built before 1596; and we have here a confirmation of that conjecture.

"THIS INDENTURE made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our ſovereigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Between Phillipp Henſlowe and Edward Allen of the pariſhe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentlemen, on thone parte, and Peter Streete, citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte, Witneſſeth; that whereas the ſaid Phillipp Henſlowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the ſaid Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and ſetting up of a new Houſe and Stage for a playhowſe, in and uppon a certeine plott or peece of grounde appoynted oute for that purpoſe, ſcituate and beinge near Goldinge lane in the pariſh of Saint Giles without Cripplegate of London; to be by him the ſaid Peter Streete or ſome other ſufficient workmen of his providing and appoyntment, and att his propper coſtes and chardges, (for the conſideration hereafter in theſe preſents expreſſed) made, builded, and ſett upp, in manner and form following: that is to ſaie, the frame of the ſaide howſe to be ſett ſquare, and to conteine fowerſcore foote of lawful aſſize everye waie ſquare, without, and

fiftie five foote of like aſſize ſquare, everye waie within, with a good, ſuer, and ſtronge foundacion of pyles, brick, lyme, and ſand, both withoute and within, to be wrought one foote of aſſize at the leiſte above the ground; and the ſaide frame to conteine three ſtories in heigth, the firſt or lower ſtorie to conteine twelve foote of lawful aſſize in heighth, the ſecond ſtorie eleaven foote of lawful aſſize in heigth, and the third or upper ſtorie to conteine nine foote of lawful aſſize in height. All which ſtories ſhall conteine twelve foote and a half of lawful aſſize in breadth throughoute, beſides a juttey forwards in eyther of the ſaide two upper ſtories of tene ynches of lawful aſſize; with fower convenient diviſions for gentlemens roomes[9], and other ſufficient and convenient diviſions for twoo-pennie roomes[1]; with neceſſarie ſeates to be placed and ſett as well in thoſe roomes as throughoute all the reſt of the galleries of the ſaid howſe; and with ſuche like ſteares, conveyances, and diviſions without and within, as are made and contryved in and to the late-erected play-howſe on the Bancke in the ſaid pariſh of Saint Saviours, called THE GLOBE; with a ſtadge and tyreinge-howſe, to be made, erected and ſett upp within the ſaide frame; with a ſhadowe or cover over the ſaide ſtadge; which ſtadge ſhall be placed and ſett, as alſoe the ſtearcaſes of the ſaid frame, in ſuch ſorte as is prefigured in a plott thereof drawen; and which ſtadge ſhall conteine in length fortie and three foote of lawfull aſſize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde[2] of the ſaid howſe: the ſame ſtadge to be paled in belowe with good ſtronge and ſufficyent new oken boardes; and likewiſe the lower ſtorie of the ſaid frame withinſied, and the ſame lower ſtorie to be alſoe laide over and fenced with ſtronge yron pyles: And the ſaide ſtadge to be in all other proportions contryved and faſhioned

9 What we now call *Boxes*.
1 Perhaps the rooms over the boxes; what we now call *Balconies*.
2 The open area in the centre.

like

like unto the ſtadge of the ſaide Playhouſe called THE GLOBE; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the ſaide tireynge-howſe. And the ſaide frame, ſtadge, and ſtearcaſes, to be covered with tyle, and to have a ſufficient gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the ſaid ſtadge, to fall backwards. And alſoe all the ſaide frame and the ſtearcaſes thereof to be ſufficyently encloſed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and two-pennie roomes to be ſeeled with lathe, lyme, and haire; and all the flowers of the ſaide galleries, ſtories, and ſtadge to be boarded with good and ſufficient newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, wheare neede ſhall be. And the ſaide howſe, and other thinges before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, faſhions, thinge and thinges, effected, finiſhed and doen, according to the manner and faſhion of the ſaide howſe called THE GLOBE; ſaveinge only that all the princypall and maine poſtes of the ſaide frame, and ſtadge forward, ſhall be ſquare and wrought palaſter-wiſe, with carved proportions called Satiers, to be placed and ſett on the topp of every of the ſame poſtes: and ſaveing alſoe that the ſaide Peter Streete ſhall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the ſaide frame, howſe, or ſtadge, or anie parte thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor ſeelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoo-pennie roomes, and ſtadge, before mentioned, NOWE thereuppon the ſaide Peter Streete doth covenante, promiſe, and graunte for himſelf, his executors, and adminiſtrators, to and with the ſaid Phillip Henſlowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, and thexecutors, and adminiſtrators of them, by theſe preſents, in manner and forme followeinge, that is to ſay; That he the ſaide Peter Streete, his executors, or aſſigns, ſhall and will at his or their owne propper coſtes and chardges, well, workman-like, and ſubſtantially make, erect, ſett upp, and fullie finniſhe in and by all thinges accordinge to

the true meaninge of theis presents, with good stuffe and substancyall newe tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the said frame and other works whatsoever in and uppon the saide plott or parcell of grounde, (things not by anie authoritie restrayned, and having ingres, egres, and regres to doe the same,) before the five and twentyth daye of Julie, next comeing after the date hereof. And shall alsoe att his or their like coses and chardges provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joysts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, sande, nailes, lead, iron, glass, workmanshipp and other thinges whatsoever which shall be needful, convenyent and necessarie for the saide frame and works and everie parte thereof: and shall alsoe make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlings bardger and bigger in assize then the scantlings of the timber of the saide newe-erected howse called The Globe. And alsoe that he the saide Peter Streete shall furthwith, as well by him selfe as by suche other and soe manie workmen as shall be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the saide buildinges and workes, and shall in reasonable manner procede therein withoute anie wilfull detraction, untill the same shall be fully effected and finished. In consideracion of all which buildings and of all stuff and workmanshipp thereto belonginge, the said Phillip Henslowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves, theire and either of theire executors and administrators, doe joyntlie and severallie covenante and graunt to and with the saide Peter Streete, his executors and administrators, by theis presents, that the said Phillipp Henslowe, and Edward Allen, or one of them, or the executors, administrators, or assigns of them or one of them, shall and will well and truelie paie or cause to be paide unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the said frame, the full some of FOWER HUNDRED AND FORTIE POUNDES, of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is to saie, at suche

tyme

tyme and when as the tymber woork of the saide frame shall be rayſed and ſett upp by the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or within seaven daies then next followinge, twoe hundred and twentie poundes; and att ſuche time and when as the ſaid frame-work shall be fullie effected and finished as is aforesaid, or within seaven daies then next followinge, thother twoe hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the ſaid parties, that whatsoever some or somes of money the ſaid Phillip Henslowe, or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or assigns of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or anie other by his appoyntment or consent, for or concerninge the saide woork or anie parte thereof, or anie ſtuff thereto belonginge, before the raiſing and ſetting upp of the saide frame, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accounpted in parte of the first payment aforesaid of the ſaid some of fower hundred and fortie poundes: and all ſuch some and somes of money as they or anie of them shall as aforesaid lend or deliver betwene the razeing of the ſaid frame and finishing thereof, and of all the reſt of the ſaid works, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accounpted in parte of the laſte payment aforesaid of the ſame some of fower hundred and fortie poundes; anie thinge above ſaid to the contrary notwithſtandinge. In Witneſs whereof the parties aboveſaid to theis preſent indentures interchangeably have ſett theire handes and ſeales. Yeoven the daie and yeare firſt above-written.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

Page 9. n. 1. l. 1. of the ſecond paragraph.] For *firſt*, r. *ſecond*.

Pag. 12. n. 4.] For, *in a maſk which was performed at court*, &c. r. *in a paſtoral exhibited at Oxford before the King and queen, and the ladies who attended her*.

Pag. 41. n. 1. l. 17.] For 166*3*, r. 1660.

Pag.

Pag. 43. n. 6. l. 7.] For *Creſt*, r. *Brew*. I have lately ſeen Alleyn's pocket-book, from which the correction has been made.

Pag. 69. n. 5. l. 10 from bottom.] *Dele* the comma after *been*.

Pag. 73. l. 17.] For *Angier*, r. *Angiers*.

Pag. 105. n. 6. l. 5 from bottom.] For *actreſs* r. *mime*. Seia probably repreſented *Andromache* in a tragick pantomime.

Pag. 108. l. 4 from bottom.] For *Tell*, r. *Fells*.

Pag. 110. l. 6.] For *Deſdemena*, r. *Deſdemona*.

Pag. 140 l. 13. from bottom.] *Dele* the comma after *for*.

Pag. 256. n. *. l. 1.] For *Briveat*, r. *Breviat*. The letters were ſhuffled out of their place at the preſs.

Since the ſheet which contains the will of John Shakſpeare was printed, I have learned that it was originally perfect, when found by Joſeph Moſeley, though the firſt leaf has ſince been loſt. Moſeley tranſcribed a large portion of it, and from his copy I have been furniſhed with the introductory articles, from the want of which I was obliged to print this will in an imperfect ſtate. They are as follows:

I.

" In the name of God, the father, ſonne, and holy ghoſt, the moſt holy and bleſſed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the holy hoſt of archangels, angels, patriarchs, prophets, evangeliſts, apoſtles, ſaints, martyrs, and all the celeſtial court and company of heaven, I John Shakſpear, an unworthy member of the holy Catholick religion, being at this my preſent writing in perfect health of body, and ſound mind, memory, and underſtanding, but calling to mind the uncertainty of life and certainty of death, and that I may be poſſibly cut off in the bloſſome of my ſins, and called to render an account of all my tranſgreſſions externally and internally, and that I may be unprepared for the dreadful trial either by ſacrament, pennance, faſting, or prayer, or any other

purgation whatever, do in the holy preſence above ſpecified, of my own free and voluntary accord, make and ordaine this my laſt ſpiritual will, teſtament, confeſſion, proteſtation, and confeſſion of faith, hopinge hereby to receive pardon for all my ſinnes and offences, and thereby to be made partaker of life everlaſting, through the only merits of Jeſus Chriſt my ſaviour and redeemer, who took upon himſelf the likeneſs of man, ſuffered death, and was crucified upon the croſſe, for the redemption of ſinners.

II.

"*Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt, acknowledge, and confeſs, that in my paſt life I have been a moſt abominable and grievous ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be forgiven without a true and ſincere repentance for the ſame. But truſting in the manifold mercies of my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, I am encouraged by relying on his ſacred word, to hope for ſalvation and be made partaker of his heavenly kingdom, as a member of the celeſtial company of angels, ſaints and martyrs, there to reſide for ever and ever in the court of my God.

III.

"*Item*, I John Shakſpear doe by this preſent proteſt and declare, that as I am certain I muſt paſſe out of this tranſitory life into another that will laſt to eternity, I do hereby moſt humbly implore and intreat my good and guardian angell to inſtruct me in this my ſolemn preparation, proteſtation, and confeſſion of faith, at leaſt ſpiritually," &c.

The Emendations and Additions to the notes on the plays will be found in the Appendix at the end of Vol. X.

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Take pains the genuine meaning to explore;
There ſweat, there ſtrain; tug the laborious oar:
Search every comment that your care can find;
Some here, ſome there, may hit the poet's mind:
When things appear unnatural and hard,
Conſult your author, with himſelf compar'd.

ROSCOMMON.

TEMPEST.

Perſons Repreſented *.

Alonſo, *king of* Naples.
Sebaſtian, *his brother.*
Proſpero, *the rightful duke of* Milan.
Anthonio, *his brother, the uſurping duke of* Milan.
Ferdinand, *ſon to the king of* Naples.
Gonzalo, *an honeſt old counſellor of* Naples.
Adrian, Franciſco, } *lords.*
Caliban, *a ſavage and deformed ſlave.*
Trinculo, *a jeſter.*
Stephano, *a drunken butler.*
Maſter of a ſhip, Boatſwain, and Mariners.

Miranda, *daughter to* Proſpero.

Ariel, *an airy ſpirit.*
Iris, Ceres, Juno, *Nymphs*, *Reapers*, } *ſpirits.*

Other ſpirits attending on Proſpero.

SCENE, the ſea, with a ſhip; afterwards an uninhabited iſland.

* This enumeration of perſons is taken from the folio 1623. STEEVENS.

TEMPEST[1].

ACT I. SCENE I.

On a ſhip at ſea.

A ſtorm with thunder and lightning.

Enter a Ship-maſter *and a* Boatſwain [2].

Maſter. Boatſwain,—

Boatſ. Here, maſter: What cheer?

Maſt.

[1] *The Tempeſt* and *The Midſummer's Night's Dream* are the nobleſt efforts of that ſublime and amazing imagination peculiar to Shakſpeare, which ſoars above the bounds of nature without forſaking ſenſe; or, more properly, carries nature along with him beyond her eſtabliſhed limits. Fletcher ſeems particularly to have admired theſe two plays, and hath wrote two in imitation of them, *The Sea Voyage* and *The Faithful Shepherdeſs*. But when he preſumes to break a lance with Shakſpeare, and write in emulation of him, as he does in *The Falſe One*, which is the rival of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, he is not ſo ſucceſsful. After him, Sir John Suckling and Milton catched the brighteſt fire of their imagination from theſe two plays; which ſhines fantaſtically indeed in *The Goblins*, but much more nobly and ſerenely in *The Maſk at Ludlow-Caſtle*. WARBURTON.

No one has been hitherto lucky enough to diſcover the romance on which Shakſpeare may be ſuppoſed to have founded this play, the beauties of which could not ſecure it from the criticiſm of Ben Jonſon, whoſe malignity appears to have been more than equal to his wit. In the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, he ſays: "If there be never a "*ſervant monſter* in the fair, who can help it, nor a neſt of *antiques*? "He is loth to make nature afraid in his plays, like thoſe that beget "*Tales, Tempeſts*, and ſuch like drolleries." STEEVENS.

I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chicheſter, that Shakſpeare's TEMPEST, for which no origin is yet aſſigned, was formed on a romance called AURELIO AND ISABELLA, printed in Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh, in 1588. But though this information has not proved true on examination, an uſeful concluſion may be drawn from it, that Shakſpeare's ſtory is ſomewhere to be found in an Italian

Maſt. Good: Speak to the mariners: fall to't yarely[1], or we run ourſelves aground: beſtir, beſtir. [*Exit.*

Enter Mariners.

Boatſ. Heigh, my hearts; cheerly, cheerly, my hearts; yare, yare: Take in the topſail; Tend to the maſter's

novel, at leaſt that the ſtory preceded Shakſpeare. Mr. Collins had ſearched this ſubject with no leſs fidelity than judgement and induſtry; but his memory failing in his laſt calamitous indiſpoſition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumſtance, which may lead to a diſcovery;—that the principal character of the romance, anſwering to Shakſpeare's Proſpero, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a ſpirit like Ariel to obey his call, and perform his ſervices. It was a common pretence of dealers in the occult ſciences to have a demon at command. At leaſt Aurelio, or Orelio, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplicity of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical part of the TEMPEST is founded on that ſort of philoſophy which was practiſed by John Dee and his aſſociates, and has been called the Roſicrucian. The name Ariel came from the Talmudiſtick myſteries with which the learned Jews had infected this Science. T. WARTON.

Mr. Theobald tells us, that the *Tempeſt* muſt have been written after 1609, becauſe the Bermuda iſlands, which are mentioned in it, were unknown to the Engliſh until that year; but this is a miſtake. He might have ſeen in Hackluyt, 1600, folio, a deſcription of Bermuda, by Henry May, who was ſhipwrecked there in 1593.

It was however one of our author's laſt works. In 1598 he played a part in the original *Every Man in his Humour*. Two of the characters are *Proſpero and Stephano*. Here Ben Jonſon taught him the pronunciation of the latter word, which is always *right* in the *Tempeſt*:

" Is not this *Stephano*, my drunken butler?"

And always *wrong* in his earlier play, the *Merchant of Venice*, which had been on the ſtage at leaſt two or three years before its publication in 1600:

" My friend *Stephano*, ſignify, I pray you," &c.

— So little did a late editor know of his author, when he idly ſuppoſed his *ſchool literature* might perhaps have been loſt by the *diſſipation of youth*, or the *buſy ſcenes* of publick life! FARMER.

This play muſt have been written after 1609, when Bermudes was

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[2] In this naval dialogue, perhaps the firſt example of ſailor's language exhibited on the ſtage, there are, as I have been told by a ſkilful navigator, ſome inaccuracies and contradictory orders. JOHNSON.

[3] —*fall to't* yarely,] i. e. readily, nimbly. Our author is frequent in his uſe of this word. STEEVENS.

maſter's whiſtle:—Blow, till thou burſt thy wind, if room enough [4]!

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO, *and others.*

Alon. Good boatſwain, have care. Where's the maſter? Play the men [5].

Boatſ. I pray now, keep below.

Ant. Where is the maſter, boatſwain?

Boatſ. Do you not hear him? You mar our labour; Keep your cabins: you do aſſiſt the ſtorm.

Gon. Nay, good, be patient.

Boatſ. When the ſea is. Hence! What care theſe roarers for the name of king? To cabin: ſilence: trouble us not.

Gon. Good; yet remember whom thou haſt aboard.

Boatſ. None that I more love than myſelf. You are a counſellor; if you can command theſe elements to ſilence, and work the peace of the preſent [6], we will not hand a rope more; uſe your authority. If you cannot, give thanks you have liv'd ſo long, and make yourſelf ready in your cabin for the miſchance of the hour, if it ſo hap.—Cheerly, good hearts.—Out of our way, I ſay. [*Exit.*

Gon. [7] I have great comfort from this fellow; methinks, he

was diſcovered, and before 1614, when Jonſon ſneers at it in his *Bartholomew Fair*. In the latter plays of Shakſpeare, he has leſs of pun and quibble than in his early ones. In *The Merchant of Venice* he expreſsly declares againſt them. This perhaps might be one criterion to diſcover the dates of his plays. BLACKSTONE.

See a note on *The cloud-capt Towers*, &c. act iv. STEEVENS.

See alſo *An Attempt to aſcertain the order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, ante. MALONE.

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4 —*room enough.*] We might read——*blow till thou burſt* thee, *wind! if room enough.* And yet, deſiring the *winds* to blow till they burſt their *winds*, is not unlike many other conceits of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

5 *Play the men.*] i. e. act with ſpirit, behave like men. Ἀνηρ ἐσο, φιλοι. STEEVENS.

6 —*of the preſent,*] It may mean of the preſent *inſtant*. STEEVENS.

7 *Gon.*] It may be obſerved of Gonzalo, that, being the only good

he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand faſt, good fate, to his hanging; make the rope of his deſtiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage: If he be not born to be hang'd, our caſe is miſerable. [*Exeunt.*

Re-enter Boatſwain.

Boatſ. Down with the topmaſt; yare, lower, lower; bring her to try with main-courſe [8]. [*A cry within.*] A plague upon this howling! they are louder than the weather, or our office.—

Re-enter SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, *and* GONZALO.

Yet again? What do you here? Shall we give o'er, and drown? Have you a mind to ſink?

Seb. A pox o' your throat! you bawling, blaſphemous, incharitable dog!

Boatſ. Work you, then.

Ant. Hang, cur, hang! you whoreſon, inſolent noiſemaker, we are leſs afraid to be drown'd than thou art.

Gon. I'll warrant him from drowning; though the ſhip were no ſtronger than a nut-ſhell, and as leaky as an unſtanch'd wench [9].

Boatſ. Lay her a-hold, a-hold [1]; ſet her two courſes [2]; off to ſea again, lay her off.

Enter Mariners *wet.*

Mar. All loſt! to prayers, to prayers! all loſt! [*Exeunt.*

man that appears with the king, he is the only man that preſerves his cheerfulneſs in the wreck, and his hope on the iſland. JOHNSON.

[8] — *bring her to* try with main-courſe.] Probably from Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "And when the barke had way, we cut the hauſer, and ſo gate the ſea to our friend, and *tried out* all that day *with our maine courſe.*" MALONE.

[9] —— *an* unſtanch'd *wench.*] *Unſtanch'd*, I believe, means incontinent. STEEVENS.

[1] *Lay her a-hold, a-hold*;] *To lay a ſhip a-hold*, is to bring her to lie as near the wind as ſhe can, in order to keep clear of the land, and get her out to ſea. STEEVENS.

[2] —— *ſet her two* courſes;] The courſes are the main-ſail and foreſail. JOHNSON.

Boatſ.

Boatſ. What muſt our mouths be cold?

Gon. The king and prince at prayers! let us aſſiſt them,
For our caſe is as theirs.

Seb. I am out of patience.

Ant. We are merely [3] cheated of our lives by drunkards.—
This wide-chopp'd raſcal;—Would thou might'ſt lie drowning,
The waſhing of ten tides!

Gon. He'll be hang'd yet;
Though every drop of water ſwear againſt it,
And gape at wid'ſt to glut him [4].

[*A confuſed noiſe within.*] Mercy on us!—We ſplit! we ſplit!—Farewell, my wife and children!—Farewell, brother!—We ſplit, we ſplit, we ſplit [5].

Ant. Let's all ſink with the king. [*Exit.*

Seb. Let's take leave of him. [*Exit.*

Gon. Now would I give a thouſand furlongs of ſea for an acre of barren ground; long heath [6], brown furze, any thing: The wills above be done, but I would fain die a dry death! [*Exit.*

SCENE II.

The inchanted iſland: before the cell of Proſpero.

Enter PROSPERO *and* MIRANDA.

Mira. If by your art, my deareſt father, you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them:
The ſky, it ſeems, would pour down ſtinking pitch,

[3] —— *merely*——] in this place ſignifies *abſolutely*. STEEVENS.

[4] *to* glut *him.*] i. e. to *englut* or ſwallow him. MALONE.

[5] *Mercy on us! we ſplit, we ſplit! Farewell, my wife and children*, &c.] Theſe lines (as Dr. Johnſon has obſerved) ſhould be conſidered as ſpoken not by any determinate characters of the preſent play, but by various ſailors on board the veſſel. MALONE.

[6] —— *long heath,*] Sir T. Hanmer reads *ling*, heath, *broom*, furze.—Perhaps rightly, though he has been charged with tautology. I find in Harriſon's Deſcription of Britain, prefixed to our author's good friend Holinſhed, p. 91: "*Brome, beth, firze*, brakes, whinnes, *ling*," &c. FARMER.

But that the ſea[7], mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Daſhes the fire out. O, I have ſuffer'd
With thoſe that I ſaw ſuffer! a brave veſſel,
Who had no doubt ſome noble creature in her,
Daſh'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
Againſt my very heart! Poor ſouls! they periſh'd.
Had I been any god of power, I would
Have ſunk the ſea within the earth, or ere[8]
It ſhould the good ſhip ſo have ſwallow'd, and
The freighting ſouls within her.

Pro. Be collected;
No more amazement: tell your piteous heart,
There's no harm done.

Mira. O, woe the day!

Pro. No harm[9].
I have done nothing but in care of thee,
(Of thee, my dear one! thee, my daughter!) who
Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
Of whence I am; nor that I am more better[1]
Than Proſpero, maſter of a full poor cell[2],
And thy no greater father.

Mira. More to know
Did never meddle with my thoughts[3].

7 *But that the ſea*, &c.] So, in *King Lear*:

" The ſea in ſuch a ſtorm as his bare head
" In hell-black night endur'd, would have buoy'd up,
" And quench'd the ſtelled fires." MALONE.

8 *Or ere*, is *before*. STEEVENS.

9 Pro. *No harm.*] I know not whether Shakſpeare did not make Miranda ſpeak thus: *O, woe the day! no harm?*
To which Proſpero properly anſwers:

I have done nothing but in care of thee.

Miranda, when ſhe ſpeaks the words, *O, woe the day!* ſuppoſes, not that the crew had eſcaped, but that her father thought differently from her, and counted their deſtruction *no harm*. JOHNSON.

1 ——*more better*——] This ungrammatical expreſſion is very frequent among our oldeſt writers. STEEVENS.

2 —— full poor *cell*,] i. e. a cell in a great degree of poverty. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*: " I am *full ſorry*." STEEVENS.

3 *Did never* meddle *with my thoughts.*] To *meddle*, in this inſtance, ſeems to ſignify to *mingle*. Hence the ſubſtantive *medley*. STEEVENS.
See Howell's DICT. 1660, in v. to *meddle*; " ſe *meſler* de." MALONE.

Pro.

Pro. 'Tis time
I ſhould inform thee further. Lend thy hand,
And pluck my magick garment from me.—So;
[*Lays down his mantle.*
Lie there my art[4].—Wipe thou thine eyes; have comfort.
The direful ſpectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compaſſion[5] in thee,
I have with ſuch proviſion in mine art
So ſafely order'd, that there is no ſoul[6]—
No, not ſo much perdition as an hair,
Betid to any creature in the veſſel
Which thou heard'ſt cry, which thou ſaw'ſt ſink. Sit down;
For thou muſt now know further.
Mira. You have often
Begun to tell me what I am; but ſtopp'd,
And left me to a bootleſs inquiſition;
Concluding, *Stay, not yet.*—
Pro. The hour's now come;
The very minute bids thee ope thine ear;
Obey, and be attentive. Canſt thou remember
A time before we came unto this cell?
I do not think thou canſt; for then thou waſt not
Out three years old[7].
Mira. Certainly, ſir, I can.
Pro. By what? by any other houſe, or perſon?
Of any thing the image tell me, that
Hath kept with thy remembrance.
Mira. 'Tis far off;

4 *Lie there my art.*] Sir W. Cecil, lord Burleigh, lord high treaſurer, &c. in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when he put off his gown at night, uſed to ſay, *Lie there, lord treaſurer.* Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 257. STEEVENS.

5 —— virtue *of compaſſion*—] Virtue, the moſt efficacious part, the energetick quality; in a like ſenſe we ſay, *The virtue of a plant is in the extract.* JOHNSON.

6 — *no ſoul*—] Such interruptions as the preſent are not uncommon to Shakſpeare. He ſometimes begins a ſentence, and before he concludes it, entirely changes the conſtruction, becauſe another, more forcible, occurs. As this change frequently happens in converſation, it may be ſuffered to paſs uncenſured in the language of the ſtage. STEEVENS.

7 Out *three years old.*] i. e. quite three years old, three years old full-out, complete. STEEVENS.

And

And rather like a dream, than an aſſurance
That my remembrance warrants: Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended me?

Pro. Thou hadſt, and more, Miranda: But how is it,
That this lives in thy mind? What ſeeſt thou elſe
In the dark backward and abyſm of time [8]?
If thou remember'ſt aught, ere thou cam'ſt here,
How thou cam'ſt here, thou may'ſt.

Mira. But that I do not.

Pro. Twelve years ſince, Miranda, twelve years ſince;
Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
A prince of power.

Mira. Sir, are not you my father?

Pro. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She ſaid—thou waſt my daughter! and thy father
Was duke of Milan; and his only heir
A princeſs;—no worſe iſſued [9].

Mira. O the heavens!
What foul play had we, that we came from thence?
Or bleſſed was't, we did?

Pro. Both, both, my girl:
By foul play, as thou ſay'ſt, were we heav'd thence;
But bleſſedly holp hither.

Mira. O, my heart bleeds
To think o' the teen [1] that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance! Pleaſe you, further.

Pro. My brother, and thy uncle, called Anthonio,—
I pray thee, mark me,—that a brother ſhould
Be ſo perfidious!—he whom, next thyſelf,
Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put
The manage of my ſtate; as, at that time,
Through all the ſignories it was the firſt,
And Proſpero the prime duke; being ſo reputed
In dignity, and, for the liberal arts,
Without a parallel; thoſe being all my ſtudy,

[8] —— abyſm *of time?*] i. e. abyſs. MALONE.

[9] *A* princeſs;—no worſe iſſued.] The old copy reads—*And* princeſs—. The emendation was propoſed by Mr. Steevens. *Iſſued* is (as he obſerves) *deſcended*. MALONE.

[1] —*teen*—] is ſorrow, grief, trouble. STEEVENS.

The

The government I caſt upon my brother,
And to my ſtate grew ſtranger, being tranſported,
And rapt in ſecret ſtudies. Thy falſe uncle—
Doſt thou attend me?

Mira. Sir, moſt heedfully.

Pro. Being once perfected how to grant ſuits,
How to deny them; whom to advance, and whom [2]
To traſh for over-topping [3]; new created
The creatures that were mine; I ſay, or chang'd them,
Or elſe new form'd them: having both the key [4]
Of officer and office, ſet all hearts i' the ſtate
To what tune pleas'd his ear; that now he was
The ivy, which had hid my princely trunk,
And ſuck'd my verdure out on't.—Thou attend'ſt not.

Mira. O good Sir, I do.

Pro. I pray thee, mark me.
I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To cloſeneſs, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which, but by being ſo retir'd,
O'er-priz'd all popular rate, in my falſe brother
Awak'd an evil nature: and my truſt,
Like a good parent [5], did beget of him
A falſehood, in its contrary as great
As my truſt was; which had, indeed, no limit,
A confidence ſans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,

[2] — whom *to advance, and* whom] The old copy has *who* in both places. Corrected by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

[3] *To traſh for over-topping;*] *To traſh*, as Dr. Warburton obſerves, is to cut away the ſuperfluities. This word I have met with in books containing directions for gardeners, publiſhed in the time of queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Warton's note, however, on — "*traſh* for his quick hunting," in the ſecond act of *Othello*, leaves my interpretation of this paſſage exceedingly diſputable. STEEVENS.

[4] — *both the key*] *Key* in this place ſeems to ſignify the key of a muſical inſtrument, by which he ſet *hearts to tune*. JOHNSON.

This doubtleſs is meant of a key for tuning the harpſichord, ſpinnet, or virginal; we call it now a tuning hammer. Sir J. HAWKINS.

[5] *Like a good parent,*] Alluding to the obſervation, that a father above the common rate of men has commonly a ſon below it. *Heroum filii noxæ.* JOHNSON.

But

But what my power might elſe exact,—like one,
Who having, unto truth, by telling of it,
Made ſuch a ſinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie [6], he did believe
He was, indeed, the duke; out of the ſubſtitution,
And executing the outward face of royalty,
With all prerogative:—Hence his ambition growing,—
Doſt thou hear?

Mira. Your tale, ſir, would cure deafneſs.

Pro. To have no ſcreen between this part he play'd
And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Abſolute Milan: Me, poor man!—my library
Was dukedom large enough; of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable: confederates,
So dry he was for ſway [7], with the king of Naples,
To give him annual tribute, do him homage;
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd, (alas, poor Milan!)
To moſt ignoble ſtooping.

Mira. O the heavens!

Pro. Mark his condition, and the event; then tell me,
If this might be a brother.

Mira. I ſhould ſin
To think but nobly [8] of my grandmother:
Good wombs have borne bad ſons.

Pro. Now the condition.
This king of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's ſuit;
Which was, that he in lieu of the premiſes,—
Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,—

[6] ——————— *like one,*
Who having, unto *truth, by telling of* it,
Made ſuch a ſinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie.] There is perhaps no correlative, to which the word *it* can with grammatical propriety belong. *Lie,* however, ſeems to have been the correlative to which the poet meant to refer, however ungrammatically. STEEVENS.

The old copy has—*into* truth. Corrected by Dr. Warburton. MALONE.

[7] *So* dry *he was for ſway,*——] i. e. So *thirſty*. The expreſſion, I am told, is not uncommon in the midland counties. STEEVENS.

[8] *To think* but *nobly*] *But* in this place ſignifies *otherwiſe than*. STEEVENS.

Should

Should preſently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom; and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother: Whereon,
A treacherous army levy'd, one midnight
Fated to the purpoſe, did Anthonio open
The gates of Milan; and, i'the dead of darkneſs,
The miniſters for the purpoſe hurried thence
Me, and thy crying ſelf.

Mira. Alack, for pity!
I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then [9],
Will cry it o'er again; it is a hint [1],
That wrings mine eyes to't.

Pro. Hear a little further.
And then I'll bring thee to the preſent buſineſs
Which now's upon us; without the which, this ſtory
Were moſt impertinent.

Mira. Wherefore did they not
That hour deſtroy us?

Pro. Well demanded, wench;
My tale provokes that queſtion. Dear, they durſt not;
(So dear the love my people bore me) nor ſet
A mark ſo bloody on the buſineſs; but
With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
In few, they hurried us aboard a bark;
Bore us ſome leagues to ſea; where they prepar'd
A rotten carcaſs of a boat [2], not rigg'd,
Nor tackle, ſail, nor maſt; the very rats
Inſtinctively had quit it [3]: there they hoiſt us,
To cry to the ſea that roar'd to us; to ſigh
To the winds, whoſe pity, ſighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.

Mira. Alack! what trouble
Was I then to you!

[9] — *cried* out] Perhaps we ſhould read—cried *on't*. STEEVENS.

[1] — *a hint,*] *Hint* is *ſuggeſtion*. So, in the beginning ſpeech of the ſecond act:
——our *hint* of woe
Is common—. STEEVENS.

[2] — *of a* boat,] The old copy reads — of a *butt*. HENLEY.
It was corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

[3] — had *quit it:*] Old copy—*have* quit it. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

Pro.

Pro. O! a cherubim
Thou wast, that did preſerve me! Thou didſt ſmile,
Infuſed with a fortitude from heaven,
When I have deck'd the ſea [4] with drops full ſalt;
Under my burden groan'd; which raiſ'd in me
An undergoing ſtomach [5], to bear up
Againſt what ſhould enſue.
Mira. How came we aſhore?
Pro. By Providence divine.
Some food we had, and ſome freſh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
Out of his charity, who being then appointed [6]
Maſter of this deſign, did give us; with
Rich garments, linens, ſtuffs, and neceſſaries,
Which ſince have ſteaded much: ſo, of his gentleneſs,
Knowing I lov'd my books, he furniſh'd me,
From my own library, with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom.
Mira. Would I might
But ever ſee that man!
Pro. Now, I ariſe [7]:—

Sit

4—*deck'd the ſea*—] *To deck the ſea*, if explained, to honour, adorn, or dignify, is indeed ridiculous, but the original import of the verb *deck* is, to *cover*; ſo in ſome parts they yet ſay *deck the table*. This ſenſe may be borne; but perhaps the poet wrote *ſpeck'd*, which I think is ſtill uſed, in ruſtick language, of drops falling upon water. JOHNSON.

The following paſſage in *Antony and Cleopatra* may countenance the verb *deck* in its common acceptation:

"——do not pleaſe ſharp fate
"To *grace* it with your ſorrows."

What is this but *decking* it with *tears*? STEEVENS.

To *deck*, I am told, ſignifies in the North, to *ſprinkle*. See Ray's DICT. *of North Country words*, in *verb.* to *deg*, and to *deck*; and his DICT. *of South Country words*, in *verb. dag*. The latter ſignifies *dew* upon the graſs;—hence *daggle-tailed*. MALONE.

5 *An undergoing ſtomach.*] *Stomach* is *pride*, *ſtubborn reſolution*. So Horace, "——gravem Pelidæ *ſtomachum*." STEEVENS.

6——who *being then appointed* &c.] Such is the old reading. We might better read,——he *being* &c. STEEVENS.

7 Pro. *Now I ariſe*:] Why does Proſpero *ariſe*? Or, if he does it to eaſe himſelf by change of poſture, why need he interrupt his narrative to tell his daughter of it? Perhaps theſe words belong to Miranda, and we ſhould read:

Mir.

Sit ſtill, and hear the laſt of our ſea-ſorrow.
Here in this iſland we arriv'd; and here
Have I, thy ſchool maſter, made thee more profit
Than other princes [8] can, that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not ſo careful.

Mira. Heavens thank you for't! And now, I pray you, ſir,
(For ſtill 'tis beating in my mind,) your reaſon
For raiſing this ſea-ſtorm?

Pro. Know thus far forth.—
By accident moſt ſtrange, bountiful fortune,
Now my dear lady [9], hath mine enemies
Brought to this ſhore: and by my preſcience
I find my zenith doth depend upon
A moſt auſpicious ſtar; whoſe influence
If now I court not, but omit [1], my fortunes
Will ever after droop.—Here ceaſe more queſtions;

Mir. Would I might
But ever ſee that man!—Now, I ariſe.

Pro. Sit ſtill, and hear the laſt of our ſea ſorrow.

Proſpero in page 9 had directed his daughter to *ſit down*, and learn the whole of this hiſtory; having previouſly by ſome magical charm diſpoſed her to fall aſleep. He is watching the progreſs of this charm; and in the mean time tells her a long ſtory, often aſking her whether her attention be ſtill awake. The ſtory being ended (as Miranda ſuppoſes) with their coming on ſhore, and partaking of the conveniences provided for them by the loyal humanity of Gonzalo, ſhe therefore firſt expreſſes a wiſh to ſee the good old man, and then obſerves that ſhe may *now ariſe*, as the ſtory is done. Proſpero, ſurpriſed that his charm does not yet work, bids her *ſit ſtill*; and then enters on freſh matter to amuſe the time, telling her (what ſhe knew before) that he had been her tutor, &c. But ſoon perceiving her drowſineſs coming on; he breaks off abruptly, and leaves her *ſtill ſitting* to her ſlumbers. BLACKSTONE.

[8] *Than other princes*—] The firſt folio reads—*princeſſe*. HENLEY. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

[9] *Now my dear lady*, is, *now my auſpicious miſtreſs*. STEEVENS.

[1] — *I find my zenith doth depend upon*
A moſt auſpicious ſtar; whoſe influence
If now I court not, but omit, &c.] So, in *Julius Cæſar*:
"There is a tide in the affairs of man,
"Which taken at the flood, leads on to *fortune*;
"*Omitted*, all the voyage of their life
"Is bound in ſhallows and in miſeries. MALONE.

Thou art inclin'd to ſleep; 'tis a good dulneſs [2],
And give it way;—I know thou canſt not chooſe.—
[Miranda *ſleeps.*
Come away, ſervant, come: I am ready now;
Approach, my Ariel, come.

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. All hail, great maſter! grave ſir, hail! I come
To anſwer thy beſt pleaſure; be't to fly,
To ſwim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl'd clouds; to thy ſtrong bidding, taſk
Ariel, and all his quality [3].

Pro. Haſt thou, ſpirit,
Perform'd to point [4] the tempeſt that I bad thee?

Ari. To every article.
I boarded the king's ſhip; now on the beak [5],
Now in the waſte [6], the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement: Sometimes, I'd divide,
And burn in many places [7]; on the top-maſt,
The yards and boltſprit, would I flame diſtinctly,
Then meet, and join: Jove's lightnings [8], the precurſors

[2] —'*tis a good dulneſs.*] Dr. Warburton rightly obſerves, that this ſleepineſs, which Proſpero by his art had brought upon Miranda, and of which he knew not how ſoon the effect would begin, makes him queſtion her ſo often whether ſhe is attentive to his ſtory. JOHNSON.

[3] — *quality.*] i. e. all of his *fellowſhip*; "the crew of meaner ſpirits." See *Hamlet*, A. II. Sc. 2. "Will they purſue the *quality*" &c. MAL.

[4] *Perform'd to point*—] i. e. to the minuteſt article. STEEVENS.

[5] —*beak,*] The beak was a ſtrong pointed body at the head of the ancient gallies; it is uſed here for the forecaſtle, or the bolt-ſprit. JOHNS.

[6] —*waſte,*] The part between the quarter-deck and the forecaſtle JOHN.

[7] ——— *Sometimes I'd divide,*
And burn in many places; &c.] Perhaps our author, when he wrote theſe lines, remembered the following paſſage in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "I do remember that in the great and boyſterous ſtorme of this foule weather, in the night there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maſte a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards call the *Cuerpo Santo.*——*This light* continued aboord our ſhip about three houres, *flying from maſte to maſte, and from top to top, and ſometimes it would be in two or three places at once.*" MALONE.

[8] *Jove's* lightnings,—] The old copy reads—*lightning.* Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

O'

O' the dreadful thunder-claps [9], more momentary
And ſight-out-running were not: The fire, and cracks
Of ſulphurous roaring, the moſt mighty Neptune
Seem'd to beſiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident ſhake.

Pro. My brave ſpirit!
Who was ſo firm, ſo conſtant, that this coil
Would not infect his reaſon?

Ari. Not a ſoul
But felt a fever of the mad [1], and play'd
Some tricks of deſperation: All, but mariners,
Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the veſſel,
Then all a-fire with me: the king's ſon, Ferdinand,
With hair up-ſtaring, (then like reeds, not hair,)
Was the firſt man that leap'd; cried, *Hell is empty,*
And all the devils are here.

Pro. Why, that's my ſpirit!
But was not this nigh ſhore?

Ari. Cloſe by, my maſter.

Pro. But are they, Ariel, ſafe?

Ari. Not a hair periſh'd;
On their ſuſtaining garments [2] not a blemiſh,
But freſher than before: and as thou bad'ſt me,
In troops I have diſpers'd them 'bout the iſle:
The king's ſon have I landed by himſelf;
Whom I left cooling of the air with ſighs,
In an odd angle of the iſle, and ſitting,
His arms in this ſad knot.

Pro. Of the king's ſhip,
The mariners, ſay, how haſt thou diſpos'd,
And all the reſt o' the fleet?

Ari. Safely in harbour

9 ——— *precurſors*
O' the dreadful thunder-claps,] So, in *K. Lear*:
" 'Vant couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts." STEEVENS.

1 *But felt a fever of the mad,*] Not a ſoul but felt ſuch a fever as madmen feel, when the frantick fit is upon them. STEEVENS.

2 — ſuſtaining *garments*—] i. e. their garments that bore them up, and ſupported them. So, *K. Lear*, Act IV. ſc. iv.
" In our *ſuſtaining* corn." STEEVENS.

Is the king's ſhip; in the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dſt me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes [3], there ſhe's hid:
The mariners all under hatches ſtow'd;
Whom, with a charm join'd to their ſuffer'd labour,
I have left aſleep: and for the reſt o' the fleet,
Which I diſpers'd, they all have met again;
And are upon the Mediterranean flote [4],
Bound ſadly home for Naples;
Suppoſing that they ſaw the king's ſhip wreck'd,
And his great perſon periſh.

Pro. Ariel, thy charge
Exactly is perform'd; but there's more work:
What is the time o' the day [5]?

Ari. Paſt the mid ſeaſon.

Pro. At leaſt two glaſſes: The time 'twixt ſix and now
Muſt by us both be ſpent moſt preciouſly.

Ari. Is there more toil? Since thou doſt give me pains,
Let me remember thee what thou haſt promis'd,

3 *From the ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes,*] Thus the iſlands now known by the name of *Bermudas* were frequently, though not always, called in our author's time.—Hackluyt, in his *Voyages*, 1598, calls "the ſea about the *Bermudas* a helliſh place, for thunder, lightning, and ſtormes." So alſo the Continuator of Stowe's Annals, 1615, deſcribing the arrival of the Engliſh at theſe iſlands in 1609: "Sir George Somers ſitting at the ſterne, ſeeing the ſhip deſperate of relief, looking every minute when it would ſinke, he eſpied land, which according to his and Captain Newport's opinion, they judged ſhould be that dreadful coaſt of the *Bermodes*, which iſlands were of all nations ſaid and ſuppoſed to be *inchanted, and inhabited with witches and devills*; which grew by reaſon of accuſtomed monſtrous thunder, ſtorme, and tempeſt, neere unto thoſe iſlands, alſo for that the whole coaſt is ſo wonderous dangerous of rockes, that few can approach them but with unſpeakable hazard of ſhipwreck." MALONE.

4 — *the Mediterranean flote,*] *Flote* is *wave*. *Flot*. Fr. STEEVENS.

5 *What is the time o' the day?*] This paſſage needs not to be diſturbed, it being common to aſk a queſtion, which the next moment enables us to anſwer; he that thinks it faulty may eaſily adjuſt it thus:

Pro. *What is the time o' the day? Paſt the mid ſeaſon?*
Ari. *At leaſt two glaſſes.*
Pro. *The time 'twixt ſix and now*——. JOHNSON.

Mr. Upton propoſes to regulate this paſſage differently:

Ari. *Paſt the mid ſeaſon, at leaſt two glaſſes.*
Pro. *The time* &c. MALONE.

Which

Which is not yet perform'd me.

Pro. How now? moody?

What is't thou can'ſt demand?

Ari. My liberty.

Pro. Before the time be out? no more.

Ari. I pray thee,

Remember, I have done thee worthy ſervice;
Told thee no lies, made thee no miſtakings, ſerv'd
Without or grudge, or grumblings: thou didſt promiſe
To bate me a full year.

Pro. Doſt thou forget [6]

[6] *Doſt thou forget*] That the character and conduct of Proſpero may be underſtood, ſomething muſt be known of the ſyſtem of enchantment, which ſupplied all the marvellous found in the romances of the middle ages. This ſyſtem ſeems to be founded on the opinion that the fallen ſpirits, having different degrees of guilt, had different habitations allotted them at their expulſion, ſome being confined in hell, *ſome* (as Hooker, who delivers the opinion of our poet's age, expreſſes it,) *diſperſed in air, ſome on earth, ſome in water, others in caves, dens, or minerals under the earth.* Of theſe, ſome were more malignant and miſchievous than others. The earthy ſpirits ſeem to have been thought the moſt depraved, and the aerial the leaſt vitiated. Thus Proſpero obſerves of Ariel:

——*Thou waſt a ſpirit too delicate*
To act her earthy *and abhorr'd commands.*

Over theſe ſpirits a power might be obtained by certain rites performed or charms learned. This power was called *The Black Art*, or *Knowledge of Enchantment.* The enchanter being (as king James obſerves in his *Demonology*) one *who commands the devil, whereas the witch ſerves him.* Thoſe who thought beſt of this art, the exiſtence of which was, I am afraid, believed very ſeriouſly, held, that certain ſounds and characters had a phyſical power over ſpirits, and compelled their agency; others, who condemned the practice, which in reality was ſurely never practiſed, were of opinion, with more reaſon, that the power of charms aroſe *only* from compact, and was no more than the ſpirits voluntarily allowed them for the ſeduction of man. The art was held by all, though not equally criminal, yet unlawful, and therefore Caſaubon, ſpeaking of one who had commerce with ſpirits, blames him, though he imagines him *one of the beſt kind who dealt with them by way of command.* Thus Proſpero repents of his art in the laſt ſcene. The ſpirits were always conſidered as in ſome meaſure enſlaved to the enchanter, at leaſt for a time, and as ſerving with unwillingneſs; therefore Ariel ſo often begs for liberty; and Caliban obſerves, that the ſpirits ſerve Proſpero with no good will, but *hate him rootedly.*—Of theſe trifles enough. JOHNSON.

From what a torment I did free thee?

Ari. No.

Pro. Thou doſt; and think'ſt it much, to tread the ooze
Of the ſalt deep;
To run upon the ſharp wind of the north;
To do me buſineſs in the veins o' the earth,
When it is bak'd with froſt.

Ari. I do not, ſir.

Pro. Thou lieſt, malignant thing! haſt thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who, with age, and envy,
Was grown into a hoop? haſt thou forgot her?

Ari. No, ſir.

Pro. Thou haſt: Where was ſhe born? ſpeak; tell me.

Ari. Sir, in Argier [7].

Pro. Oh, was ſhe ſo? I muſt,
Once in a month, recount what thou haſt been,
Which thou forget'ſt. This damn'd witch, Sycorax,
For miſchiefs manifold, and ſorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'ſt, was baniſh'd; for one thing ſhe did,
They would not take her life: Is not this true?

Ari. Ay, ſir.

Pro. This blue-ey'd hag was hither brought with child,
And here was left by the ſailors: Thou, my ſlave,
As thou report'ſt thyſelf, waſt then her ſervant:
And, for thou waſt a ſpirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,
Refuſing her grand hefts, ſhe did confine thee,
By help of her more potent miniſters,
And in her moſt unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine; within which rift
Impriſon'd, thou didſt painfully remain
A dozen years; within which ſpace ſhe died,
And left thee there; where thou didſt vent thy groans,
As faſt as mill-wheels ſtrike: Then was this iſland,
(Save for the ſon that ſhe did litter here,
A freckled whelp, hag-born,) not honour'd with
A human ſhape.

7 —*in* Argier.] *Argier* is the ancient Engliſh name for *Algiers*. STEEVENS.

Ari.

Ari. Yes; Caliban her ſon.

Pro. Dull thing, I ſay ſo; he, that Caliban,
Whom now I keep in ſervice. Thou beſt know'ſt
What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breaſts
Of ever-angry bears; it was a torment
To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax
Could not again undo; it was mine art,
When I arriv'd, and heard thee, that made gape
The pine, and let thee out.

Ari. I thank thee, maſter.

Pro. If thou more murmur'ſt, I will rend an oak,
And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
Thou haſt howl'd away twelve winters.

Ari. Pardon, maſter:
I will be correſpondent to command,
And do my ſpriting gently.

Pro. Do ſo; and after two days
I will diſcharge thee.

Ari. That's my noble maſter!
What ſhall I do? ſay what? what ſhall I do?

Pro. Go make thyſelf like a nymph o'the ſea; be ſubject
To no ſight but thine and mine; inviſible[8]
To every eye-ball elſe. Go, take this ſhape,
And hither come in it: go, hence, with diligence.
[*Exit* ARIEL.
Awake, dear heart, awake! thou haſt ſlept well;
Awake!

[8] *Go make thyſelf like a nymph o' the ſea: be ſubject*
To no ſight but thine and mine; inviſible &c.] The words—"be ſubject"—having been transferred in the firſt copy of this play to the latter of theſe lines, by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcriber or printer, the editor of the ſecond folio, to ſupply the metre of the former, introduced the word *to*;—reading, "like *to* a nymph o' the ſea." The regulation that I have made ſhews that the addition, like many others made by that editor, was unneceſſary. MALONE.

— *a nymph o' the ſea*;] There does not appear to be ſufficient cauſe why *Ariel* ſhould aſſume this new ſhape, as he was to be inviſible to all eyes but thoſe of Proſpero. STEEVENS.

Mira. The ſtrangeneſs [9] of your ſtory put
Heavineſs in me.

Pro. Shake it off: Come on;
We'll viſit Caliban, my ſlave, who never
Yields us kind anſwer.

Mira. 'Tis a villain, ſir,
I do not love to look on.

Pro. But, as 'tis,
We cannot miſs him: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood; and ſerves in offices
That profit us. What, ho! ſlave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! ſpeak.

Cal. [*within.*] There's wood enough within.

Pro. Come forth, I ſay; there's other buſineſs for thee:
Come, thou tortoiſe! when?

Re-enter ARIEL, *like a water-nymph.*

Fine apparition! My quaint Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

Ari. My lord, it ſhall be done. [*Exit.*

Pro. Thou poiſonous ſlave, got by the devil himſelf
Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

Cal. As wicked dew as e'er my mother bruſh'd
With raven's feather from unwholeſome fen,
Drop on you both [1]! a ſouth-weſt blow on ye,

And

9 *The ſtrangeneſs*—] Why ſhould a wonderful ſtory produce ſleep? I believe experience will prove, that any violent agitation of the mind eaſily ſubſides in ſlumber, eſpecially when, as in Proſpero's relation, the laſt images are pleaſing. JOHNSON.

The poet ſeems to have been apprehenſive that the audience, as well as Miranda, would ſleep over this long but neceſſary tale, and therefore ſtrives to break it. Firſt, by making Proſpero diveſt himſelf of his magick robe and wand; then by waking her attention no leſs than ſix times by verbal interruption; then by varying the action when he riſes and bids her continue ſitting; and laſtly, by carrying on the buſineſs of the fable while Miranda ſleeps, by which ſhe is continued on the ſtage till the poet has occaſion for her again. WARNER.

1 Cal. *As wicked dew as e'er my mother bruſh'd*
With raven's feather from unwholeſome fen,
Drop on you both!] It was a tradition, it ſeems, that Lord Falkland,

And blifter you all o'er!

Pro. For this, be ſure, to-night thou ſhalt have cramps,
Side-ſtitches that ſhall pen thy breath up; urchins [2]
Shall, for that vaſt of night that they may work [3],

All

Falkland, Lord C. J. Vaughan, and Mr. Selden concurred in obſerving, that Shakſpeare had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had alſo deviſed and adapted a *new manner of language* for that character. WARBURTON.

Whence theſe criticks derived the notion of a new language appropriated to Caliban, I cannot find: they certainly miſtook brutality of ſentiment for uncouthneſs of words. Caliban had learned to ſpeak of Proſpero, and his daughter; he had no names for the ſun and moon before their arrival, and could not have invented a language of his own without more underſtanding than Shakſpeare has thought it proper to beſtow upon him. His diction is indeed ſomewhat clouded by the gloominеſs of his temper, and the malignity of his purpoſes; but let any other being entertain the ſame thoughts, and he will find them eaſily iſſue in the ſame expreſſions. JOHNSON.

As wicked dew,—] *Wicked*; having baneful qualities. So Spenſer ſays, *wicked weed*; ſo, in oppoſition, we ſay herbs or medicines have *virtues*. Bacon mentions *virtuous bezoar*, and Dryden *virtuous herbs*. JOHNSON.

[2] —*urchins*] i.e. *hedge-hogs*. *Urchins* are enumerated by *R. Scott* among other terrifick beings. They are perhaps here put for *fairies*. Milton in his *Maſque* ſpeaks of "*urchin* blaſts," and we ſtill call any little dwarfiſh child, an *urchin*. The word occurs again in the next act. STEEV.

In the *M. W. of Windſor* we have "*urchins*, ouphes, and fairies;" and the paſſage to which Mr. Steevens alludes, proves, I think, that *urchins* here ſignifies beings of the fairy kind:

"His *ſpirits* hear me,
"And yet I needs muſt curſe; but they'll nor *pinch*,
"Fright me with *urchin-ſhews*, pitch me i'the mire &c. MALONE.

[3] —*for that vaſt of night that they may work*,] The *vaſt of night* means the night which is naturally empty and deſerted, without action; or when all things lying in ſleep and ſilence, makes the world appear one great uninhabited *waſte*. So in *Hamlet*:

"In the dead *waſte* and middle of the night."

It has a meaning like that of *nox vaſta*.

It ſhould be remembered, that, in the pneumatology of former ages, theſe particulars were ſettled with the moſt minute exactneſs, and the different kinds of viſionary beings had different allotments of time ſuitable to the variety or conſequence of their employments. During theſe ſpaces, they were at liberty to act, but were always obliged to leave off at a certain hour, that they might not interfere in that portion of night which belonged to others. Among theſe we may ſuppoſe *urchins* to have had a part ſubjected to their dominion. To this

All exerciſe on thee: thou ſhalt be pinch'd
As thick as honey-combs, each pinch more ſtinging
Than bees that made them.
Cal. I muſt eat my dinner.
This iſland's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'ſt from me. When thou cameſt firſt,
Thou ſtrok'dſt me, and mad'ſt much of me; would'ſt give me
Water with berries in't; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the leſs,
That burn by day and night: and then I lov'd thee,
And ſhew'd thee all the qualities o' the iſle,
The freſh ſprings, brine pits, barren place, and fertile;
Curs'd be I, that did ſo!—All the charms[4]
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the ſubjects that you have,
Which firſt was mine own king: and here you ſty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The reſt of the iſland.
Pro. Thou moſt lying ſlave,
Whom ſtripes may move, not kindneſs: I have us'd thee,
Filth as thou art, with human care; and lodg'd thee
In mine own cell, till thou did ſeek to violate
The honour of my child.
Cal. Oh ho, oh ho!—'would it had been done!
Thou didſt prevent me; I had peopled elſe
This iſle with Calibans.
Pro. Abhorred ſlave[5];
Which any print of goodneſs will not take,
Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee ſpeak, taught thee each hour

limitation of time Shakſpeare alludes again in *K. Lear: He begins at curfew, and walks till the ſecond cock.* STEEVENS.

4 — *All the* charms] The latter word, like many others of the ſame kind, is here uſed as a diſſyllable. MALONE.

5 *Abhorred ſlave*;] This ſpeech, which the old copy gives to Miranda, is very judiciouſly beſtowed by Theobald on Proſpero. JOHNSON.

Mr. Theobald found, or might have found, this ſpeech transferred to Proſpero in the alteration of this play by Dryden and D'Avenant. MALONE.

One

One thing or other: when thou didſt not, ſavage [6],
Know thine own meaning, but would'ſt gabble like
A thing moſt brutiſh, I endow'd thy purpoſes
With words that made them known: But thy vild race [7],
Though thou didſt learn, had that in't which good natures
Could not abide to be with; therefore waſt thou
Deſervedly confin'd into this rock,
Who hadſt deſerv'd more than a priſon.

Cal. You taught me language; and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curſe: The red plague rid you [8],
For learning me your language!

Pro. Hag-ſeed hence!
Fetch us in fewel; and be quick, thou wert beſt,
To anſwer other buſineſs. Shrug'ſt thou, malice?
If thou neglect'ſt, or doſt unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps;
Fill all thy bones with aches; make thee roar,
That beaſts ſhall tremble at thy din.

Cal. No, 'pray thee!—
I muſt obey: his art is of ſuch power, [*Aſide.*
It would control my dam's god, Setebos [9],

And

6 ——— *when thou didſt not, ſavage,*
Know thy own meaning,] By this expreſſion, however defective, the poet ſeems to have meant——*when thou didſt utter ſounds, to which thou badſt no determinate meaning:* but the following expreſſion of Mr. Addiſon, in his 389th Spectator, concerning the Hottentots, may prove the beſt comment on this paſſage; "——having no language among them but a confuſed gabble, which is *neither well underſtood by themſelves*, or others." STEEVENS.

7 *But thy* vild *race,*] *Race*, in this place, ſeems to ſignify original diſpoſition, inborn qualities. In this ſenſe we ſtill ſay—*The race of wine*; and ſir W. Temple has ſome where applied it to works of literature. STEEVENS.

Vild is uſed in many old Engliſh books for *vile*. MALONE.

8 *The red plague*—] I ſuppoſe from the redneſs of the body, univerſally inflamed. JOHNSON.

The *eryſipelas* was anciently called the *red plague*. STEEVENS.

9 — *my dam's god,* Setebos,] A gentleman of great merit, Mr. *Warner*, has obſerved on the authority of *John Barbot*, that "the *Patagons* are reported to dread a great horned devil, called *Setebos*."—It may be aſked, however, how *Shakſpeare* knew any thing of this,

And make a vaſſal of him.

Pro. So, ſlave; hence! [*Exit* CALIBAN.

Re-enter ARIEL *inviſible, playing and ſinging;* FERDINAND *following him.*

Ariel's Song.

Come unto theſe yellow ſands,
And then take hands:
Court'ſied when you have, and kiſs'd[1],
(The wild waves whiſt)
Foot it featly here and there;
And, ſweet ſprites, the burden bear[2].
Hark, hark!
bur. Bowgh, wowgh. [*diſperſedly.*
The watch-dogs bark:
bur. Bowgh, wowgh. [*diſperſedly.*
Hark, hark! I hear
The ſtrain of ſtrutting chanticlere
Cry, Cock-a-doodle-doo.

Fer. Where ſhould this muſick be? i' the air, or the earth?
It ſounds no more:—and ſure, it waits upon
Some god of the iſland. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck[3],

This

this, as *Barbot* was a voyager of the preſent century?——Perhaps he had read *Eden's* Hiſtory of Travayle, 1577, who tells us, p. 434, that "the *giantes*, when they found themſelves fettered, roared like bulls, and cried upon *Setebos* to help them."—The *metathesis* in *Caliban* from *Canibal* is evident FARMER.

We learn from Magellan's voyage, that *Setebos* was the ſupreme god of the Patagons, and Cheleule was an inferior one. TOLLET.

Setebos is alſo mentioned in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598. MALONE.

[1] *Court'ſied when you have, and kiſs'd,*] As was anciently done at the beginning of ſome dances.

The wild waves whiſt;

i. e. the wild waves being ſilent (or whiſt). STEEVENS.

[2] — *the burden bear.*] Old copy—bear the burden. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

[3] *Weeping* again *the king my father's wreck,*] Thus the old copy; but in the books of Shakſpeare's age *again* is ſometimes printed inſtead

This muſick crept by me upon the waters;
Allaying both their fury, and my paſſion,
With its ſweet air: thence I have follow'd it,
Or it hath drawn me rather:—But 'tis gone.
No, it begins again.

Ariel ſings. *Full fathom five thy father lies* [4];
Of his bones are coral made;
Thoſe are pearls, that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth ſuffer a ſea-change,
Into ſomething rich and ſtrange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:
Hark, now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell.
[*Burden*, ding-dong.

Fer. The ditty does remember my drown'd father:—
This is no mortal buſineſs, nor no ſound
That the earth owes [5]:—I hear it now above me.
Pro. The fringed curtains of thine eye advance,

ſtead of *againſt* [i. e. oppoſite to], which I am perſuaded was our author's word. The placing Ferdinand in ſuch a ſituation that he could ſtill gaze upon the wrecked veſſel, is one of Shakſpeare's touches of nature. *Again* is inadmiſſible; for this would import that Ferdinand's tears had ceaſed for a time; whereas he himſelf tells us, afterwards, that from the hour of his father's wreck they had *never* ceaſed to flow:

" ——— Myſelf am Naples,
" Who with mine eyes, *ne'er ſince at ebb*, beheld
" The king my father wreck'd."

However, as our author ſometimes forgot to compare the different parts of his play, I have made no change. MALONE.

4 *Full fathom five thy father lies*; &c.] Ariel's lays, [which have been condemned by Gildon as trifling, and defended not very ſucceſsfully by Dr. Warburton,] however ſeaſonable and efficacious, muſt be allowed to be of no ſupernatural dignity or elegance; they expreſs nothing great, nor reveal any thing above mortal diſcovery.

The reaſon for which Ariel is introduced thus trifling is, that he and his companions are evidently of the fairy kind, an order of beings to which tradition has always aſcribed a ſort of diminutive agency, powerful but ludicrous, a humorous and frolick controlment of nature, well expreſſed by the ſongs of Ariel. JOHNSON.

5 *That the earth* owes:] *To owe*, in this place, as well as many others, ſignifies *to own*. STEEVENS.

And

And ſay, what thou ſeeſt yond'.

Mira. What is't? a ſpirit?
Lord, how it looks about! Believe me, ſir,
It carries a brave form:—But 'tis a ſpirit.

Pro. No, wench; it eats and ſleeps, and hath ſuch ſenſes
As we have, ſuch: This gallant, which thou ſeeſt,
Was in the wreck; and but he's ſomething ſtain'd
With grief, that's beauty's canker, thou might'ſt call him
A goodly perſon: he hath loſt his fellows,
And ſtrays about to find them.

Mira. I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever ſaw ſo noble.

Pro. It goes on, I ſee, [*Aſide.*
As my ſoul prompts it:—Spirit, fine ſpirit, I'll free thee
Within two days for this.

Fer. Moſt ſure, the goddeſs
On whom theſe airs attend!—Vouchſafe, my prayer
May know, if you remain upon this iſland;
And that you will ſome good inſtruction give,
How I may bear me here: My prime requeſt,
Which I do laſt pronounce, is, o you wonder!
If you be made, or no[6]?

Mira.

[6] ——— *My prime requeſt*
Which I do laſt pronounce, is, o you wonder!
If you be made, *or no?*] A paſſage in *Lilly's Galathea* ſeems to countenance the text of the firſt folio; "The queſtion among men is common, *are you a maide?*"—yet I cannot but think, that Dr. *Warburton* reads very rightly, "If you be *made*, or no." When we meet with an harſh expreſſion in *Shakſpeare*, we are uſually to look for a *play upon words*. *Fletcher* cloſely imitates the *Tempeſt* in his *Sea-Voyage*: and he introduces *Albert* in the ſame manner to the ladies of *his* Deſert Iſland:

"Be not offended, goddeſſes, that I fall
"Thus proſtrate," &c.

Shakſpeare himſelf had certainly read, and had probably now in his mind, a paſſage in the third book of the *Fairy Queen*, between *Timias* and *Belphœbe*:

"*Angel* or *Goddeſs*! do I call thee *right*?
"There-at ſhe bluſhing, ſaid, ah! gentle ſquire,
"Nor *goddeſs* I, nor *angel*, but the *maid*
"And *daughter* of a woody nymph," &c. FARMER.

The

Mira. No wonder, ſir;
But, certainly a maid.
Fer. My language! heavens!—
I am the beſt of them that ſpeak this ſpeech,
Were I but where 'tis ſpoken.
Pro. How! the beſt?

The firſt copy reads—if you be *maid*, or no. *Made* was not ſuggeſted by Dr. Warburton, being an emendation introduced by the editor of the fourth folio. It was, I am perſuaded, the author's word: There being no article prefixed adds ſtrength to this ſuppoſition. Nothing is more common in his plays than a word being uſed in reply, in a ſenſe different from that in which it was employed by the firſt ſpeaker. Ferdinand had the moment before called Miranda a goddeſs; and the words immediately ſubjoined,—"Vouchſafe my prayer,"—ſhow, that he looked up to her as a perſon of a ſuperior order, and ſought her protection, and inſtruction for his conduct, not her love. At *this* period, therefore, he muſt have felt too much awe to have flattered himſelf with the hope of poſſeſſing a being that appeared to him celeſtial; though afterwards, emboldened by what Miranda ſays, he exclaims, "O, if a virgin &c." words that appear inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition that he had already *aſked* her whether ſhe was one or not. She had indeed told him, ſhe was; but in his aſtoniſhment at hearing her ſpeak his own language, he may well be ſuppoſed to have forgotten what ſhe ſaid; which, if he had himſelf made the inquiry, would not be very reaſonable to ſuppoſe.

It appears from the alteration of this play by Dryden and ſir W. D'Avenant, that they conſidered the preſent paſſage in this light:

——"Fair excellence,
"If, as your form declares, you are divine,
"Be pleas'd to inſtruct me, how you will be worſhip'd;
"So bright a beauty cannot ſure belong
"To human kind."

In a ſubſequent ſcene we have again the ſame inquiry:

Alon. Is ſhe the *goddeſs* that hath ſever'd us,
And brought us thus together?
Fer. Sir, ſhe's *mortal.*

Our author might have remembered Lodge's deſcription of Fawnia, the Perdita of his *Winter's Tale*: "Yet he ſcarce knew her, "for ſhe had attired herſelf in rich apparel, which ſo increaſed "her beauty, that ſhe reſembled rather an *angel* than a *creature.*" *Doraſtus and Fawnia*, 1592.

So alſo, (as Dr. Farmer has obſerved) in Stanyhurſt's tranſlation of Virgil, 1583:

"O to thee, faire virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
"Thy tongue, thy viſage, no *mortal* frayltie reſembleth.
"—— No doubt, a *goddeſſe!*" MALONE.

What

What wert thou, if the king of Naples heard thee?

Fer. A ſingle thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee ſpeak of Naples: He does hear me;
And, that he does, I weep: myſelf am Naples;
Who with mine eyes, ne'er ſince at ebb, beheld
The king my father wreck'd.

Mira. Alack, for mercy!

Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the duke of Milan,
And his brave ſon, being twain [7].

Pro. The duke of Milan,
And his more braver daughter, could control thee [8],
If now 'twere fit to do't:—At the firſt ſight [*Aſide.*
They have chang'd eyes:—Delicate Ariel,
I'll ſet thee free for this.—A word, good ſir;
I fear, you have done yourſelf ſome wrong [9]: a word.

Mira. Why ſpeaks my father ſo ungently? This
Is the third man that I ſaw e'er; the firſt,
That e'er I ſigh'd for: pity move my father
To be inclin'd my way!

Fer. O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The queen of Naples.

Pro. Soft, ſir; one word more.—
They are both in either's powers: but this ſwift buſineſs
I muſt uneaſy make, leſt too light winning [*Aſide.*
Make the prize light.—One word more; I charge thee,
That thou attend me: thou doſt here uſurp
The name thou ow'ſt not; and haſt put thyſelf
Upon this iſland, as a ſpy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.

Fer. No, as I am a man.

7 *And his brave ſon, being twain.*] This is a ſlight forgetfulneſs. Nobody was loſt in the wreck, yet we find no ſuch character introduced in the fable as the ſon of the duke of Milan. THEOBALD.

8 ——— *control thee,*] Confute thee, unanſwerably contradict thee. JOHNSON.

9 *I fear, you have done yourſelf ſome wrong:*] i. e. I fear that in aſſerting yourſelf to be *king of Naples*, you have uttered a falſehood, which is below your character, and conſequently injurious to your honour. So, in the *Merry Wives of Windſor*: "This is not well, maſter Ford, this *wrongs you.*" STEEVENS.

Mira.

Mira. There's nothing ill can dwell in ſuch a temple:
If the ill ſpirit have ſo fair an houſe,
Good things will ſtrive to dwell with't.

Pro. Follow me.— [*to* FERD.
Speak not you for him; he's a traitor.—Come.
I'll manacle thy neck and feet together:
Sea-water ſhalt thou drink, thy food ſhall be
The freſh-brook muſcles, wither'd roots, and huſks
Wherein the acorn cradled: Follow.

Fer. No;
I will reſiſt ſuch entertainment, till
Mine enemy has more power. [*He draws.*

Mira. O dear father,
Make not too raſh a trial of him, for
He's gentle, and not fearful [1].

Pro. What, I ſay,
My foot my tutor [2]! Put thy ſword up, traitor;
Who mak'ſt a ſhew, but dar'ſt not ſtrike, thy conſcience
Is ſo poſſeſs'd with guilt: come from thy ward [3];
For I can here diſarm thee with this ſtick,
And make thy weapon drop.

Mira. Beſeech you, father!

Pro. Hence; hang not on my garments.

Mira. Sir, have pity;
I'll be his ſurety.

Pro. Silence: one word more
Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What,
An advocate for an impoſtor? huſh!
Thou think'ſt, there are no more ſuch ſhapes as he,
Having ſeen but him and Caliban; Fooliſh wench!
To the moſt of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.

[1] *He's gentle, and not* fearful.] i. e. terrible; producing fear. In our author's age *fearful* was much more frequently uſed in the ſenſe of *formidable* than that of *timorous*. MALONE.

[2] *My* foot *my tutor!*] So, in the *Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, 1587, p. 163:

"What honeſt heart would not conceive diſdayne,
"To ſee the *foot* ſurmount above the *head*?" HENDERSON.

[3] — *come from thy ward*;] Deſiſt from any hope of awing me by that poſture of defence. JOHNSON.

Mira. My affections
Are then moſt humble; I have no ambition
To ſee a goodlier man.
Pro. Come on; obey: [*to* FERDINAND.
Thy nerves are in their infancy again [4],
And have no vigour in them.
Fer. So they are:
My ſpirits, as in a dream, are all bound up [5].
My father's loſs, the weakneſs which I feel,
The wreck of all my friends, or this man's threats,
To whom I am ſubdued, are but light to me [6],
Might I but through my priſon once a day
Behold this maid: all corners elſe o' the earth
Let liberty make uſe of; ſpace enough
Have I, in ſuch a priſon.
Pro. It works:—Come on.—
Thou haſt done well, fine Ariel!—Follow me.—
[*to* FERD. *and* MIR.
Hark, what thou elſe ſhalt do me. [*to* ARIEL.
Mira. Be of comfort;
My father's of a better nature, ſir,
Than he appears by ſpeech; this is unwonted,
Which now came from him.
Pro. Thou ſhalt be as free
As mountain winds: but then exactly do
All points of my command.
Ari. To the ſyllable.
Pro. Come, follow: ſpeak not for him. [*Exeunt.*

4 *Thy nerves are in their infancy again,*] So Milton in his *Maſque at Ludlow Caſtle:*

"Thy nerves are all bound up in alabaſter." STEEVENS.

5 *My ſpirits, as in a dream, are all bound up,*] Alluding to a common ſenſation in dreams; when we ſtruggle, but with a total impoſſibility in our endeavours, to run, ſtrike, &c. WARBURTON.

6 — are *but light to me,*] This paſſage, as it ſtands at preſent, with all allowances for poetical licence, cannot be reconciled to grammar. I ſuſpect that our author wrote — "*were* but light to me," in the ſenſe of—*would be.*—In the preceding line the old copy reads—*nor* this man's threats. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. MALONE.

ACT II. SCENE I.

Another part of the iſland.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, *and Others.*

Gon. Beſeech you, ſir, be merry: you have cauſe
(So have we all) of joy; for our eſcape
Is much beyond our loſs: Our hint of woe [7]
Is common; every day, ſome ſailor's wife,
The maſters of ſome merchant, and the merchant,
Have juſt our theme of woe: but for the miracle,
I mean our preſervation, few in millions
Can ſpeak like us: then wiſely, good ſir, weigh
Our ſorrow with our comfort.

Alon. Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. He receives comfort like cold porridge.

Ant. The viſitor [8] will not give him o'er ſo.

Seb. Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit; by and by it will ſtrike.

Gon. Sir,—

Seb. One:—Tell.

Gon. When every grief is entertain'd, that's offer'd,
Comes to the entertainer—

Seb. A dollar.

Gon. Dolour comes to him, indeed [9]; you have ſpoken truer than you purpos'd.

Seb. You have taken it wiſelier than I meant you ſhould.

Gon. Therefore, my lord,—

Ant. Fie, what a ſpend-thrift is he of his tongue!

7 *Our hint of woe*—] *Hint* is that which recalls to the memory. The cauſe that fills our minds with grief is common. JOHNSON.

8 *The viſitor*—] Gonzalo gives not only advice, but comfort, and is therefore properly called *The viſitor*, like others who viſit the ſick or diſtreſſed to give them conſolation. In ſome of the Proteſtant churches there is a kind of officers termed Conſolators for the ſick. JOHNSON.

9 Dolour *comes to him, indeed*;] The ſame quibble occurs in *the Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1637:

"And his reward be thirteen hundred *dollars*,
"For he hath driven *dolour* from our heart." STEEVENS.

Alon. I pr'ythee, ſpare.

Gon. Well, I have done: But yet—

Seb. He will be talking.

Ant. Which of them, he, or Adrian, for a good wager, firſt begins to crow?

Seb. The old cock.

Ant. The cockrel.

Seb. Done: The wager?

Ant. A laughter.

Seb. A match.

Adr. Though this iſland ſeem to be deſert,—

Seb. Ha, ha, ha!

Ant. So, you've pay'd [1].

Adr. Uninhabitable, and almoſt inacceſſible.

Seb. Yet,

Adr. Yet—

Ant. He could not miſs it.

Adr. It muſt needs be of ſubtle, tender, and delicate temperance [2].

Ant. Temperance was a delicate wench [3].

Seb. Ay, and a ſubtle; as he moſt learnedly deliver'd.

Adr. The air breathes upon us here moſt ſweetly.

Seb. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.

Ant. Or, as 'twere perfum'd by a fen.

Gon. Here is every thing advantageous to life.

Ant. True; ſave means to live.

Seb. Of that there's none, or little.

Gon. How luſh[4] and luſty the graſs looks? how green?

[1] —*you've* pay'd.] Old Copy—*you'r* paid. Corrected by Mr. Steevens. To *pay* ſometimes ſignified—to *beat*, but I have never met with it in a metaphorical ſenſe; otherwiſe I ſhould have thought the reading of the folio right: you are *beaten*; you have *loſt*. MALONE.

[2] —*temperance.*] *Temperance* here means *temperature*. STEEVENS.

[3] Temperance *was a delicate wench.*] In the puritanical times it was uſual to chriſten children from the titles of religious and moral virtues. STEEVENS.

[4] *How* luſh &c.] *Luſh*, i. e. of a *dark full* colour, the oppoſite to *pale* and *faint*. Sir T. HANMER.

The word is ſtill uſed in the midland counties in this ſenſe. Mr. Henley, however, is of opinion that *luſh* here ſignifies—*rank*. So, in *A Midſummer Night's Dream*:

"Quite overcanopied with *luſhious* woodbine."

I think Sir T. Hanmer's interpretation is right. MALONE.

Ant.

Ant. The ground, indeed, is tawny.

Seb. With an eye of green in't [5].

Ant. He miſſes not much.

Seb. No; he doth but miſtake the truth totally.

Gon. But the rarity of it is, (which is indeed almoſt beyond credit,)—

Seb. As many vouch'd rarities are.

Gon. That our garments, being, as they were, drench'd in the ſea, hold notwithſtanding their freſhneſs, and gloſſes; being rather new dy'd, than ſtain'd with ſalt water.

Ant. If but one of his pockets could ſpeak, would it not ſay, he lies?

Seb. Ay, or very falſely pocket up his report.

Gon. Methinks, our garments are now as freſh as when we put them on firſt in Africk, at the marriage of the king's fair daughter Claribel * to the king of Tunis.

Seb. 'Twas a ſweet marriage, and we proſper well in our return.

Adr. Tunis was never grac'd before with ſuch a paragon to their queen.

Gon. Not ſince widow Dido's time.

Ant. Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in? Widow Dido [6]!

5 *With an eye of green in't.*] An *eye* is a ſmall ſhade of colour. STEEV.

* *Claribel*] Shakſpeare might have found this name in the bl. l. *Hiſtory of George Lord Faulconbridge*, a pamphlet that he probably read when he was writing *King John*. CLARABEL is there the concubine of King Richard I. and the mother of Lord Falconbridge. MALONE.

6 —*Widow Dido!*] The name of a widow brings to their minds their own ſhipwreck, which they conſider as having made many widows in Naples. JOHNSON.

Perhaps our author remembered "An inſcription for the ſtatue of Dido," copied from Auſonius, and inſerted in *Daviſon's* Poems:

"O moſt unhappy *Dido*,
"Unhappy wife, and more unhappy *widow!*
"Unhappy in thy mate,
"And in thy lover more unfortunate! &c."

The edition from whence I have tranſcribed theſe lines was printed in 1621, but there was a former in 1608, and another ſome years before, as I collect from the following paſſage in a letter from Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Carleton, July 8, 1602: "It ſeems young Daviſon means to take another courſe, and turn poet, for he hath lately *ſet out* certain ſonnets and epigrams." Chamberlain's Letters, Vol. I. among Dr. Birch's Mſs. in the Britiſh Muſeum. MALONE.

Seb. What if he had ſaid, widower Æneas too? good lord, how you take it!

Adr. Widow Dido, ſaid you? you make me ſtudy of that: She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

Gon. This Tunis, ſir, was Carthage.

Adr. Carthage?

Gon. I aſſure you, Carthage.

Ant. His word is more than the miraculous harp [7].

Seb. He hath rais'd the wall, and houſes too.

Ant. What impoſſible matter will he make eaſy next?

Seb. I think, he will carry this iſland home in his pocket, and give it his ſon for an apple.

Ant. And, ſowing the kernels of it in the ſea, bring forth more iſlands.

Gon. Ay?

Ant. Why, in good time.

Gon. Sir, we were talking, that our garments ſeem now as freſh, as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now queen.

Ant. And the rareſt that e'er came there.

Seb. Bate, I beſeech you, widow Dido.

Ant. O, widow Dido; ay, widow Dido.

Gon. Is not, ſir, my doublet as freſh as the firſt day I wore it? I mean, in a ſort.

Ant. That ſort was well fiſh'd for.

Gon. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage?

Alon. You cram theſe words into mine ears, againſt
The ſtomach of my ſenſe [8]: 'Would I had never
Marry'd my daughter there! for, coming thence,
My ſon is loſt; and, in my rate, ſhe too,
Who is ſo far from Italy remov'd,
I ne'er again ſhall ſee her. O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what ſtrange fiſh
Hath made his meal on thee!

Fran. Sir, he may live;

7 —*the miraculous harp.*] Alluding to the wonders of Amphion's muſick. STEEVENS.

8 *The ſtomach of my* ſenſe:] By *ſenſe*, I believe is meant both *reaſon* and *natural affection*. So, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*:

"Againſt all *ſenſe* do you importune her." STEEVENS.

I ſaw

I ſaw him beat the ſurges under him,
And ride upon their backs; he trod the water,
Whoſe enmity he flung aſide, and breaſted
The ſurge moſt ſwoln that met him: his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
Himſelf with his good arms in luſty ſtroke
To the ſhore, that o'er his wave-worn baſis bow'd,
As ſtooping to relieve him: I not doubt,
He came alive to land.

Alon. No, no, he's gone.

Seb. Sir, you may thank yourſelf for this great loſs;
That would not bleſs our Europe with your daughter,
But rather loſe her to an African;
Where ſhe, at leaſt, is baniſh'd from your eye,
Who hath cauſe to wet the grief on't.

Alon Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. You were kneel'd to, and impórtun'd otherwiſe
By all of us; and the fair ſoul herſelf
Weigh'd, between lothneſs and obedience, at
Which end o' the beam ſhe'd bow [9]. We have loſt your ſon,
I fear, for ever: Milan and Naples have
More widows in them of this buſineſs' making,
Than we bring men to comfort them [1]: the fault's
Your own.

9 Weigh'd, *between lothneſs and obedience, at Which end o' the beam* ſhe'd *bow.*] *Weigh'd* means *deliberated.* It is uſed in nearly the ſame ſenſe in *Love's Labour's loſt* and in *Hamlet.* The old copy reads — *ſhould* bow. *Should* was probably an abbreviation of *ſhe would,* the mark of eliſion being inadvertently omitted [*ſho'uld*]. Thus *be bas* is frequently exhibited in the firſt folio — *b'as.* Mr. Pope corrected the paſſage thus: "at which end the beam ſhould bow." But omiſſion of any word in the old copy, without ſubſtituting another in it's place, is ſeldom ſafe, except in thoſe inſtances where the repeated word appears to have been caught by the compoſitor's eye glancing on the line above, or below, or where a word is printed twice in the ſame line. MALONE.

1 *Than we bring men to comfort them:*] It does not clearly appear whether the king and theſe lords thought the ſhip loſt. This paſſage ſeems to imply, that they were themſelves confident of returning, but imagined part of the fleet deſtroyed. Why, indeed, ſhould Sebaſtian plot againſt his brother in the following ſcene, unleſs he knew how to find the kingdom which he was to inherit? JOHNSON.

Alon. So is the dearest o' the loss.
Gon. My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in: you rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaister.
Seb. Very well.
Ant. And most chirurgeonly.
Gon. It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.
Seb. Foul weather?
Ant. Very foul.
Gon. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—
Ant. He'd sow it with nettle-seed.
Seb. Or docks, or mallows.
Gon. And were the king of it, What would I do?
Seb. 'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.
Gon. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things: for no kind of traffick
Would I admit; no name of magistrate [2];

Letters

[2] ——— ——— *for* no kind of traffick
Would I admit; no name of magistrate; *&c.*] Our author has here closely followed a passage in Montaigne's ESSAIES, translated by John Florio, folio, 1603: "It is a nation, (would I answer Plato,) "that hath *no kind of traffick, no knowledge of letters*, no intelligence of "numbers, *no name of magistrate*, nor of *politick superiority*; *no use of* "*service, of riches*, or *of povertie*; *no contracts, no successions, no par-* "*titions*; *no occupation, but idle*; no respect of kindred, but common; "no apparel but natural; *no use of wine, corne, or metal.* The very "words that import lying, falsehood, *treason*, dissimulations, covetous- "ness, envie, detraction and pardon, were never heard amongst them." This passage was pointed out by Mr. Capell, who knew so little of his author as to suppose that Shakspeare had the original French before him, though he has almost literally followed Florio's translation.

Montaigne is here speaking of a *newly discovered country* which he calls "Antartick France." In the page preceding that already quoted are these words: "The other testimonie of antiquitie to which some "will refer the *discoverie* is in Aristotle, (if at least that little book of "unheard-of wonders be his,) where he reporteth that certain Cartha- "ginians having sailed athwart the Atlantick sea, without the strait of "Gibraltar, discovered a great fertile ISLAND, all replenished with "goodly woods, and deep rivers, farre distant from any land."

Whoever shall take the trouble to turn to the old translation here quoted, will, I think, be of opinion that, in whatsoever novel our author might

Letters ſhould not be known; riches, poverty,
And uſe of ſervice, none; contract, ſucceſſion,
Bourn, bound of land [3], tilth, vineyard, none [4]:
No uſe of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too; but innocent and pure:
No ſovereignty:—

Seb. And yet he would be king on't.

Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

Gon. All things in common nature ſhould produce
Without ſweat or endeavour: treaſon, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine [5],
Would

might have found the *fable* of *the Tempeſt*, he was led by the peruſal of this book to make the *ſcene* of it an unfrequented iſland. The title of the chapter, which is—"*Of the Canniballes*," evidently furniſhed him with the name of one of his characters. In his time almoſt every proper name was twiſted into an anagram. Thus, "*I moyl in law*," was the anagram of the laborious William Noy, Attorney General to Charles I. By inverting this proceſs, and tranſpoſing the letters of the word *Canibal*, Shakſpeare (as Dr. Farmer long ſince obſerved) formed the name of *Caliban*. MALONE.

3 Bourn, *bound of land*, &c.] *A bourn*, in this place, ſignifies a *limit*, a *meer*, a *land-mark*. STEEVENS.

4 *And uſe of ſervice, none; contract, ſucceſſion,*
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none:] The defective metre of the ſecond of theſe lines affords a ground for believing that ſome word was omitted at the preſs. Many of the defects however in our author's metre have ariſen from the words of one line being transferred to another. In the preſent inſtance the preceding line is redundant. Perhaps the words here, as in many other paſſages, have been ſhuffled out of their places. We might read—

And uſe of ſervice, none; ſucceſſion,
Contract, bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.

ſucceſſion being often uſed by Shakſpeare as a quadriſyllable. It muſt however be owned, that in the paſſage in Montaigne's Eſſays the words *contract* and *ſucceſſion* are arranged in the ſame manner as in the firſt folio.

If the error did not happen in this way, *bourn* might have been uſed as a diſſyllable, and the word omitted at the preſs might have been *none*:

———contract, ſucceſſion,
None; bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none. MALONE.

5 —*any* engine,] An *engine* is the *rack*. So, in *K. Lear*:

"—like an *engine*, wrench'd my frame of nature
"From the fix'd place."

Would I not have; but nature ſhould bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foizon [6], all abundance,
To feed my innocent people [7].

Seb. No marrying 'mong his ſubjects?

Ant. None, man: all idle; whores, and knaves.

Gon. I would with ſuch perfection govern, ſir,
To excell the golden age [8].

Seb. 'Save his majeſty!

Ant. Long live Gonzalo!

Gon. And, do you mark me, ſir?—

Alon. Pr'ythee, no more; thou doſt talk nothing to me.

Gon. I do well believe your highneſs; and did it to miniſter occaſion to theſe gentlemen, who are of ſuch ſenſible and nimble lungs, that they always uſe to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

Gon. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you: ſo you may continue, and laugh at nothing ſtill.

Ant. What a blow was there given?

Seb. An it had not fallen flat-long.

Gon. You are gentlemen of brave mettle [9]; you would

It may, however, be uſed here in its common ſignification of inſtrument of war, or military machine. STEEVENS.

6 —*all foizon,*] *Foiſon* or *Foizon* ſignifies plenty, *ubertas.* EDWARDS.

7 ——————nature *ſhould bring forth,*
Of its own kind, all foiſon, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.] "And if notwithſtanding, in di-
"vers fruits of thoſe countries that were never tilled, we ſhall find
"that in reſpect of our's they are moſt excellent, and as delicate unto
"our taſte, there is no reaſon Art ſhould gain the point of our great
"and puiſſant mother, *Nature.*" Montaigne's *Eſſaies*, ubi ſup. MALONE.

8 *I would with ſuch perfection govern, ſir,*
To excell the golden age.] So Montaigne, ubi ſupra: "Me ſeemeth
"that what in thoſe [newly diſcovered] nations we ſee by experience,
"doth not only EXCEED *all the fictures wherewith licentious poeſie hath*
"*proudly imbelliſhed the* GOLDEN AGE, and all her quaint inventions
"to fain a happy condition of man, but alſo the conception and deſire
"of philoſophy." MALONE.

9 —*of brave* mettle;] The old copy has—*metal.* The two words are frequently confounded in the firſt folio. The epithet, *brave*, ſhews clearly, that the word now placed in the text was intended by our author. MALONE.

lift

lift the moon out of her ſphere, if ſhe would continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL *inviſible, playing ſolemn muſick.*

Seb. We would ſo, and then go a bat-fowling.

Ant. Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

Gon. No, I warrant you; I will not adventure my diſcretion ſo weakly. Will you laugh me aſleep, for I am very heavy?

Ant. Go ſleep, and hear us.

[*All ſleep but* ALON. SEB. *and* ANT.

Alon. What, all ſo ſoon aſleep! I wiſh mine eyes
Would, with themſelves, ſhut up my thoughts: I find,
They are inclin'd to do ſo.

Seb. Pleaſe you, ſir,
Do not omit the heavy offer of it:
It ſeldom viſits ſorrow; when it doth,
It is a comforter.

Ant. We two, my lord,
Will guard your perſon, while you take your reſt,
And watch your ſafety.

Alon. Thank you: Wond'rous heavy.—

[Alonſo *ſleeps.* *Exit* ARIEL.

Seb. What a ſtrange drowſineſs poſſeſſes them?

Ant. It is the quality o' the climate.

Seb. Why
Doth it not then our eye-lids ſink? I find not
Myſelf diſpos'd to ſleep.

Ant. Nor I; my ſpirits are nimble.
They fell together all, as by conſent;
They dropp'd, as by a thunder-ſtroke. What might,
Worthy Sebaſtian?—o, what might?—No more:—
And yet, methinks, I ſee it in thy face,
What thou ſhould'ſt be: the occaſion ſpeaks thee; and
My ſtrong imagination ſees a crown
Dropping upon thy head.

Seb. What, art thou waking?

Ant. Do you not hear me ſpeak?

Seb. I do; and, ſurely,
It is a ſleepy language; and thou ſpeak'ſt

Out

Out of thy ſleep: What is it thou did'ſt ſay?
This is a ſtrange repoſe, to be aſleep
With eyes wide open; ſtanding, ſpeaking, moving,
And yet ſo faſt aſleep.

Ant. Noble Sebaſtian,
Thou let'ſt thy fortune ſleep, die rather; wink'ſt
Whiles thou art waking.

Seb. Thou doſt ſnore diſtinctly;
There's meaning in thy ſnores.

Ant. I am more ſerious than my cuſtom: you
Muſt be ſo too, if heed me; which to do,
Trebles thee o'er[1].

Seb. Well; I am ſtanding water.

Ant. I'll teach you how to flow.

Seb. Do ſo: to ebb,
Hereditary ſloth inſtructs me.

Ant. O,
If you but knew, how you the purpoſe cheriſh,
Whilſt thus you mock it! how, in ſtripping it,
You more inveſt it! Ebbing men, indeed,
Moſt often do ſo near the bottom run,
By their own fear, or ſloth.

Seb. Pr'ythee, ſay on:
The ſetting of thine eye, and cheek, proclaim
A matter from thee; and a birth, indeed,
Which throes thee much to yield.

Ant. Thus, ſir:

[1] *I am more ſerious than my cuſtom; you*
Muſt be ſo too, if heed me; which to do
Trebles thee o'er.] You muſt put on more than your uſual ſeriouſneſs, if you are diſpoſed to pay a proper attention to my propoſal; which attention if you beſtow, it will in the end make you *thrice what you are*. Sebaſtian is already brother to the throne; but being made a king by Anthonio's contrivance, would be (according to our author's idea of greatneſs) *thrice* the man he was before. In this ſenſe he would be *trebled* o'er. So, in *Pericles*, 1609:

" ——— the maſter calls,
" And *trebles* the confuſion." STEEVENS.

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice*:

" ——— Yet, for you,
" I would be *trebled* twenty times myſelf." MALONE.

Although

Although this lord of weak remembrance [2], this,
(Who ſhall be of as little memory,
When he is earth'd,) hath here almoſt perſuaded
(For he's a ſpirit of perſuaſion, only
Profeſſes to perſuade[3],) the king, his ſon's alive;
'Tis as impoſſible that he's undrown'd,
As he, that ſleeps here, ſwims.

Seb. I have no hope
That he's undrown'd.

Ant. O, out of that no hope,
What great hope have you! no hope, that way, is
Another way ſo high an hope, that even
Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond [4],
But doubts diſcovery there. Will you grant, with me,
That Ferdinand is drown'd?

Seb. He's gone.

Ant. Then, tell me,
Who's the next heir of Naples?

Seb. Claribel.

Ant. She that is queen of Tunis; ſhe that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life; ſhe that from Naples
Can have no note [5], unleſs the ſun were poſt,

[2] — *this lord of weak remembrance,*] This lord, who, being now in his dotage, has outlived his faculty of remembering; and who, once laid in the ground, ſhall be as little remembered himſelf, as he can now remember other things. JOHNSON.

[3] *(For he's a ſpirit of perſuaſion, only*
Profeſſes to perſuade,)] He is one who profeſſes the art of perſuaſion, and profeſſes nothing elſe. STEEVENS.

[4] —*a wink beyond,*] That this is the utmoſt extent of the proſpect of ambition, the point where the eye can paſs no farther, and where objects loſe their diſtinctneſs, ſo that what is there diſcovered is faint, obſcure, and doubtful. JOHNSON.

[5] ——*ſhe that from Naples*
Can have no note, &c.] *Note* is notice, or information. MALONE.
Shakſpeare's great ignorance of geography is not more conſpicuous in any inſtance than in this, where he ſuppoſes Tunis and Naples to have been at ſuch an immeaſurable diſtance from each other. He may however be countenanced by *Apollonius Rhodius*, who ſays, that both the *Rhone* and *Po* meet in one, and diſcharge themſelves into the gulph of *Venice*; and by *Æſchylus*, who has placed the river *Eridanus* in *Spain*. STEEVENS.

(The

(The man i' the moon's too ſlow,) till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable; ſhe, from whom [6]
We all were ſea-ſwallow'd, though ſome caſt again [7];
And, by that deſtiny [8], to perform an act,
Whereof what's paſt is prologue; what to come,
In yours, and my diſcharge [9].

Seb. What ſtuff is this?—How ſay you?
'Tis true, my brother's daughter's queen of Tunis;
So is ſhe heir of Naples; 'twixt which regions
There is ſome ſpace.

Ant. A ſpace whoſe every cubit
Seems to cry out, *How ſhall that Claribel*
Meaſure us back to Naples?—Keep in Tunis [1],
And let Sebaſtian wake!—Say, this were death
That now hath ſeiz'd them; why, they were no worſe
Than now they are: There be, that can rule Naples,
As well as he that ſleeps; lords, that can prate
As amply, and unneceſſarily,
As this Gonzalo; I myſelf could make
A chough [2] of as deep chat. O, that you bore
The mind that I do! what a ſleep were this
For your advancement? Do you underſtand me?

Seb. Methinks, I do.

Ant. And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?

Seb. I remember,

[6] —*ſhe, from whom*] i. e. in coming from whom. The old copy has—ſhe *that* from &c; which cannot be right. The compoſitor's eye probably glanced on a preceding line, "*ſhe that* from Naples—". The emendation was made by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

[7] — *though ſome* caſt *again*;] *Caſt* is here uſed in the ſame ſenſe as in *Macbeth*, Act II. ſc. iii.—"though he took my legs from me, I made a ſhift to *caſt* him." STEEVENS.

[8] *And, by that* deſtiny,] It is a common plea of wickedneſs to call temptation deſtiny. JOHNSON.

[9] *In yours, and my diſcharge.*] i. e. Depends on what you and I are to perform. STEEVENS.

[1] —*Keep in Tunis,*] *Claribel*, (ſays he) *keep where thou art, and allow Sebaſtian time to awaken thoſe ſenſes, by the help of which he may perceive the advantage which now preſents itſelf.* STEEVENS.

[2] A *chough* is a bird of the jack-daw kind. STEEVENS.

You

You did ſupplant your brother Proſpero.

Ant. True:
And, look, how well my garments ſit upon me;
Much feater than before: My brother's ſervants
Were then my fellows, now they are my men.

Seb. But, for your conſcience—

Ant. Ay, ſir; where lies that? if it were a kybe,
'Twould put me to my ſlipper; but I feel not
This deity in my boſom: twenty conſciences,
That ſtand 'twixt me and Milan, candy'd be they,
And melt, ere they moleſt [3]! Here lies your brother,
No better than the earth he lies upon,
If he were that which now he's like, that's, dead [4];
Whom I with this obedient ſteel, three inches of it,
Can lay to bed for ever: whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye [5] might put
This ancient morſel [6], this ſir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our courſe. For all the reſt,
They'll take ſuggeſtion [7], as a cat laps milk;
They'll tell the clock to any buſineſs that
We ſay befits the hour.

Seb. Thy caſe, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent; as thou got'ſt Milan,
I'll come by Naples. Draw thy ſword: one ſtroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'ſt;
And I the king ſhall love thee.

3 ——*candy'd be they,*
And melt, ere they moleſt!] i. e. Let twenty conſciences be firſt congealed, and then diſſolved, ere they moleſt me, or prevent me from executing my purpoſes. MALONE.

4 — *that's,* dead;] *That's* is not here uſed for *who is,* but (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) for "*id eſt.*" *If he were that which now he's like,* that is to ſay, *dead.* MALONE.

5 —for *aye*]—i. e. for ever. STEEVENS.

6 *This ancient morſel,*] So we ſay a *piece of a man.* JOHNSON.
So, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*:
"How doth my dear *morſel,* thy miſtreſs?" STEEVENS.
So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:
"——I found thee as a *morſel* cold,
"Upon dead Cæſar's trencher." MALONE.

7 —*take ſuggeſtion,*] i. e. receive any hint of villainy. JOHNSON.

Ant.

Ant. Draw together:
And when I rear my hand, do you the like,
To fall it on Gonzalo.

Seb. O, but one word. [*They converſe apart.*

Muſick. Re-enter ARIEL *inviſible.*

Ari. My maſter through his art foreſees the danger
That you, his friend, are in; and ſends me forth,
For elſe his project dies, to keep them living [z].

[*Sings in* Gonzalo's *ear.*

While you here do ſnoring lie,
Open-ey'd conſpiracy
His time doth take:
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off ſlumber, and beware:
Awake! awake!

Ant. Then let us both be ſudden.

Gon. Now, good angels, preſerve the king! [*They wake.*

Alon.

[z] —*to keep* them *living.*] By *them*, as the text now ſtands, Gonzalo and Alonzo muſt be underſtood. Dr. Johnſon objects very juſtly to this paſſage. "As it ſtands, ſays he, at preſent, the ſenſe is this. He ſees *your* danger, and will therefore ſave *them.*" He therefore would read —"That *theſe* his friends are in."

The confuſion has, I think, ariſen from the omiſſion of a ſingle letter. Our author, I believe, wrote

——— and ſends me forth,
For elſe his projects dies, to keep them living.

i. e. he has ſent me forth, to keep his projects alive, which elſe would be deſtroyed by the murder of his friend Gonzalo.—The oppoſition between the life and death of a project appears to me much in Shakſpeare's manner. So, in *Much ado about nothing*: What *life* is in that, to be the *death* of this marriage?"—The plural noun joined to a verb in the ſingular number is to be met with in almoſt every page of the firſt folio. So, to confine myſelf to the play before us, edit. 1623:

"My old *bones akes.*"

Again, *ibid:*

——"At this hour
"*Lies* at my mercy all my *enemies.*"

Again, *ibid:*

"His *tears runs* down his beard—."

Again: "What *cares* theſe *roarers* for the name of the king?"

It was the common language of the time; and ought to be corrected, as indeed it generally has been in the modern editions of our author, by

Alon. Why, how now, ho! awake! Why are you drawn [9]?
Wherefore this ghaſtly looking?
Gon. What's the matter?
Seb. Whiles we ſtood here ſecuring your repoſe,
Even now, we heard a hollow burſt of bellowing
Like bulls, or rather lions; did it not wake you?
It ſtruck mine ear moſt terribly.
Alon. I heard nothing.
Ant. O, 'twas a din to fright a monſter's ear;
To make an earthquake! ſure, it was the roar
Of a whole herd of lions.
Alon. Heard you this, Gonzalo?
Gon. Upon mine honour, ſir, I heard a humming,
And that a ſtrange one too, which did awake me:
I ſhak'd you, ſir, and cry'd; as mine eyes open'd,
I ſaw their weapons drawn:—there was a noiſe,
That's verity [1]: 'Tis beſt we ſtand upon our guard;
Or that we quit this place: let's draw our weapons.
Alon. Lead off this ground: and let's make further ſearch
For my poor ſon.
Gon. Heavens keep him from theſe beaſts!
For he is, ſure, i' the iſland.
Alon. Lead away.
Ari. Proſpero my lord ſhall know what I have done:
So, king, go ſafely on to ſeek thy ſon. [*Aſide.*] [*Exeunt.*

by changing the number of the verb. Thus, in the preſent inſtance we ſhould read—For elſe his projects *die*, &c. MALONE.

9 —*drawn?*] Having your ſwords drawn. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"What, art thou *drawn* among theſe heartleſs hinds?"
JOHNSON.

1 *That's* verity:] The old copy reads, that's *verily*. STEEVENS.
The emendation was made by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

SCENE

SCENE II.

Another part of the iſland.

Enter CALIBAN *with a burden of wood: A noiſe of thunder heard.*

Cal. All the infections that the ſun ſucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Proſper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a diſeaſe! His ſpirits hear me,
And yet I needs muſt curſe. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin ſhows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a fire-brand, in the dark
Out of my way, unleſs he bid 'em; but
For every trifle are they ſet upon me;
Sometime like apes, that moe [2] and chatter at me,
And after, bite me; then like hedge-hogs, which
Lie tumbling in my bare-foot way, and mount
Their pricks at my foot-fall; ſometime am I
All wound with adders [3], who, with cloven tongues,
Do hiſs me into madneſs:—Lo! now! lo!

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a ſpirit of his; and to torment me,
For bringing wood in ſlowly: I'll fall flat;
Perchance, he will not mind me.

Trin. Here's neither buſh nor ſhrub, to bear off any weather at all, and another ſtorm brewing; I hear it ſing i' the wind: yond' ſame black cloud, yond' huge one, looks like a foul bumbard [4] that would ſhed his liquor. If it ſhould thunder, as it did before, I know not where to hide my head: yond' ſame cloud cannot chooſe but fall by pailfuls.—What have we here? a man or a fiſh? Dead or alive? A fiſh: he ſmells like a fiſh; a very antient and fiſh-like ſmell; a kind of, not of the neweſt,

[2] —*that moe*] i. e. Make mouths. STEEVENS.

[3] —*wound* with adders,] Enwrapped by adders *wound* or twiſted about me. JOHNSON.

[4] — *a foul* bumbard—] A large veſſel for holding drink. THEOBALD.
Mr. Upton would read —a *full* bombard. See a note on—"I thank the Gods, I am *foul*;" *As you like it*, Act. III. ſc. iii. MALONE.

Poor-

Poor-John. A ſtrange fiſh! Were I in England now, (as once I was,) and had but this fiſh painted [5], not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of ſilver: there would this monſter make a man [6]; any ſtrange beaſt there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to ſee a dead Indian [7]. Legg'd like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let looſe my opinion, hold it no longer; this is no fiſh, but an iſlander, that hath lately ſuffer'd by a thunder-bolt. [*Thunder.*] Alas! the ſtorm is come again: my beſt way is to creep under his gaberdine [8]; there is no other ſhelter hereabout: Miſery acquaints a man with ſtrange bedfellows: I will here ſhroud, till the dregs of the ſtorm be paſt.

Enter STEPHANO, *ſinging; a bottle in his hand.*

Ste. *I ſhall no more to ſea, to ſea,*
Here ſhall I die a-ſhore;—
This is a very ſcurvy tune to ſing at a man's funeral: Well, here's my comfort. [*drinks.*

The maſter, the ſwabber, the boatſwain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Lov'd Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us car'd for Kate:

For

5 —*this fiſh painted,*] To exhibit fiſhes, either real or imaginary, was very common about the time of our author. STEEVENS.

6 —*make a man;*] That is, make a man's fortune. So, in *Midſummer Night's Dream*:—"we are all *made men.*" JOHNSON.

7 —*a dead Indian.*] And afterwards—*Men of Inde.* Probably ſome alluſion to a particular occurrence, now obſcured by time. In *Henry* VIII. the *porter* aſks the mob, if they think—*ſome ſtrange Indian* &c. *is come to court.*—In the year 1577 was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, "A deſcription of the purtrayture and ſhape of "thoſe ſtrange kinde of people whiche the wurthie Mr. Martin Four-"boſier brought into England in A°. 1576." STEEVENS.

8 —*his gaberdine;*] A *gaberdine* is properly the coarſe frock or outward garment of a peaſant. *Gabardina*, Spaniſh. The *gaberdine* is ſtill worn by the peaſants in Suſſex. STEEVENS.

It here however means, I believe, a looſe felt cloak. Minſheu in his DICT. 1617, calls it "a rough Iriſh mantle, or horſeman's coat. *Gaban*, Span. and Fr.—Læna, *i. e.* veſtis quæ ſuper cætera

For ſhe had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a ſailor, Go, hang:
She lov'd not the ſavour of tar nor of pitch,
Yet a tailor might ſcratch her where-e'er ſhe did itch:
Then to ſea, boys, and let her go hang.

This is a ſcurvy tune too: But here's my comfort. [*drinks.*

Cal. Do not torment me: Oh!

Ste. What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon us with ſavages, and men of Inde? Ha! I have not 'ſcap'd drowning, to be afeard now of your four legs; for it hath been ſaid, As proper a man as ever went upon four legs cannot make him give ground: and it ſhall be ſaid ſo again, while Stephano breathes at noſtrils.

Cal. The ſpirit torments me: Oh!

Ste. This is ſome monſter of the iſle, with four legs; who hath got, as I take it, an ague: Where the devil ſhould he learn our language? I will give him ſome relief, if it be but for that: If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a preſent for any emperor that ever trod on neats-leather.

Cal. Do not torment me, pr'ythee; I'll bring my wood home faſter.

Ste. He's in his fit now; and does not talk after the wiſeſt: He ſhall taſte of my bottle: if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit: if I can recover him, and keep him tame, I will not take too much [9] for him; he ſhall pay for him that hath him, and that ſoundly.

Cal. Thou doſt me yet but little hurt; thou wilt anon,

veſtimenta imponebatur." See alſo Cotgrave's DICT: in v. *gaban*, and *galleverdine*. MALONE.

9 —*too much*—] *Too much* means *any ſum, ever ſo much*. It has, however, been obſerved to me that when the vulgar mean to aſk an extravagant price for any thing, they ſay with a laugh, I won't make him pay twice for it. This ſenſe ſufficiently accommodates itſelf to Trinculo's expreſſion. STEEVENS.

I think the meaning is, Let me take what ſum I will, however great, *I ſhall not take too much for him*: it is impoſſible for me to ſell him too dear. MALONE.

I know

I know it by thy trembling [1]: Now Proſper works upon thee.

Ste. Come on your ways; open your mouth; here is that which will give language to you, cat [2]; open your mouth: this will ſhake your ſhaking, I can tell you, and that ſoundly: you cannot tell who's your friend; open your chaps again.

Trin. I ſhould know that voice: It ſhould be—But he is drown'd; and theſe are devils: O! defend me!

Ste. Four legs, and two voices; a moſt delicate monſter! His forward voice [3] now is to ſpeak well of his friend; his backward voice is to utter foul ſpeeches, and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague: Come,—Amen [4]! I will pour ſome in thy other mouth.

Trin. Stephano,—

Ste. Doth thy other mouth call me? Mercy! mercy! This is a devil, and no monſter: I will leave him; I have no long ſpoon [5].

Trin. Stephano!—if thou beeſt Stephano, touch me, and ſpeak to me; for I am Trinculo;—be not afeard,—thy good friend Trinculo.

Ste. If thou beeſt Trinculo, come forth; I'll pull thee by the leſſer legs: if any be Trinculo's legs, theſe are they. Thou art very Trinculo, indeed: How cam'ſt thou to be

[1] —*I know it by thy trembling:*] This *tremor* is always repreſented as the effect of being poſſeſs'd by the devil. So, in the *Comedy of Errors:*

"Mark how he *trembles* in his ecſtacy!" STEEVENS.

[2] ——*cat*;] Alluding to an old proverb, that *good liquor will make a cat ſpeak.* STEEVENS.

[3] *His forward voice* &c.] The perſon of Fame was anciently deſcribed in this manner. STEEVENS.

[4] —*Amen!*] Means, ſtop your draught; come to a concluſion. *I will pour ſome* &c. STEEVENS.

[5] *I have no long ſpoon.*] Alluding to the proverb, *A long ſpoon to eat with the devil.* STEEVENS.

See *Com. of Errors*, act IV. ſc. iii. and Chaucer's *Squier's Tale*, ver. 10916 of the late edit.

"Therefore behoveth him a ful long ſpone,
That ſhall ete with a fend." TYRWHITT.

the ſiege of this moon-calf [6]? Can he vent Trinculos?

Trin. I took him to be kill'd with a thunder-ſtroke: —But art thou not drown'd, Stephano? I hope now, thou art not drown'd. Is the ſtorm over-blown? I hid me under the dead moon-calf's gaberdine, for fear of the ſtorm: And art thou living, Stephano? O Stephano, two Neapolitans 'ſcap'd!

Ste. Pr'ythee, do not turn me about; my ſtomach is not conſtant.

Cal. Theſe be fine things, an if they be not ſprights. That's a brave god, and bears celeſtial liquor: I will kneel to him.

Ste. How did'ſt thou 'ſcape? How cam'ſt thou hither? ſwear by this bottle, how thou cam'ſt hither. I eſcap'd upon a butt of ſack, which the ſailors heav'd over-board, by this bottle! which I made of the bark of a tree, with mine own hands, ſince I was caſt a-ſhore.

Cal. I'll ſwear, upon that bottle, to be thy true ſubject; for the liquor is not earthly.

Ste. Here; ſwear then how thou eſcap'dſt.

Trin. Swam a-ſhore, man, like a duck; I can ſwim [7] like a duck, I'll be ſworn.

Ste. Here, kiſs the book: Though thou can'ſt ſwim like a duck, thou art made like a gooſe.

Trin. O Stephano, haſt any more of this?

Ste. The whole butt, man; my cellar is in a rock by the ſea-ſide, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf? how does thine ague?

Cal. Haſt thou not dropp'd from Heaven [8]?

Ste. Out o' the moon, I do aſſure thee: I was the man in the moon, when time was.

[6] —*to be the* ſiege *of this moon-calf?*] *Siege* ſignifies *ſtool* in every ſenſe of the word, and is here uſed in the dirtieſt. A *moon-calf* is an inanimate ſhapeleſs maſs, ſuppoſed by Pliny to be engendered of woman only. See his Nat. Hiſt. b. x. ch. 64. STEEVENS.

[7] I *can ſwim*—] I believe Trinculo is ſpeaking of Caliban, and that we ſhould read—"'a can ſwim" &c. See the next ſpeech. MALONE.

[8] *Haſt thou not dropp'd from heaven?*] The new-diſcovered Indians of the Iſland of St. Salvador aſked, by ſigns, whether Columbus and his companions *were not come down from heaven.* TOLLET.

Cal.

Cal. I have ſeen thee in her, and I do adore thee: my miſtreſs ſhew'd me thee, and thy dog, and thy buſh.

Ste. Come, ſwear to that; kiſs the book: I will furniſh it anon with new contents: ſwear.

Trin. By this good light this is a very ſhallow monſter:—I afeard of him?—a very weak monſter [9]:—The man i' the moon?—a moſt poor credulous monſter:—Well drawn, monſter, in good ſooth.

Cal. I'll ſhew thee every fertile inch o' the iſland;
And I will kiſs thy foot [1]: I pr'ythee, be my god.

Trin. By this light, a moſt perfidious and drunken monſter; when his god's aſleep, he'll rob his bottle.

Cal. I'll kiſs thy foot: I'll ſwear myſelf thy ſubject.

Ste. Come on then; down, and ſwear.

Trin. I ſhall laugh myſelf to death at this puppy-headed monſter: A moſt ſcurvy monſter! I could find in my heart to beat him,—

Ste. Come, kiſs.

Trin. —but that the poor monſter's in drink: An abominable monſter!

Cal. I'll ſhew thee the beſt ſprings; I'll pluck thee berries;
I'll fiſh for thee, and get thee wood enough.
A plague upon the tyrant that I ſerve!
I'll bear him no more ſticks, but follow thee,
Thou wond'rous man.

Trin. A moſt ridiculous monſter; to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.

Cal. I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;
Shew thee a jay's neſt, and inſtruct thee how
To ſnare the nimble marmozet; I'll bring thee
To cluſt'ring filberds, and ſometimes I'll get thee
Young ſea-mels [2] from the rock: Wilt thou go with me?

Ste.

9 *I afeard of him?—a very weak monſter:*] It is to be obſerved, that Trinculo the ſpeaker is not charged with being afraid; but it was his conſciouſneſs that drew this brag from him. This is nature. WARBURTON.

1 —*kiſs thy foot:*] A ſneer upon the papiſts for kiſſing the Pope's pantofle. GREY.

2 *Young* ſea-mels—] The old copy reads—*ſcamels*. Mr. Holt aſſerted that *limpets* are in ſome places called *ſcams*. But not having found the

Ste. I pr'ythee now, lead the way, without any more talking.—Trinculo, the king and all our company elſe being drown'd, we will inherit here.—Here; bear my bottle! Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

Cal. *Farewell maſter; farewell, farewell.*
[*Sings drunkenly.*]

Trin. A howling monſter; a drunken monſter.

Cal. *No more dams I'll make for fiſh;*
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring,
Nor ſcrape trencbering[3], *nor waſh diſh;*
'Ban, 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,
Has a new maſter—Get a new man.

Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom, hey-day, freedom!

Ste. O brave monſter! lead the way. [*Exeunt.*

word *ſcamel* in any ancient Engliſh book, I have adopted the emendation propoſed by Mr. Theobald. Mr. Steevens's obſervation on the epithet "*young*" appears to me deciſive. In Lincolnſhire, as I learn from Sir Joſeph Banks, the name *ſea-mall* is applied to all the ſmaller ſpecies of gulls. Plott, the ſame gentleman adds, in his *Hiſtory of Staffordſhire*, p. 231, gives an account of the mode of taking a ſpecies of gull, called in that country Pewits, (the black-capped gull of Lincolnſhire) with a plate annexed, at the end of which he writes,—"they being accounted a good diſh at the moſt plentiful tables." MALONE.

Theobald very reaſonably propoſed to read *ſea-mails*, or *ſea-mells*. An e by theſe careleſs printers was eaſily changed into a c, and from this accident, I believe, all the difficulty ariſes, the word having been ſpelt by the tranſcriber *ſea-mels*. Willoughby mentions the bird, as Theobald informs us [*larus cinereus minor*].—Had Mr. Holt told us in what part of England limpets are called *ſcams*, more attention would have been paid to his aſſertion.

I ſhould ſuppoſe, at all events, a *bird* to have been deſign'd, as *young* and *old fiſh* are taken with equal facility; but *young birds* are more eaſily ſurpriſed than *old ones*. Beſides, Caliban had already proffered to *fiſh* for Trinculo. In Cavendiſh's ſecond voyage, the ſailors eat *young gulls* at the iſle of Penguins. STEEVENS.

3 *Nor ſcrape* trenchering,] In our author's time trenchers were in general uſe; and male domeſticks were ſometimes employed in cleanſing them. "I have helped (ſays Lilly in his *Hiſtory of his life and times*, ad an. 1620,) to carry eighteen tubs of water in one morning;—all manner of drudgery I willingly performed; *ſcrape trenchers*, &c". MALONE.

ACT

ACT III. SCENE I.

Before Proſpero's *Cell.*

Enter FERDINAND, *bearing a log.*

Fer. There be ſome ſports are painful [4]; and their labour
Delight in them ſets off [5]: ſome kinds of baſeneſs
Are nobly undergone; and moſt poor matters
Point to rich ends. This my mean taſk would be [5]
As heavy to me, as odious; but
The miſtreſs, which I ſerve, quickens what's dead,
And makes my labours pleaſures: O, ſhe is
Ten times more gentle, than her father's crabbed;
And he's compoſed of harſhneſs. I muſt remove
Some thouſands of theſe logs, and pile them up,
Upon a ſore injunction: My ſweet miſtreſs
Weeps when ſhe ſees me work; and ſays, ſuch baſeneſs
Had ne'er like executor. I forget [6]:
But theſe ſweet thoughts do even refreſh my labours;
Moſt buſy-leſs, when I do it [7].

4 *There be ſome ſports are* painful; *and their* labour
Delight *in them ſets off*:]
Molliter auſterum ſtudio fallente laborem.
Hor. ſat. 2. lib. ii. STEEVENS.

We have again the ſame thought in *Macbeth*:
"The *labour* we *delight* in phyſicks *pain*."

After "and," *at the ſame time* muſt be underſtood. Mr. Pope, unneceſſarily, reads—"*But* their labour—," which has been followed by the ſubſequent editors. MALONE.

5 *This my mean taſk* would be] The metre of this line is defective in the old copy, by the words *would be* being transferred to the next line. Our author and his contemporaries generally uſe *odious* as a triſyllable. MALONE.

6 *I forget*:] Perhaps Ferdinand means to ſay—I forget *my taſk*; but *that is not ſurpriſing, for I am thinking on Miranda, and* theſe ſweet thoughts &c. He may however mean, that he *forgets or thinks little of the baſeneſs of his employment*. Whichſoever be the ſenſe, *And*, or *For*, ſhould ſeem more proper in the next line, than *But*. MALONE.

7 *Moſt buſy-leſs, when I do it.*] The old copy has—buſy *leſt*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

Enter MIRANDA; *and* PROSPERO *at a diſtance.*

Mira. Alas, now! pray you,
Work not ſo hard: I would, the lightning had
Burnt up thoſe logs, that you are enjoin'd to pile!
Pray, ſet it down, and reſt you: when this burns,
'Twill weep for having weary'd you: My father
Is hard at ſtudy; pray now, reſt yourſelf;
He's ſafe for theſe three hours.
Fer. O moſt dear miſtreſs,
The ſun will ſet before I ſhall diſcharge
What I muſt ſtrive to do.
Mira. If you'll ſit down,
I'll bear your logs the while: Pray, give me that;
I'll carry it to the pile.
Fer. No, precious creature:
I had rather crack my ſinews, break my back,
Than you ſhould ſuch diſhonour undergo,
While I ſit lazy by.
Mira. It would become me
As well as it does you: and I ſhould do it
With much more eaſe; for my good will is to it,
And yours it is againſt [8].
Pro. Poor worm! thou art infected;
This viſitation ſhews it.
Mira. You look wearily.
Fer. No, noble miſtreſs; 'tis freſh morning with me,
When you are by at night [9]. I do beſeech you,
(Chiefly, that I might ſet it in my prayers,)
What is your name?
Mira. Miranda:—O my father,

[8] *And yours* it is *againſt.*] Perhaps we ſhould read, And yours *is it* againſt. STEEVENS.

[9] ——*'tis freſh morning with me,*
When you are by at night.]
Tu mihi curarum requies, *tu nocte* vel atra
Lumen——.
Tibul. Lib. iv. El. xiii. MALONE.

I have

I have broke your heſt [1] to ſay ſo!

Fer. Admir'd Miranda!
Indeed, the top of admiration; worth
What's deareſt to the world! Full many a lady
I have ey'd with beſt regard; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear: for ſeveral virtues
Have I lik'd ſeveral women; never any
With ſo full ſoul, but ſome defect in her
Did quarrel with the nobleſt grace ſhe ow'd,
And put it to the foil: But you, o you,
So perfect, and ſo peerleſs, are created
Of every creature's beſt [2].

Mira. I do not know
One of my ſex; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glaſs, mine own; nor have I ſeen
More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
And my dear father: how features are abroad,
I am ſkill-leſs of; but, by my modeſty,
(The jewel in my dower,) I would not wiſh
Any companion in the world but you;
Nor can imagination form a ſhape,
Beſides yourſelf, to like of: But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

Fer. I am, in my condition,
A prince, Miranda; I do think, a king;
(I would, not ſo!) and would no more endure
This wooden ſlavery, than I would ſuffer [3]
The fleſh-fly blow my mouth:—Hear my ſoul ſpeak;—
The very inſtant that I ſaw you, did
My heart fly to your ſervice; there reſides,
To make me ſlave to it; and, for your ſake,
Am I this patient log-man.

[1] —*beſt*] For *bebeſt*; i. e. command. STEEVENS.

[2] *Of every creature's beſt.*] Alluding to the picture of Venus by Apelles. JOHNSON.

[3] —*than I* would *ſuffer* &c.] The old copy reads—Than *to* ſuffer, The emendation is Mr. Pope's. STEEVENS.

Mira.

Mira. Do you love me?
Fer. O heaven, o earth, bear witneſs to this ſound,
And crown what I profeſs with kind event,
If I ſpeak true; if hollowly, invert
What beſt is boded me, to miſchief! I,
Beyond all limit of what elſe i' the world [4],
Do love, prize, honour you.
Mira. I am a fool [5],
To weep at what I am glad of.
Pro. Fair encounter
Of two moſt rare affections! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between them!
Fer. Wherefore weep you?
Mira. At mine unworthineſs, that dare not offer
What I deſire to give; and much leſs take,
What I ſhall die to want: But this is trifling;
And all the more it ſeeks [6] to hide itſelf,
The bigger bulk it ſhews. Hence baſhful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me [7];

If

4 —*of* what elſe i' *the world,*] i. e. of *aught* elſe; of whatſoever elſe there is in the world. I once thought that we ſhould read—*aught* elſe. But the old copy is right. So, in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

"With promiſe of his ſiſter, and *what elſe,*
"To ſtrengthen and ſupport king Edward's place." MALONE.

5 *I am a fool,*
To weep at what I am glad of.] This is one of thoſe touches of nature that diſtinguiſh Shakſpeare from all other writers. It was neceſſary, in ſupport of the character of Miranda, to make her appear unconſcious that exceſs of ſorrow and exceſs of joy find alike their relief from tears; and as this is the firſt time that conſummate pleaſure had made any near approaches to her heart, ſhe calls ſuch a ſeeming contradictory expreſſion of it, *folly.*

The ſame thought occurs in *Romeo and Juliet:*

"Back, fooliſh tears, back to your native ſpring!
"Your tributary drops belong to woe,
"Which you, miſtaking, offer up to joy." STEEVENS.

6 —it *ſeeks*—] i. e. my affection ſeeks. MALONE.

7 *I am your wife, if you will marry me,* &c.]

Si tibi non cordi fuerant connubia noſtra,
Attamen in veſtras potuiſti ducere ſedes,
Quæ tibi jucundo famularer ſerva labore;

Candida

If not, I'll die your maid: to be your fellow[8]
You may deny me; but I'll be your ſervant,
Whether you will or no.

Fer. My miſtreſs, dareſt,
And I thus humble ever.

Mira. My huſband then?

Fer. Ay, with a heart as willing
As bondage e'er of freedom: here's my hand.

Mira. And mine, with my heart in 't[9]: And now fare-well,
Till half an hour hence.

Fer. A thouſand, thouſand! [*Exeunt* FER. *and* MIR.

Pro. So glad of this as they, I cannot be,
Who are ſurpriz'd with all; but my rejoicing
At nothing can be more. I'll to my book;
For yet, ere ſupper-time, muſt I perform
Much buſineſs appertaining. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.

Another part of the iſland.

Enter STEPHANO *and* TRINCULO; CALIBAN *following with a bottle.*

Ste. Tell not me;—when the butt is out, we will drink

Candida permulcens liquidis veſtigia lymphis,
Purpureave tuum conſternens veſte cubile.
Catul. 62. MALONE.

8 —*your* fellow,] i. e. companion. STEEVENS.

9 Ferd. ——— *here's my hand.*

Mira. *And mine, with my heart in 't.*] It is ſtill cuſtomary in the weſt of England, when the conditions of a bargain are agreed upon, for the parties to ratify it by joining their hands, and at the ſame time for the purchaſer to give an earneſt. To this practice the poet alludes. So, in *the Winter's Tale:*

"Ere I could make thee open thy white hand,
"And clap thyſelf my love; then didſt thou utter
"*I am your's for ever.*"

Again, in *the Two Gent. of Verona:*

"*Pro.* Why then we'll make exchange; here, take you this.
"*Jul.* And ſeal the bargain with a holy kiſs.
"*Pro.* Here is my hand for my true conſtancy." HENLEY.

water

water; not a drop before: therefore bear up, and board 'em [1]: Servant-monſter, drink to me.

Trin. Servant-monſter? the folly of this iſland! They ſay, there's but five upon this iſle: we are three of them; if the other two be brain'd like us, the ſtate totters.

Ste. Drink, ſervant-monſter, when I bid thee; thy eyes are almoſt ſet in thy head.

Trin. Where ſhould they be ſet elſe; he were a brave monſter indeed, if they were ſet in his tail [2].

Ste. My man-monſter hath drown'd his tongue in ſack: for my part, the ſea cannot drown me: I ſwam [3], ere I could recover the ſhore, five-and-thirty leagues, off and on, by this light.—Thou ſhalt be my lieutenant, monſter, or my ſtandard.

Trin. Your lieutenant, if you liſt; he's no ſtandard [4].

Ste. We'll not run, monſieur monſter.

Trin. Nor go neither: but you'll lie, like dogs; and yet ſay nothing neither.

Ste. Moon-calf, ſpeak once in thy life, if thou beeſt a good moon-calf.

Cal. How does thy honour? Let me lick thy ſhoe: I'll not ſerve him, he is not valiant.

[1] *Bear up, and board 'em:*] A metaphor alluding to a chace at ſea. SIR J. HAWKINS.

[2] *He were a brave monſter indeed, if they were ſet in his tail.*] I believe this to be an alluſion to a ſtory that is met with in *Stowe*, and other writers of the time. It ſeems, in the year 1574, a whale was thrown a ſhore near *Ramſgate*. "A *monſtrous fiſh* (ſays the *chroni-*"*cler*) but not ſo *monſtrous* as ſome reported,—for his *eyes* were in his "*head*, and not in his *back*." *Summary*, 1575, p. 562. FARMER.

[3] *I ſwam*, &c.] This play was not publiſhed till 1623. *Albumazar* made its appearance in 1614, and has a paſſage relative to the eſcape of a ſailor yet more incredible. Perhaps, in both inſtances, a ſneer was meant at the *Voyages of Ferdinando Mendez Pinto*, or the exaggerated accounts of other lying travellers:

"—five days I was under water; and at length
"Got up and ſpread myſelf upon a cheſt,
"Rowing with arms, and ſteering with my feet,
"And thus in five days more got land." Act III. ſc. v. STEEVENS.

[4] *Your lieutenant, if you liſt; he's no* ſtandard.] Meaning, he is ſo much intoxicated, as not to be able to ſtand. The quibble between *ſtandard*, an enſign, and ſtandard, a fruit tree, that grows without ſupport, is evident. STEEVENS.

Trin. Thou lieſt, moſt ignorant monſter; I am in caſe to juſtle a conſtable: Why, thou deboſh'd [5] fiſh, thou, was there ever man a coward, that hath drunk ſo much ſack as I to day? Wilt thou tell a monſtrous lie, being but half a fiſh, and half a monſter?

Cal. Lo, how he mocks me; wilt thou let him, my lord?

Trin. Lord, quoth he!—that a monſter ſhould be ſuch a natural!

Cal. Lo, lo, again: bite him to death, I pr'ythee.

Ste. Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head; if you prove a mutineer, the next tree—The poor monſter's my ſubject, and he ſhall not ſuffer indignity.

Cal. I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd to hearken once again to the ſuit I made to thee?

Ste. Marry will I: kneel, and repeat it; I will ſtand, and ſo ſhall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, *inviſible.*

Cal. As I told thee before, I am ſubject to a tyrant; a ſorcerer, that by his cunning has cheated me of the iſland.

Ari. Thou lieſt.

Cal. Thou lieſt, thou jeſting monkey, thou;
I would, my valiant maſter would deſtroy thee:
I do not lie.

Ste. Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in his tale, by this hand, I will ſupplant ſome of your teeth.

Trin. Why, I ſaid nothing.

Ste. Mum then, and no more;—Proceed.

Cal. I ſay, by ſorcery he got this iſle;
From me he got it. If thy greatneſs will
Revenge it on him,—for, I know, thou dar'ſt;
But this thing dare not,—

Ste. That's moſt certain.

Cal. Thou ſhalt be lord of it, and I'll ſerve thee.

Ste. How now ſhall this be compaſs'd? Canſt thou bring me to the party?

Cal. Yea, yea, my lord; I'll yield him thee aſleep, Where thou may'ſt knock a nail into his head.

5 —*thou* deboſh'd—] i. e. *debauched.* See Cotgrave's DICT. in v. MALONE.

Ari.

Ari. Thou lieſt, thou canſt not.

Cal. What a py'd ninny's this[6]? Thou ſcurvy patch!—
I do beſeech thy greatneſs, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him: when that's gone,
He ſhall drink nought but brine; for I'll not ſhew him
Where the quick freſhes are.

Ste. Trinculo, run into no further danger: interrupt the monſter one word further, and, by this hand, I'll turn my mercy out of doors, and make a ſtock-fiſh of thee.

Trin. Why, what did I? I did nothing: I'll go further off.

Ste. Didſt thou not ſay, he lied?

Ari. Thou lieſt.

Ste. Do I ſo? take thou that. [*ſtrikes him.*] As you like this, give me the lie another time.

Trin. I did not give the lie:—Out o' your wits, and hearing too?—A pox o' your bottle! this can ſack, and drinking do.—A murrain on your monſter, and the devil take your fingers!

Cal. Ha, ha, ha!

Ste. Now, forward with your tale.—Pr'ythee ſtand further off.

Cal. Beat him enough: after a little time,
I'll beat him too.

Ste. Stand further.—Come, proceed.

Cal. Why, as I told thee, 'tis a cuſtom with him
I' the afternoon to ſleep: there thou may'ſt brain him,
Having firſt ſeiz'd his books; or with a log
Batter his ſkull, or paunch him with a ſtake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife: Remember,

[6] *What a py'd ninny's this?*] It ſhould be remember'd that *Trinculo* is no *ſailor*, but a *jeſter*, and is ſo called in the ancient *dramatis perſonæ*; he therefore wears the party-colour'd dreſs of one of theſe characters. See fig. XII. in the plate annexed to the firſt part of *K. Henry* IV. and Mr. Tollet's explanation of it. STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that Caliban could have no knowledge of the ſtriped coat uſually worn by fools; and would therefore tranſfer this ſpeech to Stephano. But though *Caliban* might not know this circumſtance, *Shakſpeare* did. Surely he who has given to all countries and all ages the manners of his own, might forget himſelf here, as well as in other places. MALONE.

Firſt

Firſt to poſſeſs his books, for without them
He's but a ſot, as I am, nor hath not
One ſpirit to command[7]: They all do hate him,
As rootedly as I: Burn but his books;
He has brave utenſils, (for ſo he calls them,)
Which, when he has a houſe, he'll deck withal.
And that moſt deeply to conſider, is
The beauty of his daughter; he himſelf
Calls her a non-pareil: I never ſaw a woman,
But only Sycorax my dam, and ſhe;
But ſhe as far ſurpaſſeth Sycorax,
As greateſt does leaſt.

Ste. Is it ſo brave a laſs?

Cal. Ay, lord; ſhe will becomet hy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.

7 ——— *Remember*
Firſt to poſſeſs his books, *for without them*
He's but a ſot, as I am, nor hath not
One ſpirit to command:] In a former ſcene Proſpero ſays—
——— "I'll to my *book*;
"For yet, ere ſupper time, muſt I perform
"Much buſineſs appertaining."
Again, in Act V:
"And deeper than did ever plummet ſound,
"I'll drown my *book*."

In the old romances the ſorcerer is always furniſhed with a *book*, by reading certain parts of which he is enabled to ſummon to his aid whatever dæmons or ſpirits he has occaſion to employ. When he is deprived of his book, his power ceaſes. Our author might have obſerved this circumſtance much inſiſted on in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boyardo, (of which, as the Rev. Mr. Bowle informs me, the firſt three Cantos were tranſlated and publiſhed in 1598,) and alſo in Harrington's tranſlation of the *Orlando Furioſo*, 1591.

A few lines from the former of theſe works may prove the beſt illuſtration of the paſſage before us.

Angelica, by the aid of Argalia, having bound the enchanter Malagigi,

"The damſel ſearcheth forthwith in his breaſt,
"And there the damned *booke* ſhe ſtraightway founde,
"Which circles ſtrange and ſhapes of fiendes expreſt;
"No ſooner ſhe ſome wordes therein did ſound,
"And opened had ſome damned leaves unbleſt,
"But *ſpirits* of th'ayre, earth, ſea, came out of hand,
"Crying alowde, what is't you us *command*?" MALONE.

Ste.

Ste. Monſter, I will kill this man: his daughter and I will be king and queen; (ſave our graces!) and Trinculo and thyſelf ſhall be vice-roys:—Doſt thou like the plot, Trinculo?

Trin. Excellent.

Ste. Give me thy hand; I am ſorry I beat thee: but, while thou liv'ſt, keep a good tongue in thy head.

Cal. Within this half hour will he be aſleep;
Wilt thou deſtroy him then?

Ste. Ay, on mine honour.

Ari. This will I tell my maſter.

Cal. Thou mak'ſt me merry: I am full of pleaſure;
Let us be jocund: Will you troul the catch[8]
You taught me but while-ere?

Ste. At thy requeſt, monſter, I will do reaſon, any reaſon: Come on, Trinculo, let us ſing. [*Sings.*

Flout 'em, and ſkout 'em; and ſcout 'em, and flout 'em;
Thought is free.

Cal. That's not the tune.

[Ariel *plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*

Ste. What is this ſame?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, play'd by the picture of No-body[9].

Ste. If thou beeſt a man, ſhew thyſelf in thy likeneſs: if thou beeſt a devil, take't as thou liſt.

Trin. O, forgive me my ſins!

Ste. He that dies, pays all debts: I defy thee:—Mercy upon us!

Cal. Art thou afeard[1]?

Ste. No, monſter, not I.

Cal. Be not afeard; the iſle is full of noiſes,
Sounds, and ſweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
Sometimes a thouſand twangling inſtruments

[8] — *Will you troul the catch,*] To *troul* a catch, I ſuppoſe, is to diſmiſs it *trippingly from the tongue.* STEEVENS.

[9] *This is the tune of our catch, play'd by the* picture *of* No-body.] A ridiculous figure, ſometimes repreſented on ſigns. *Weſtward for Smelts,* a book which our author appears to have read, was printed for John Trundle in Barbican, at the *ſigne* of the *No body.* MALONE.

[1] — *afeard?*] Thus the old copy. *To affear,* is an obſolete verb with the ſame meaning as to *affray.* STEEVENS.

Will

Will hum about mine ears; and ſometime voices,
That, if I then had wak'd after long ſleep,
Will make me ſleep again: and then, in dreaming,
The clouds, methought, would open, and ſhew riches
Ready to drop upon me; that, when I wak'd,
I cry'd to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I ſhall have my muſick for nothing.

Cal. When Proſpero is deſtroy'd.

Ste. That ſhall be by and by: I remember the ſtory.

Trin. The ſound is going away: let's follow it,
And after do our work.

Ste. Lead, monſter; we'll follow,—I wou'd I could ſee this taborer: he lays it on.

Trin. Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano[2]. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Another part of the iſland.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, *and Others.*

Gon. By'r lakin [3], I can go no further, Sir;
My old bones ache: here's a maze trod, indeed,
Through forth-rights, and meanders! by your patience,
I needs muſt reſt me.

Alon. Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
Who am myſelf attach'd with wearineſs,
To the dulling of my ſpirits: ſit down, and reſt.
Even here I will put off my hope, and keep it
No longer for my flatterer: he is drown'd,
Whom thus we ſtray to find; and the ſea mocks
Our fruſtrate ſearch on land: Well, let him go.

Ant. I am right glad that he's ſo out of hope.
[*Aſide to* Sebaſtian.

[2] *Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano.*] The words *Wilt come* are, I believe, addreſſed to Stephano, who, from a deſire to ſee the "taborer," lingers behind. *Will you come*, or not (ſays Trinculo)? If you will not, *I'll follow* Caliban without you. MALONE.

[3] *By'r lakin,*—] i. e. The diminutive only of our lady, i. e. ladykin. STEEVENS.

Do not, for one repulſe, forego the purpoſe
That you reſolv'd to effect.
Seb. The next advantage
Will we take throughly.
Ant. Let it be to-night;
For, now they are oppreſs'd with travail, they
Will not, nor cannot, uſe ſuch vigilance
As when they are freſh.
Seb. I ſay, to-night: no more.

Solemn and ſtrange muſick; and Proſpero *above, inviſible. Enter ſeveral ſtrange Shapes, bringing in a banquet; they dance about it with gentle actions of ſalutation; and, inviting the king, &c. to eat, they depart.*

Alon. What harmony is this? my good friends, hark!
Gon. Marvellous ſweet muſick!
Alon. Give us kind keepers, heavens! What were theſe?
Seb. A living drollery [4]: Now I will believe,
That there are unicorns; that, in Arabia
There is one tree, the phœnix' throne [5]; one phœnix
At this hour reigning there.
Ant. I'll believe both;
And what does elſe want credit, come to me,
And I'll be ſworn 'tis true: Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.
Gon. If in Naples
I ſhould report this now, would they believe me?

4 *A living drollery:*—] i. e. A drollery not repreſented by wooden machines, but by perſonages who are alive. MALONE.

Shows, called *drolleries*, were in Shakſpeare's time performed by puppets only. From theſe our modern *drolls*, exhibited at fairs, &c. took their name. STEEVENS.

5 — one *tree, the phœn' throne*';] So again, in one of our author's Poems, p. 732, edit. 1778:

"Let the bird of loudeſt lay,
"On the *ſole* Arabian tree, &c." MALONE.

For this idea our author might have been indebted to Phil. Holland's Tranſlation of Pliny, b. XIII. chap. 4. "I myſelf verily have heard "ſtraunge things of this kind of tree; and namely in regard of the "bird *Phœnix*, which is ſuppoſed to have taken that name of this "date tree [called in Greek φοινιξ]; for it was aſſured unto me, "that the ſaid bird died with that tree, and revived of itſelfe as the tree "ſprung again." STEEVENS.

If I ſhould ſay, I ſaw ſuch iſlanders [6],
(For, certes [7], theſe are people of the iſland,)
Who, though they are of monſtrous ſhape, yet, note,
Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
Our human generation you ſhall find
Many, nay, almoſt any.

Pro. Honeſt lord,
Thou haſt ſaid well; for ſome of you there preſent
Are worſe than devils. [*Aſide.*

Alon. I cannot too much muſe [8],
Such ſhapes, ſuch geſture, and ſuch ſound, expreſſing
(Although they want the uſe of tongue) a kind
Of excellent dumb diſcourſe.

Pro. Praiſe in departing [9]. [*Aſide.*

Fran. They vaniſh'd ſtrangely.

Seb. No matter, ſince
They have left their viands behind; for we have ſtomachs.—
Will't pleaſe you taſte of what is here?

Alon. Not I.

Gon. Faith, ſir, you need not fear: When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers [1],
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whoſe throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of fleſh? or that there were ſuch men,
Whoſe heads ſtood in their breaſts [2]? which now we find,
Each

6 —*ſuch* iſlanders,] The old copy has *iſlands*. The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

7 *For* certes,] *Certes* is an obſolete word, ſignifying *certainly*. STEEV.

8 —*muſe*,] To *muſe*, in ancient language, is to admire. STEEVENS.

9 *Praiſe in departing.*] i. e. Do not praiſe your entertainment too ſoon, leſt you ſhould have reaſon to retract your commendation. It is a proverbial ſaying. STEEVENS.

1 —*that there were mountaineers*, &c.] Whoever is curious to know the particulars relating to theſe *mountaineers* may conſult *Maundeville's Travels*, printed in 1503, by Wynken de Worde; but it is yet a known truth that the inhabitants of the Alps have been long accuſtom'd to ſuch excreſcences or tumours.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? STEEVENS.

2 ——— *men*,

Whoſe heads ſtood in their breaſts?] Our author might have had this intelligence likewiſe from the tranſlation of Pliny, B. V. chap. 8: "The Blemmyi, by report, have no heads, but mouth and eies both in their breaſts." STEEVENS.

Each putter-out on five for one[3], will bring us
Good warrant of.

Alon. I will ſtand to, and feed,
Although my laſt:—no matter ſince I feel
The beſt is paſt:—Brother, my lord the duke,
Stand to, and do as we.

Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL, *like a harpy*[4]; *claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the banquet vaniſhes.*

Ari. You are three men of ſin, whom deſtiny
(That hath to inſtrument this lower world[5], And

Or he might have had it from Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "On that "branch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, whoſe heads appear not "above their ſhoulders. They are reported to have their eyes in their "ſhoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breaſts." MALONE.

3 *Each putter-out on five for one*, &c.] The old copy reads—*of* five for one. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. Perhaps it ought rather to be corrected by only tranſpoſing the words: "Each putter out of *one for five*—." So, in the *Scourge of Folly*, by John Davies, of Hereford, printed about 1611:

"Sir Solus ſtraight will travel, as they ſay,
"And gives out *one for three*, when home comes he." MALONE.

The ancient cuſtom here alluded to was this. In this age of travelling, it was cuſtomary for thoſe who engaged in long expeditions to place out a ſum of money, on condition of receiving great intereſt for it at their return home. So Puntarvolo (it is Theobald's quotation) in Ben Jonſon's *Every Man out of his Humour*: "I do intend, this year of ju-"bilee coming on, to travel; and (becauſe I will not altogether go "upon expence) I am determined to put forth ſome *five* thouſand pound, "to be paid me *five* for *one*, upon the return of my wife, myſelf, and "my dog, from the Turk's court in Conſtantinople." STEEVENS.

It appears from Moryſon's ITINERARY, 1617, Part I. p. 198, that "this cuſtom of giving out money upon theſe adventures was firſt uſed in court, and among noblemen;" and that ſome years before his book was publiſhed, "bankerouts, ſtage-players, and men of baſe condition had drawn it into contempt," by undertaking journeys merely for gain upon their return. MALONE.

4 *Enter Ariel, like a harpy*, &c.] Milton's *Par. Reg.* B. II.

——"with that
"Both table and proviſions vaniſh'd quite,
"With ſound of harpies' wings, and talons heard."

At ſubitæ horrifico lapſu de montibus adſunt
Harpyiæ, & magnis quatiunt clangoribus a.as,
Diripiuntque dapes. Virg. Æn. iii. STEEVENS.

5 *That hath to inſtrument this lower world*, &c.] i. e. that makes uſe of

And what is in't,) the never-ſurfeited ſea
Hath cauſed to belch up [6]; and on this iſland
Where man doth not inhabit; you 'mongſt men
Being moſt unfit to live. I have made you mad;
[*ſeeing* Alonſo, Sebaſtian, *&c. draw their ſwords.*
And even with ſuch like valour men hang and drown
Their proper ſelves. You fools! I and my fellows
Are miniſters of fate; the elements
Of whom your ſwords are temper'd, may as well
Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at ſtabs
Kill the ſtill-cloſing waters, as diminiſh
One dowle that's in my plume [7]; my fellow-miniſters
Are like invulnerable: if you could hurt,
Your ſwords are now too maſſy for your ſtrengths,
And will not be uplifted: But, remember,
(For that's my buſineſs to you,) that you three
From Milan did ſupplant good Proſpero;
Expos'd unto the ſea, which hath requit it,
Him, and his innocent child: for which foul deed
The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
Incens'd the ſeas and ſhores, yea, all the creatures,
Againſt your peace: Thee, of thy ſon, Alonſo,
They have bereft; and do pronounce by me,
Ling'ring perdition (worſe than any death
Can be at once,) ſhall ſtep by ſtep attend
You, and your ways; whoſe wraths to guard you from
(Which here, in this moſt deſolate iſle, elſe falls
Upon your heads,) is nothing, but heart's ſorrow,
And a clear life enſuing [8].

He

of this world, and every thing in it, as its *inſtruments*, to bring about its ends. STEEVENS.

[6] *Hath cauſed to belch up*;] The old copy reads—to belch up *you*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

[7] *One* dowle *that's in my* plume;] Bailey, in his Dictionary, ſays that *dowle* is a feather, or rather the ſingle particles of the down. STEEVENS.

Cole, in his Latin Dict. 1670, interprets "young *dowle*" by "*lanugo*." The old copy reads—in my *plumbe*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

[8] ——————*is nothing, but heart's ſorrow,*
And a clear life enſuing.] The meaning, which is ſomewhat obſcured by the expreſſion, is,—*a miſerable fate, which nothing but contrition and amendment of life can avert.* MALONE.

He vaniſhes in thunder: then to ſoft muſick, enter the Shapes again, and dance with mops and mowes [9], *and carry out the table.*

Pro. [*Aſide.*] Bravely the figure of this harpy haſt thou
Perform'd, my Ariel; a grace it had, devouring;
Of my inſtruction haſt thou nothing 'bated,
In what thou hadſt to ſay: ſo, with good life [1],
And obſervation ſtrange, my meaner miniſters
Their ſeveral kinds have done: my high charms work,
And theſe, mine enemies, are all knit up
In their diſtractions: they now are in my power;
And in theſe fits I leave them, whilſt I viſit
Young Ferdinand, (whom they ſuppoſe is drown'd,)
And his and my lov'd darling. [*Exit* Pro. *from above.*

Gon. I' the name of ſomething holy, ſir, why ſtand you
In this ſtrange ſtare?

Alon. O, it is monſtrous! monſtrous!
Methought, the billows ſpoke, and told me of it;
The winds did ſing it to me; and the thunder,
That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd
The name of Proſper; it did bais my treſpaſs [2].
Therefore my ſon i'th the ooze is bedded; and
I'll ſeek him deeper than e'er plummet ſounded,
And with him there lie mudded. [*Exit.*

Seb. But one fiend at a time,

—*clear life*—] Pure, blameleſs, innocent. Johnson.
So in *Timon:* "—roots, you *clear* heavens." Steevens.

[9] —*with* mops *and* mowes.] So, in *K. Lear:* "—and Flibbertigibbet *of mopping* and *mowing*." To *mop* and to *mowe* ſeems to have the ſame meaning, i. e. to make mouths or wry faces. Steevens,
The old copy, by a manifeſt error of the preſs, reads—with *mocks*. See p. 73. Penult.—"Will be here with *mop* and mowe." Malone.

[1] —*with good life.*] *With good life* may mean, with *exact preſentation of their ſeveral characters, with obſervation ſtrange* of their particular and diſtinct parts. So we ſay, he acted to the *life*. Johnson.
Life ſeems to be uſed in the chorus to the fifth act of *K. Henry V.* with ſome meaning like that wanted to explain the approbation of Proſpero:

"Which cannot in their huge and proper *life*
"Be here preſented." Steevens.

[2] —baſs *my treſpaſs.*] The deep pipe told it me in a rough baſs ſound. Johnson.

I'll

I'll fight their legions o'er.

Ant. I'll be thy ſecond. [*Exeunt* SEB. *and* ANT.

Gon. All three of them are deſperate; their great guilt,
Like poiſon given to work a great time after [3],
Now 'gins to bite the ſpirits:—I do beſeech you
That are of ſuppler joints, follow them ſwiftly,
And hinder them from what this ecſtaſy [4]
May now provoke them to.

Adri. Follow, I pray you. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

Before Proſpero's *Cell.*

Enter PROSPERO, FERDINAND, *and* MIRANDA.

Pro. If I have too auſterely puniſh'd you,
Your compenſation makes amends; for I
Have given you here a third of mine own life [5],
Or that for which I live; whom once again
I tender to thy hand: all thy vexations
Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
Haſt

3 *Like poiſon given* &c.] The natives of Africa have been ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of the ſecret how to temper poiſons with ſuch art as not to operate till ſeveral years after they were adminiſtered, and were then as certain in their effect, as they were ſubtle in their preparation. STEEVENS.

4 —*this* ecſtacy] *Ecſtacy* meant not anciently, as at preſent, *rapturous pleaſure*, but alienation of mind. Mr. Locke has not inelegantly ſtiled it *dreaming with our eyes open*. STEEVENS.

5 —*a* third *of mine own life*,] The word *thread* was formerly ſpelt *third*, as appears from the following paſſage:

"Long maiſt thou live, and when the ſiſters ſhall decree
"To cut in twaine the twiſted *third* of life,
"Then let him die, &c."

See comedy of *Mucedorus*, 1619. ſignat. c. 3. HAWKINS.

The late Mr. *Hawkins* has properly obſerved that the word *thread* was anciently ſpelt *third*. The following quotation ſhould ſeem to place the meaning beyond all diſpute.. In *Acolaſtus*, a comedy, 1529, is this paſſage: "—one of worldly ſhame's *children*, of his countenaunce, and "THREDE of his body." STEEVENS.

Again, in *Tancred and Giſmund*, a tragedy, 1592, Tancred, ſpeaking of his intention to kill his *daughter*, ſays,

Haſt ſtrangely ſtood the teſt [6]: here afore Heaven,
I ratify this my rich gift: O Ferdinand,
Do not ſmile at me, that I boaſt her off,
For thou ſhalt find ſhe will outſtrip all praiſe,
And make it halt behind her.

Fer. I do believe it,
Againſt an oracle.

Pro. Then, as my gift [7], and thine own acquiſition
Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter: But
If thou doſt break her virgin knot before
All ſanctimonious ceremonies [8] may
With full and holy rite be miniſter'd,
No ſweet aſperſion [9] ſhall the Heavens let fall
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,

" Againſt all law of kinde, to ſhed in twaine
" The golden *threede that doth us both maintain.*"

Mr. Tollet was of opinion that " a *third* of my own life" here ſignifies a *fibre* or *part* of my own life: " Proſpero (he adds) conſiders himſelf as the ſtock or parent tree, and his daughter a *fibre* or *portion* of himſelf, and for whoſe benefit he himſelf lives. In this ſenſe the word is uſed in Markham's *Engliſh Huſbandman*, edit. 1635, p. 146." MALONE.

6 —ſtrangely *ſtood the teſt*:] *Strangely* is uſed by way of commendation, *merveilleuſement, to a wonder*; the ſenſe is the ſame in the foregoing ſcene, with *obſervation ſtrange*. JOHNSON.

7 —*my gift*,] My gueſt, *firſt folio*. JOHNSON.

The emendation is Mr. Rowe's. *Gueſte* and *Guiſte*, as they were anciently written, were eaſily confounded. MALONE.

8 *If thou doſt break her* virgin knot *before*
All ſanctimonious ceremonies &c.] This, and the paſſage in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*,

" Untide I ſtill my *virgin knot* will keepe,"

are manifeſt alluſions to the zones of the ancients, which were worn as guardians of chaſtity by marriageable young women. Puellæ, contra, nondum viripotentes, hujuſmodi zonis non utebantur: quod videlicet immaturis virgunculis nullum, aut certe minimum, a corruptoribus periculum immineret: quas propterea vocabant ἀμίτρους, nempe *diſcinctas*. There is a paſſage in NONNUS, which will ſufficiently illuſtrate Proſpero's expreſſion.

Κύρης δ' ἐγγὺς ἰκανὲ· καὶ ἀτρέμας ἄκρον ἐλύσας
Διφυὲς ἀσυλήτοιο φυλάκτειρα λύσατο μίτρης
Φειδομένη παλάμῃφι, μὴ παῖδα νύμφιον ὑτιδῶ ἰάσσῃ. HENLEY.

9 *No ſweet* aſperſion—] *Aſperſion* is here uſed in its primitive ſenſe of *ſprinkling*. At preſent it is expreſſive only of calumny and detraction. STEEVENS.

Sour-

Sour-ey'd diſdain, and diſcord, ſhall beſtrew
The union of your bed with weeds ſo loathly,
That you ſhall hate it both: therefore, take heed,
As Hymen's lamps ſhall light you.

Fer. As I hope
For quiet days, fair iſſue, and long life,
With ſuch love as 'tis now; the murkieſt den,
The moſt opportune place, the ſtrong'ſt ſuggeſtion
Our worſer Genius can, ſhall never melt
Mine honour into luſt; to take away
The edge of that day's celebration,
When I ſhall think, or Phœbus' ſteeds are founder'd,
Or night kept chain'd below.

Pro. Fairly ſpoke:
Sit then, and talk with her, ſhe is thine own.—
What, Ariel; my induſtrious ſervant Ariel!

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. What would my potent maſter? here I am.

Pro. Thou and thy meaner fellows your laſt ſervice
Did worthily perform; and I muſt uſe you
In ſuch another trick: go, bring the rabble [1],
O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place:
Incite them to quick motion; for I muſt
Beſtow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art; it is my promiſe,
And they expect it from me.

Ari. Preſently?

Pro. Ay, with a twink.

Ari. Before you can ſay, *Come*, and *go*,
And breathe twice; and cry, *ſo*, *ſo*;
Each one, tripping on his toe [2],
Will be here with mop and mowe:
Do you love me, maſter? no.

[1] —*the rabble*,] The crew of meaner ſpirits. JOHNSON.

[2] ——— *Come, and go*,—
Each one, tripping on his toe,] So Milton:
"Come, and trip it as you go
"On the light fantaſtick toe." STEEVENS.

Pro.

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariel: Do not approach,
Till thou doſt hear me call.

Ari. Well, I conceive. [*Exit.*

Pro. Look, thou be true; do not give dalliance
Too much the rein; the ſtrongeſt oaths are ſtraw
To the fire i'the blood: be more abſtemious,
Or elſe, good night, your vow!

Fer. I warrant you, ſir;
The white cold virgin ſnow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.

Pro. Well.—
Now come, my Ariel; bring a corollary [3],
Rather than want a ſpirit; appear, and pertly.—
No tongue [4]; all eyes; be ſilent. [*Soft muſick.*

A Maſque. *Enter* IRIS.

Iris. Ceres, moſt bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peaſe;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling ſheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with ſtover [5], them to keep;
Thy banks with pionied and twilled brims [6],

Which

[3] —*bring a corollary*,] That is, bring more than are ſufficient, rather than fail for want of numbers. *Corollary* means *ſurplus*. *Corolaire*, Fr. See Cotgrave's Dictionary. STEEVENS.

[4] *No tongue*;] Thoſe who are preſent at incantations are obliged to be ſtrictly ſilent; "elſe," as we are afterwards told, "the ſpell is marred." JOHNSON.

[5] —*thatch'd with* ſtover,] *Eſtovers* is generally uſed by law writers for an allowance of wood to be taken off another man's eſtate. In this ſenſe Sir William Blackſtone ſuppoſes it to be derived from the French word *eſtoffer*, to furniſh. But it likewiſe ſometimes ſignifies nouriſhment, or maintenance, in which ſenſe Cowel derives it from *eſtouver*, ſovere.—From Cole's Engliſh Dictionary 8vo. 1717, it appears that the word *ſtover* was then uſed in Eſſex, and ſignified "fodder for cattle;" the preciſe ſenſe wanted here, being equally applicable to the preceding word "thatch'd," and to the ſubſequent part of the line. It probably has the ſame ſignification in Warwickſhire. MALONE.

[6] *Thy banks with* pionied, *and twilled brims*,] The old edition reads *pioned* and twilled brims, which gave riſe to Mr. Holt's conjecture, that the poet originally wrote,

——*with pioned and* tilled *brims*.

Spenſer

Which ſpungy April at thy heſt betrims,
To make cold nymphs chaſte crowns; and thy broom groves [7],
Whoſe ſhadow the diſmiſſed bachelor loves,
Being laſs-lorn [8]; thy pole-clipt vineyard [9];
And thy ſea-marge, ſteril, and rocky-hard,
Where thou thyſelf doſt air: The queen o' the ſky,
Whoſe watery arch, and meſſenger, am I,
Bids thee leave theſe; and with her ſovereign grace,
Here on this graſs-plot, in this very place,
To come and ſport: her peacocks fly amain;
Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

Enter CERES.

Cer. Hail, many-colour'd meſſenger, that ne'er

Spenſer and the author of *Mulcaſſes the Turk*, a tragedy, 1610, uſe *pioning* for digging. It is not, therefore, difficult to find a meaning for the word as it ſtands in the old copy; and remove a letter from *twilled*, and it leaves us *tilled*. I am yet, however, in doubt whether we ought not to read *lillied* brims; for *Pliny*, B. XXVI, ch. x. mentions the *water-lilly* as a preſerver of chaſtity.

In the 20th ſong of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the Naiades are repreſented as making chaplets with all the tribe of aquatick flowers; and Mr. Tollet informs me that Lyte's *Herbal* ſays, "one kind of *peonie* is called by "ſome, *maiden* or *virgin* peonie."

In *Ovid's Banquet of Senſe*, by Chapman, 1595, *twill-pants* are enumerated among flowers.

If *twill* be the ancient name of any flower, the preſent reading, *pionied* and *twilled* may uncontrovertibly ſtand. STEEVENS.

Pionied is the emendation of Sir Thomas Hanmer. MALONE.

[7] —*and thy* broom *groves*,] A grove of *broom*, I believe, was never heard of, as it is a low ſhrub, and not a tree. Hanmer reads *brown* groves. STEEVENS.

Diſappointed lovers are ſtill ſaid to wear the *willow*, and in theſe lines *broom groves* are aſſigned to that unfortunate tribe for a retreat. This may allude to ſome old cuſtom. We ſtill ſay that a huſband *bangs out the broom* when his wife goes from home for a ſhort time; and on ſuch occaſions a *broom* beſom has been exhibited, as a ſignal that the houſe was freed from uxorial reſtraint, and where the maſter might be conſidered as a temporary bachelor. *Broom grove* may ſignify *broom buſhes*. See *Grava*, in Cowel's Law Dict. TOLLET.

[8] *Being laſs-lorn*;] i. e. Forſaken of his miſtreſs. STEEVENS.

[9] —*thy pole-clipt vineyard*,] To *clip* is to *twine round* or *embrace*. The poles are *clipt* or embraced by the vines. STEEVENS.

Doſt

Doſt diſobey the wife of Jupiter;
Who, with thy ſaffron wings, upon my flowers
Diffuſeſt honey drops, refreſhing ſhowers;
And with each end of thy blue bow doſt crown
My boſky acres [1], and my unſhrubb'd down,
Rich ſcarf to my proud earth; Why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this ſhort-graſs'd green [2]?

Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate;
And ſome donation freely to eſtate
On the bleſs'd lovers.

Cer. Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus, or her ſon, as thou doſt know,
Do now attend the queen? ſince they did plot
The means, that duſky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's ſcandal'd company
I have forſworn.

Iris. Of her ſociety
Be not afraid: I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos; and her ſon
Dove-drawn with her: here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
Whoſe vows are, that no bed-rite ſhall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted: but in vain;
Marſes hot minion is return'd again;
Her waſpiſh-headed ſon has broke his arrows,
Swears he will ſhoot no more, but play with ſparrows,
And be a boy right out.

Cer. Higheſt queen of ſtate,
Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait [3].

[1] *My* boſky *acres,*] *Boſky* is woody. *Boſquet*, Fr. STEEVENS.

[2] *ſhort*-graſs'd *green?*] The old copy has—ſhort-*graſs'd*. The omiſſion of the ſecond *s* was probably owing to the careleſſneſs of the tranſcriber. MALONE.

[3] *Higheſt queen of ſtate,*
Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait.] So, in *the Arraignment of Paris:*

"Firſt ſtatelie *Juno*, with her porte and grace." STEEVENS.

Higheſt *queen of ſtate,*] Sir John Harrington has likewiſe uſed this word as one ſyllable:

"Thus ſaid the *by'ſt*, and then there did enſew—".
Orlando Fur. B. 29. St. 32. MALONE.

Enter

Enter JUNO.

Jun. How does my bounteous ſiſter? Go with me,
To bleſs this twain, that they may proſperous be,
And honour'd in their iſſue.

SONG.

Jun. *Honour, riches, marriage-bleſſing,*
Long continuance, and increaſing,
Hourly joys be ſtill upon you!
Juno ſings her bleſſings on you.

Cer. *Earth's increaſe, and foiſon plenty*[4];
Barns, and garners never empty;
Vines, with cluſt'ring bunches growing;
Plants, with goodly burden bowing;
Spring come to you, at the fartheſt,
In the very end of harveſt!
Scarcity, and want, ſhall ſhun you;
Ceres' bleſſing ſo is on you.

Fer. This is a moſt majeſtick viſion, and
Harmonious charmingly[5]: May I be bold
To think theſe ſpirits?

Pro. Spirits, which by mine art
I have from their confines call'd to enact
My preſent fancies.

Fer. Let me live here ever;
So rare a wonder'd father, and a wife,
Make this place paradiſe.

Juno *and* Ceres *whiſper, and ſend* Iris *on employment.*

Pro. Sweet now, ſilence:
Juno and Ceres whiſper ſeriouſly;
There's ſomething elſe to do: huſh, and be mute,

4 *Earth's increaſe,* and *foiſon plenty*; &c.] Theſe, as well as the foregoing lines, are in the old copy given to Juno. Mr. Theobald made the alteration. *And* is not in that copy. It was added by the editor of the ſecond folio. Earth's *increaſe*, is the *produce* of the earth. The expreſſion is ſcriptural: "Then ſhall the *earth* bring forth her *increaſe*, and God, even our God, ſhall give us his bleſſing." PSALM 67. MALONE.

Foiſon plenty is plenty to the utmoſt abundance. See p. 40. n. 6. STE.

5 *Harmonious charmingly*:] i. e. charmingly harmonious. A ſimilar inverſion occurs in *A Midſummer Night's Dream*:

"But *miſerable moſt* to live unlov'd." MALONE.

Or

Or elſe our ſpell is marr'd.

Iris. You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the wand'ring brooks[6],
With your ſedg'd crowns, and ever-harmleſs looks,
Leave your crips channels[7], and on this green land
Anſwer your ſummons; Juno does command:
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love; be not too late.

Enter certain Nymphs.

You ſun-burn'd ſicklemen, of Auguſt weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry;
Make holy-day: your rye-ſtraw hats put on,
And theſe freſh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

Enter certain Reapers, properly habited: they join with the nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof Proſpero *ſtarts ſuddenly, and ſpeaks; after which, to a ſtrange, hollow, and confuſed noiſe, they heavily vaniſh.*

Pro. I had forgot that foul conſpiracy [*Aſide.*
Of the beaſt Caliban, and his confederates,
Againſt my life; the minute of their plot
Is almoſt come. [*to the ſpirits.*] Well done; avoid; no more.

Fer. This is ſtrange: your father's in ſome paſſion,
That works him ſtrongly.

Mira. Never till this day,
Saw I him touch'd with anger ſo diſtemper'd.

Pro. You do look, my ſon, in a mov'd ſort,
As if you were diſmay'd: be chearful, ſir:
Our revels now are ended: theſe our actors,

6 —wand'ring *brooks,*] The old copy reads—*windring.* Corrected by Mr. Steevens. MALONE.

7 *Leave your* crips *channels,*] *Crib,* i. e. *curling, winding.* Lat. *criſpus.* So in *Hen. IV.* Part I. act I. ſc. iv. Hotſpur, ſpeaking of the river Severn:

"And hid his *criſped* head in the hollow bank."

Criſp, however, may allude to the little wave or *curl* (as it is commonly called) that the gentleſt wind occaſions on the ſurface of waters. STEEVENS.

As

As I foretold you, were all ſpirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of this viſion[8],
The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
Yea, all which it inherit[9], ſhall diſſolve;
And, like this inſubſtantial pageant faded,[1]

Leave

[8] *And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of this viſion*, &c.] The exact period at which this play was produced is unknown: It was not, however, publiſhed before 1623. In the year 1603, the *Tragedy of Darius*, by Lord Sterline, made its appearance, and there I find the following paſſage:

"Let greatneſs of her glaſſy ſcepters vaunt,
"Not ſcepters, no, but reeds, ſoon bruis'd, ſoon broken;
"And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
"All fades, and ſcarcely leaves behind a token.
"Thoſe golden palaces, thoſe gorgeous halls,
"With furniture ſuperfluouſly fair,
"Thoſe ſtately courts, thoſe ſky-encount'ring walls,
"Evaniſh all like vapours in the air."

Lord Sterline's play muſt have been written before the death of queen *Elizabeth*, (which happen'd on the 24th of March 1603) as it is dedicated to *James* VI. *King of Scots*.

Whoever ſhould ſeek for this paſſage (as here quoted from the 4to, 1603) in the folio edition, 1637, will be diſappointed, as Lord Sterline made conſiderable changes in all his plays, after their firſt publication. STEEVENS.

[9] —*all which it* inherit,] i. e. all who poſſeſs, who dwell upon it. So, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

"This, or elſe nothing, will *inherit* her." MALONE.

[1] *And, like this inſubſtantial* pageant *faded*,] *Faded* means here—having vaniſhed; from the Latin, *vado*. So, in *Hamlet*:

"It *faded* on the crowing of the cock."

To feel the juſtice of this compariſon, and the propriety of the epithet, the nature of theſe exhibitions ſhould be remembered. The ancient Engliſh *pageants* were ſhows exhibited on the reception of a prince, or any other ſolemnity of a ſimilar kind. They were preſented on occaſional ſtages erected in the ſtreets. Originally they appear to have been nothing more than dumb ſhows; but before the time of our author, they had been enlivened by the introduction of ſpeaking perſonages, who were characteriſtically habited. The ſpeeches were ſometimes in verſe; and as the proceſſion moved forward, the ſpeakers, who conſtantly bore ſome alluſion to the ceremony, either converſed together in the form of a dialogue, or addreſſed the noble perſon whoſe preſence occaſioned the celebrity. On theſe allegorical ſpectacles very coſtly ornaments were beſtowed. See Fabian, II. 382. Warton's *Hiſt. of Poet.* II. 199. 202.

The

Leave not a rack behind [2]: We are ſuch ſtuff
As dreams are made on [3], and our little life
Is rounded with a ſleep.—Sir, I am vex'd;
Bear with my weakneſs; my old brain is troubled.
Be not diſturb'd with my infirmity:
If thou be pleas'd, retire into my cell,
And there repoſe; a turn or two I'll walk,
To ſtill my beating mind.

Fer.

The well-known lines before us may receive ſome illuſtration from Stowe's account of the pageants exhibited in the year 1604, (not very long before this play was written,) on King James, his Queen &c. paſſing triumphantly from the Tower to Weſtminſter; on which occaſion ſeven Gates or Arches were erected in different places through which the proceſſion paſſed.—Over the firſt gate "was repreſented the "true likeneſs of all the notable houſes, TOWERS and ſteeples, within "the citie of London."——"The ſixt arche or gate of triumph was "erected above the Conduit in Fleete-Streete, wherein the GLOBE "of the world was ſeen to move, &c. At Temple-bar a ſeaventh arche "or gate was erected, the forefront whereof was proportioned in every "reſpect like a TEMPLE, being dedicated to Janus, &c.—The citie "of Weſtminſter, and dutchy of Lancaſter, at the Strand had erected "the invention of a Rainbow, the moone, ſunne, and ſtarres, ad-"vanced between two Pyramides, &c." ANNALS, p. 1429, edit. 1605. MALONE.

[2] *Leave not a* rack *behind:*] *Rack* is generally uſed by our ancient writers for a *body of clouds* ſailing along; or rather for the *courſe of the clouds when in motion.* So, in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

"That which is now a horſe, even with a thought
"The *rack* diſſimns."

But no inſtance has yet been produced, where it is uſed to ſignify a *ſingle ſmall fleeting cloud*, in which ſenſe only it can be figuratively applied here. I incline, therefore, to Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation, though I have not diſturbed the text. MALONE.

Sir T. H. inſtead of *rack*, reads *track*, which may be ſupported by the following paſſage in the firſt ſcene of *Timon of Athens:*

"But flies an eagle flight, bold, and forth on,
"*Leaving no traft behind.*" STEEVENS.

[3] —*We are ſuch ſtuff*
As dreams are made on,] I would willingly perſuade myſelf, that this vulgariſm was introduced by the tranſcriber, and that Shakſpeare wrote—made *of*. But I fear other inſtances are to be found in theſe plays of this unjuſtifiable phraſeology, and therefore have not diſturbed the text.

The ſtanza which immediatly precedes the lines quoted by Mr. Steevens from Lord Sterline's *Darius*, may ſerve ſtill further to confirm the con-

Fer. *Mira.* We wiſh your peace. [*Exeunt.*

Pro. Come with a thought:—I thank thee:—Ariel, come.

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. Thy thoughts I cleave to [4]: What's thy pleaſure?

Pro. Spirit,
We muſt prepare to meet with Caliban [5].

Ari. Ay, my commander: when I preſented Ceres,
I thought to have told thee of it; but I fear'd
Leſt I might anger thee.

Pro. Say again, where didſt thou leave theſe varlets?

Ari. I told you, ſir, they were red-hot with drinking;
So full of valour, that they ſmote the air
For breathing in their faces; beat the ground
For kiſſing of their feet: yet always bending
Towards their project: Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears,
Advanc'd their eye-lids, lifted up their noſes
As they ſmelt muſick; ſo I charm'd their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through
Tooth'd briers, ſharp furzes, pricking goſs [6], and thorns,
Which enter'd their frail ſhins: at laſt I left them
I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'er ſtunk their feet.

Pro.

conjecture that one of theſe poets imitated the other. Our author was, I believe, the imitator:

" And when the eclipſe comes of our glory's light,
" Then what avails the adoring of a name?
" A meer *illuſion made to mock the ſight*,
" Whoſe beſt was but the ſhadow of a *dream*." MALONE.

4 *Thy thoughts I* cleave to:] To *cleave to* is to *unite with cloſely*. So, in *Macbeth*:

" Like our ſtrange garments, *cleave* not *to* their mould."

Again: " If you ſhall *cleave to* my conſent." STEEVENS.

5 —*to* meet with *Caliban*.] *To meet with* is to *counteract*; to play ſtratagem againſt ſtratagem. JOHNSON.

6 —*pricking* goſs,] I know not how Shakſpeare diſtinguiſhed *goſs* from *furze*; for what he calls *furze*, is called *goſs* or *gorſe* in the midland counties. STEEVENS.

Pro. This was well done, my bird:
Thy ſhape inviſible retain thou ſtill:
The trumpery in my houſe, go, bring it hither,
For ſtale to catch theſe thieves [7].
Ari. I go, I go. [*Exit.*
Pro. A devil, a born devil, on whoſe nature
Nurture can never ſtick [8]; on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all loſt [9], quite loſt;
And as, with age, his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers [1]: I will plague them all,

Re-enter ARIEL, *loaden with gliſtering apparel, &c.*

Even to roaring:—Come, hang them on this line [2].

PROSPERO *and* ARIEL *remain inviſible.* *Enter* CALIBAN, STEPHANO, *and* TRINCULO, *all wet.*

Cal. Pray you, tread ſoftly, that the blind mole may not
Hear a foot fall [3]: we now are near his cell.
Ste. Monſter, your fairy, which, you ſay, is a harm-

By the latter, Shakſpeare means the low ſort of *gorſe* that only grows upon wet ground, and which is well deſcribed by the name of *whins* in Markham's *Farewell to Huſbandry*. It has prickles like thoſe on a roſe-tree or a gooſeberry. TOLLET.

7 *For* ſtale *to catch theſe thieves.*] *Stale* is a word in *fowling*, and is uſed to mean a *bait* or *decoy* to catch birds. STEEVENS.

8 Nurture *can never ſtick*;] *Nurture* is *education*. STEEVENS.

9—all, *all loſt*,] The firſt of theſe words was probably introduced by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcriber or compoſitor. We might ſafely read,—*are* all loſt. MALONE.

1 *And as, with age, his body uglier grows,*
So his mind cankers:] Shakſpeare, when he wrote this deſcription, perhaps recollected what his patron's moſt intimate friend, the great lord Eſſex, in an hour of diſcontent, ſaid of queen Elizabeth; "*that ſhe grew old and canker'd, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcaſe:*"—a ſpeech, which, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, coſt him his head, and which, we may therefore ſuppoſe, was at that time much talked of. This play being written in the time of King James, theſe obnoxious words might be ſafely repeated. MALONE.

2 —hang *them on* this line.] The old copy reads—hang *on them*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

3 — *that the blind mole may not*
Hear a foot fall:] This quality of hearing, which the mole is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in ſo high a degree, is mentioned in *Euphues*, quarto, 1581, p. 64. REED.

leſs

leſs fairy, has done little better than play'd the Jack with us [4].

Trin. Monſter, I do ſmell all horſe-piſs; at which my noſe is in great indignation.

Ste. So is mine. Do you hear, monſter? If I ſhould take a diſpleaſure againſt you; look you,—

Trin. Thou wert but a loſt monſter.

Cal. Good, my lord, give me thy favour ſtill:
Be patient, for the prize I'll bring thee to
Shall hood-wink this miſchance: therefore, ſpeak ſoftly;
All's huſh'd as midnight yet.

Trin. Ay, but to loſe our bottles in the pool,—

Ste. There is not only diſgrace and diſhonour in that, monſter, but an infinite loſs.

Trin. That's more to me than my wetting: yet this is your harmleſs fairy, monſter.

Ste. I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.

Cal. Pr'ythee, my king, be quiet: See'ſt thou here,
This is the mouth o' the cell: no noiſe, and enter:
Do that good miſchief, which may make this iſland
Thine own for ever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker.

Ste. Give me thy hand: I do begin to have bloody thoughts.

Trin. O king Stephano! O peer! O worthy Stephano! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee [5]!

Cal. Let it alone, thou fool; it is but traſh.

Trin. Oh, ho, monſter; we know what belongs to a

[4] —*has done little better than play'd the* Jack *with us.*] i. e. He has played *Jack with a lantern*; has led us about like an *ignis fatuus*, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire. JOHNSON.

[5] *O king Stephano! O peer! O worthy Stephano! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee!*] The humour of theſe lines conſiſts in their being an alluſion to an old celebrated ballad, which begins thus: *King Stephen was a worthy peer*—and celebrates that king's parſimony with regard to his wardrobe.—There are two ſtanzas of this ballad in *Othello*. WARBURTON.

The old ballad is printed at large in *The Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. i. PERCY.

frippery[6]:—O king Stephano!

Ste. Put off that gown, Trinculo; by this hand, I'll have that gown.

Trin. Thy grace ſhall have it.

Cal. The dropſy drown this fool! what do you mean,
To doat thus on ſuch luggage? Let it alone[7],
And do the murther firſt: if he awake,
From toe to crown he'll fill our ſkins with pinches;
Make us ſtrange ſtuff.

Ste. Be you quiet, monſter.—Miſtreſs line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line[8]: now, jerkin, you are like to loſe your hair[9], and prove a bald jerkin.

Trin. Do, do: We ſteal by line and level, and't like your grace.

Ste. I thank thee for that jeſt; here's a garment for't: wit ſhall not go unrewarded, while I am king of this country: *Steal by line and level* is an excellent paſs of pate; there's another garment for't.

Trin. Monſter, come, put ſome lime[1] upon your fingers, and away with the reſt.

Cal. I will have none on't: we ſhall loſe our time,

[6] —*we know what belongs to a* frippery:] A *frippery* was a ſhop where old cloaths were ſold. *Fripperie*, Fr. The perſon who kept one of theſe ſhops was called a *fripper*. Strype, in the life of Stowe, ſays, that theſe *frippers* lived in Birchin-lane and Cornhill. STEEVENS.

[7] Let *it* alone,] The old copy reads—Let's alone. For the emendation the preſent editor is anſwerable. Caliban had uſed the ſame expreſſion before.—Mr. Theobald reads—Let's *along*. MALONE.

[8] —*under the line*, &c.] An alluſion to what often happens to people who paſs the line. The violent fevers, which they contract in that hot climate, make them loſe their hair. EDWARDS' MSS.

Perhaps the alluſion is to a more indelicate diſeaſe than any peculiar to the equinoxial. Shakſpeare ſeems to deſign an equivoque between the equinoxial and the girdle of a woman. STEEVENS.

9 *Now*, jerkin, *you are like to loſe your* hair] Jerkins made of goat-ſkins ſeem to have been part of the wardrobe of the theatres in our author's time. [See a note on *the Winter's Tale*, Act IV. ſc. iii.] However, as the apparel brought in by Ariel is deſcribed as ſplendid and gliſtering, the garments here ſpoken of were probably ornamented with tinſel, or gilt leather, and hung upon a *hair*-line. MALONE.

[1] —*put ſome lime*, &c.] That is, *birdlime*. JOHNSON.

And

And all be turn'd to barnacles, or to apes [2]
With foreheads villainous low [3].

Ste. Monſter, lay to your fingers; help to bear this away, where my hogſhead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my kingdom: go to, carry this.

Trin. And this.

Ste. Ay, and this.

A noiſe of hunters heard [4]. *Enter divers Spirits, in ſhape of hounds, and hunt them about*; Proſpero *and* Ariel *ſetting them on.*

Pro. Hey, *Mountain,* hey!

Ari. Silver! there it goes, *Silver!*

Pro. Fury, Fury! there, *Tyrant,* there! hark, hark!

[CAL. STE. *and* TRIN. *are driven out.*

Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints
With dry convulſions; ſhorten up their ſinews
With aged cramps; and more pinch-ſpotted make them,
Than pard, or cat o'mountain.

Ari. Hark, they roar.

Pro. Let them be hunted ſoundly: At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies:
Shortly ſhall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom: for a little,
Follow, and do me ſervice. [*Exeunt.*

[2] —*to barnacles, or to apes*] Skinner ſays *barnacle* is *Anſer Scoticus*: The *barnacle* is a kind of ſhell-fiſh growing on the bottoms of ſhips, and which was anciently ſuppoſed, when broken off, to become one of theſe geeſe. COLLINS.

[3] *With foreheads villainous low.*] *Low foreheads* were anciently reckoned among deformities. STEEVENS.

This opinion was perhaps peculiar to the age of Queen Elizabeth, and to England, whoſe cuſtoms and faſhions Shakſpeare gave to every country, and to all times. In his *Antony* and *Cleopatra* he makes a meſſenger aſſure the Egyptian Queen, that the forehead of her rival Octavia was "as *low* as ſhe could wiſh it." MALONE.

[4] *A noiſe of hunters heard.*] Shakſpeare might have had in view "*Arthur's Chace,* which many believe to be in France, ſaying that it is a kennel of black dogs, followed by unknown huntſmen, with an exceeding great ſound of horns, as if it were a very hunting of ſome wild beaſt." See a *Treatiſe of Spectres* tranſlated from the French of Peter de Loier, and publiſhed in quarto, 1605, p. 11. GREY.

"HECATE, (ſays the ſame writer, *ibid.*) as the Greeks affirmed, did uſe to ſend *dogges* unto men, to feare and terrifie them." MALONE.

ACT V.

SCENE, *the ſame.*

Enter PROSPERO *in his magick robes, and* ARIEL.

Pro. Now does my project gather to a head:
My charms crack not; my ſpirits obey; and time
Goes upright with his carriage[5]. How's the day?
Ari. On the ſixth hour; at which time, my lord,
You ſaid our work ſhould ceaſe.
Pro. I did ſay ſo,
When firſt I rais'd the tempeſt. Say, my ſpirit,
How fares the king and his followers?
Ari. Confin'd together
In the ſame faſhion as you gave in charge;
Juſt as you left them; all priſoners, ſir,
In the lime-grove which weather-fends your cell;
They cannot budge, till your releaſe[6]. The king,
His brother, and yours, abide all three diſtracted;
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brim-full of ſorrow and diſmay; but chiefly him,
That you term'd, ſir, *The good old lord, Gonzalo*;
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds: your charm ſo ſtrongly works 'em,
That if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.
Pro. Doſt thou think ſo, ſpirit?
Ari. Mine would, ſir, were I human.
Pro. And mine ſhall.
Haſt thou, which art but air, a touch[7], a feeling

[5] ——*and time*
Goes upright with his carriage.] Alluding to one carrying a burthen. This critical period of my life proceeds as I could wiſh. Time brings forward all the expected events, without faultering under his burthen. STEEVENS.

[6] *till* your *releaſe.*] i. e. till you releaſe them. MALONE.

[7] ——*a* touch,] A *touch* is a *ſenſation.* So, in *Cymbeline:*
" —— a *touch* more rare
" Subdues all pangs, all fears." STEEVENS.

Of

Of their afflictions? and ſhall not myſelf,
One of their kind, that reliſh all as ſharply,
Paſſion as they[8], be kindlier mov'd than thou art?
Though with their high wrongs I am ſtruck to the quick,
Yet, with my nobler reaſon, 'gainſt my fury
Do I take part: the rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The ſole drift of my purpoſe doth extend
Not a frown farther: Go, releaſe them, Ariel;
My charms I'll break, their ſenſes I'll reſtore,
And they ſhall be themſelves.

Ari. I'll fetch them, ſir. [*Exit.*

Pro. Ye elves of hills, brooks, ſtanding lakes, and groves[9];
And

[8] ——*that reliſh all as ſharply,*
Paſſion as they,] *Paſſion* is a verb in Shakſpeare. I feel every thing with the ſame quick ſenſibility, and am moved by the ſame paſſions as they are. So, in his *Venus and Adonis:*

"Dumbly ſhe *paſſions*, frantickly ſhe doateth." STEEVENS.

[9] *Ye elves of hills, brooks, ſtanding lakes, and groves;*] This ſpeech Dr. Warburton rightly obſerves to be borrowed from Medea's in *Ovid:* and "it proves, ſays Mr. Holt, beyond contradiction, that Shakſpeare was perfectly acquainted with the ſentiments of the ancients on the ſubject of inchantments." The original lines are theſe:

"Auræque, & venti, monteſque, amneſque, lacuſque,
"Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeſte."

the tranſlation of which, by Golding, is by no means literal, and Shakſpeare hath cloſely followed it. FARMER.

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing this whole paſſage with Medea's ſpeech, as tranſlated by Golding, quarto, 1576, will ſee evidently that Shakſpeare copied the tranſlation, and not the original. The particular expreſſions that ſeem to have made an impreſſion on his mind are printed in Italicks:

"Ye ayres and windes, ye *elves of hills*, of *brookes*, of woodes alone,
"Of *ſtanding lakes*, and of the night, approche ye everych one.
"*Through help of whom* (the crooked bankes much wondering at the thing)
"I have compelled ſtreames to run clean backward to their ſpring.
"By charms I make the calm ſea rough, and make the rough ſeas playne,
"And cover all the ſky with clouds, and *chaſe* them thence again.
"*By charmes I raiſe and lay the windes*, and burſt the viper's jaw,
"And from the bowels of the earth both ſtones and trees do draw.
"Whole woods and forreſts I remove, *I make the mountains ſhake*,
"And even the earth itſelf to groan, and fearfully to quake.

And ye, that on the ſands with printleſs foot
Do chaſe the ebbing Neptune [1], and do fly him,
When he comes back; you demy-puppets, that
By moon-ſhine do the green ſour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites; and you, whoſe paſtime
Is to make midnight muſhrooms; that rejoice
To hear the ſolemn curfew; by whoſe aid
(Weak maſters though ye be) [2] I have be-dimm'd
The noon-tide ſun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green ſea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's ſtout oak
With his own bolt: the ſtrong-bas'd promontory
Have I made ſhake; and by the ſpurs pluck'd up

" *I call up dead men from their graves*, and thee, o lightſome moone,
" I darken oft, though beaten braſs abate thy peril ſoone.
" Our ſorcerie *dimmes* the morning faire, and darks *the ſun at noone.*
" The flaming breath of fierie bulles ye quenched for my ſake,
" And cauſed their unwieldy neckes the bended yoke to take.
" Among the earth-bred brothers you a *mortal warre did ſet*,
" And brought aſleep the dragon fell, whoſe eyes were never ſhet."

MALONE.

Ye elves of hills, &c.] *Fairies* and *elves* are frequently in the poets mentioned together, without any diſtinction of character that I can recollect. Keyſler ſays that *alp* and *alf*, which is *elf* with the *Swedes* and *Engliſh*, equally ſignified a mountain, or a dæmon of the mountains. This ſeems to have been its original meaning; but Somner's Dict. mentions elves or fairies of the mountains, of the woods, of the ſea and fountains, without any diſtinction between elves and fairies. TOL.

[1] ——— *with printleſs foot*
Do chaſe the ebbing Neptune,] So Milton, in his *Maſque*:
" Whilſt from off the waters fleet,
" Thus I ſet my *printleſs* feet." STEEVENS.

[2] *(Weak maſters though ye be)*] The meaning of this paſſage may be; *Though you are but inferior maſters of theſe ſupernatural powers,—though you poſſeſs them but in a low degree.* STEEVENS.

——— ——— *by whoſe aid*
(Weak maſters though ye be)

That is; ye are powerful auxiliaries, but weak if left to yourſelves;—your employment is then to make green ringlets, and midnight muſhrooms, and to play the idle pranks mentioned by Ariel in his next ſong;—yet by your aid I have been enabled to invert the courſe of nature. We ſay proverbially, " Fire is a good *ſervant*, but a bad *maſter*."

BLACKSTONE.

The

The pine, and cedar: graves, at my command,
Have wak'd their ſleepers; oped, and let them forth
By my ſo potent art: But this rough magick
I here abjure: and, when I have requir'd
Some heavenly muſick, (which even now I do,)
To work mine end upon their ſenſes, that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my ſtaff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet ſound,
I'll drown my book. [*Solemn muſick.*

Re-enter ARIEL: *after him,* ALONSO, *with a frantick geſture, attended by* GONZALO; SEBASTIAN *and* ANTHONIO *in like manner, attended by* ADRIAN *and* FRANCISCO: *They all enter the circle which* Proſpero *had made, and there ſtand charmed; which* Proſpero *obſerving, ſpeaks.*

A ſolemn air, and the beſt comforter,
To an unſettled fancy's cure![3]—Thy brains,
Now uſeleſs, boil within thy ſkull:[4] there ſtand,
For you are ſpell-ſtopp'd.—
Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
Mine eyes, even ſociable to the ſhew of thine,
Fall fellowly drops.—The charm diſſolves a pace;
And as the morning ſteals upon the night,
Melting the darkneſs, ſo their riſing ſenſes

3 *To an unſettled* fancy's *cure*!] The old copy reads—*fancy*. For this emendation the preſent editor is anſwerable. So, in *King John*:

My widow's comfort, and my *ſorrow's cure*.

Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

——— *Confuſion's cure*
Lives not in theſe confuſions.

Proſpero begins by obſerving, that the air which had been played was admirably adapted to compoſe unſettled minds. He then addreſſes Gonzalo and the reſt, who had juſt before gone into the circle: "Thy brains, now uſeleſs, boil within thy ſkull &c." [the ſoothing ſtrain not having yet begun to operate]. Afterwards, perceiving that the muſick begins to have the effect intended, he adds, "The charm diſſolves a pace." Mr. Pope and the ſubſequent editors read—*boil'd*. MALONE.

4 —boil *within thy ſkull*:] So, in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*: "Lovers and madmen have ſuch *ſething* brains, &c." STEEVENS.

Again, in the *Winter's Tale*: "Would any but theſe *boil'd brains* of nineteen and two-and-twenty hunt this weather?" MALONE.

Begin

Begin to chaſe the ignorant fumes [5] that mantle
Their clearer reaſon.—O good Gonzalo,
My true preſerver, and a loyal ſir
To him thou follow'ſt; I will pay thy graces
Home, both in word and deed.—Moſt cruelly
Didſt thou, Alonſo, uſe me and my daughter:
Thy brother was a furtherer in the act;—
Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebaſtian.—Fleſh and blood [6],
You brother mine, that entertain'd ambition [7],
Expell'd remorſe, and nature [8]; who, with Sebaſtian,
(Whoſe inward pinches therefore are moſt ſtrong,)
Would here have kill'd your king; I do forgive thee,
Unnatural though thou art!—Their underſtanding
Begins to ſwell; and the approaching tide
Will ſhortly fill the reaſonable ſhores,
That now lie foul and muddy. Not one of them,
That yet looks on me, or would know me:—Ariel,
Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell;— [*Exit* ARIEL.
I will diſ-caſe me, and myſelf preſent,
As I was ſometime Milan:—quickly, ſpirit;
Thou ſhalt ere long be free.

ARIEL *re-enters, ſinging, and helps to attire* PROSPERO.

Ari. *Where the bee ſucks, there ſuck I;*
In a cowſlip's bell I lie [9]:

[5] —*the ignorant fumes*] i. e. the fumes of ignorance. HEATH.

[6] *Thou'art pinch'd for't now, Sebaſtian.—Fleſh and blood,*] Thus the old copy: Theobald points the paſſage in a different manner, and perhaps rightly:

"Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebaſtian, fleſh and blood." STEEVENS.

[7] *That* entertain'd *ambition,*] Old copy—*entertain.* Corrected by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

[8] — remorſe *and* nature;] *Remorſe* is by our author and the contemporary writers generally uſed for *pity*, or *tenderneſs of heart*. *Nature* is natural affection. MALONE.

[9] *In a* cowſlip's *bell I lie:*] So, in Drayton's *Nymphidia*:

"At midnight, the appointed hour;
"And for the queen a fitting *bower*,
"Quoth he, is that fair *cowſlip* flower
"On Hipcut hill that bloweth."

The date of this poem not being aſcertained, we know not whether our author was indebted to it, or was himſelf copied by Drayton. I believe, the latter was the imitator. *Nymphidia* was not written, I imagine, till after the Engliſh Don Quixote had appeared in 1612. MALONE.

There I couch, when owls do cry[1].
On the bat's back I do fly
After ſummer, merrily[2]:
Merrily, merrily, ſhall I live now,
Under the bloſſom that hangs on the bough[3].

Pro. Why, that's my dainty Ariel: I ſhall miſs thee;
But yet thou ſhalt have freedom: So, ſo, ſo.—
To the king's ſhip, inviſible as thou art:
There ſhalt thou find the mariners aſleep
Under the hatches; the maſter, and the boatſwain,
Being awake, enforce them to this place;
And preſently, I pr'ythee.

Ari.

[1] —*when owls do cry.*] i. e. at night. Dr. Warburton thought that theſe words denoted the time of Ariel's flight to be *winter*; but owls, as Mr. Steevens has obſerved, are as clamorous in ſummer as in winter. As this paſſage is now printed, Ariel ſays that he repoſes in a cowſlip's bell during the night. Perhaps, however, a full point ought to be placed after the word *couch*, and a comma at the end of the line. If the paſſage ſhould be thus regulated, Ariel will then take his departure by night, the proper ſeaſon for the bat to ſet out upon the expedition. MAL.

[2] *After* ſummer *merrily*:] Mr. Theobald reads—after *ſun-ſet*, "becauſe the bat is not viſible by day, but appears firſt about twilight." Dr. Warburton thinks *ſummer* is right, "the roughneſs of winter being repreſented by Shakſpeare as diſagreeable to fairies and ſuch like delicate ſpirits, who on this account conſtantly follow *ſummer*."—Mr. Steevens thinks that, "the bat being no bird of paſſage, this expreſſion is probably uſed to ſignify, not that Ariel *purſues ſummer*, but that *after ſummer is paſt*, he rides upon the ſoft down of a bat's back, which ſuits not improperly with the delicacy of his airy being."—I ſee, however, no reaſon why Ariel ſhould beſtride his bat with more ardour *after* ſummer than *before*, or *during* that ſeaſon; unleſs we underſtand, with Dr. Warburton, that he goes in *purſuit* of ſummer, in whatever part of the globe it could be found (in which ſenſe the word *after* is frequently uſed in the midland counties). Our author is ſeldom ſolicitous that every part of his imagery ſhould correſpond. I, therefore, think, that though the bat is "no bird of paſſage," Shakſpeare probably meant to expreſs what Dr. Warburton ſuppoſes. A ſhort account, however, of this winged animal may perhaps prove the beſt illuſtration of the paſſage before us:

"The bat (ſays Dr. Goldſmith, in his entertaining and inſtructive "*Natural Hiſtory*,) makes its appearance in *ſummer*, and begins its flight "in the duſk of the evening. It appears only in the *moſt pleaſant* "evenings; at other times it continues in its retreat; the chink of a "ruined building, or the hollow of a tree. Thus the little animal even "in ſummer ſleeps the greateſt part of his time, never venturing out by "day-

Ari. I drink the air [4] before me, and return
Or e'er your pulſe twice beat. [*Exit* ARIEL.

Gon. All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement
Inhabits here; Some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country!

Pro. Behold, ſir king,
The wronged duke of Milan, Proſpero:
For more aſſurance that a living prince
Does now ſpeak to thee, I embrace thy body;
And to thee, and thy company, I bid
A hearty welcome.

Alon. Whe'r thou be'ſt he, or no,
Or ſome inchanted trifle to abuſe me,
As late I have been, I not know: thy pulſe
Beats, as of fleſh and blood; and, ſince I ſaw thee,
The affliction of my mind amends, with which,
I fear, a madneſs held me: this muſt crave
(An if this be at all,) a moſt ſtrange ſtory.
Thy dukedom I reſign [5]; and do intreat,
Thou pardon me my wrongs:—But how ſhould Proſpero
Be living, and be here?

Pro. Firſt, noble friend,

" day-light, nor in *rainy* weather. But its ſhort life is ſtill more abridged " by continuing in a torpid ſtate during the *winter*. At the approach of " the cold ſeaſon, the bat prepares for its ſtate of lifeleſs inactivity, and " ſeems rather to chooſe a place where it may continue ſafe from in- " terruption, than where it may be warmly or commodiouſly lodged."

When Shakſpeare had determined to ſend Ariel in purſuit of ſummer, wherever it could be found, as moſt congenial to ſuch an airy being, is it then ſurpriſing that he ſhould have made the *bat*, rather than " the wind, his poſt-horſe;" an animal thus delighting in that ſeaſon, and reduced by winter to a ſtate of lifeleſs inactivity? MALONE.

3 *Under the bleſſom that hangs on the bough.*] So, in *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, tranſlated by Fairfax, 1600:

" The goblins, *fairies*———
" Ranged in *flowerie dales*, and mountaines hore,
" *And under every trembling leaf they ſit.*" ANONYMOUS.

4 *I drink the air.*—] *To drink the air*—is an expreſſion of ſwiftneſs of the ſame kind as *to devour the way* in *Henry IV.* JOHNSON.

5 *Thy dukedom I reſign*;—] The duchy of Milan being through the treachery of Anthonio made feudatory to the crown of Naples, Alonſo promiſes to reſign his claim of ſovereignty for the future. STEEVENS.

Let

Let me embrace thine age; whoſe honour cannot
Be meaſur'd, or confin'd.
Gon. Whether this be,
Or be not, I'll not ſwear.
Pro. You do yet taſte
Some ſubtilties o' the iſle, that will not let you
Believe things certain:—Welcome, my friends all:—
But you, my brace of lords, were I ſo minded,
[*Aſide to* SEB. *and* ANT.
I here could pluck his highneſs' frown upon you,
And juſtify you traitors; at this time
I'll tell no tales.
Seb. The devil ſpeaks in him. [*Aſide.*
Pro. No:—
For you, moſt wicked ſir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankeſt fault; all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which, perforce, I know,
Thou muſt reſtore.
Alon. If thou be'ſt Proſpero,
Give us particulars of thy preſervation:
How thou haſt met us here, who three hours ſince[6]
Were wreck'd upon this ſhore; where I have loſt,
How ſharp the point of this remembrance is!
My dear ſon Ferdinand.
Pro. I am woe for't, ſir[7].

[6] —*who* three hours *ſince*] The unity of time is moſt rigidly obſerved in this piece. The fable ſcarcely takes up a greater number of hours than are employed in the repreſentation; and from the very particular care which our author takes to point out this circumſtance in ſo many other paſſages, as well as here, it ſhould ſeem as if it were not accidental, but purpoſely deſigned to ſhew the admirers of Ben Jonſon's art, and the cavillers of the time, that he too could write a play within all the ſtricteſt laws of regularity, when he choſe to load himſelf with the critick's fetters.

The *Boatſwain* marks the progreſs of the day again—*which but three glaſſes ſince*, &c. and at the beginning of this act the duration of the time employed on the ſtage is particularly aſcertained; and it refers to a paſſage in the firſt act, of the ſame tendency. The ſtorm was raiſed *at leaſt* two glaſſes after mid-day, and Ariel was promiſed that *the work ſhould ceaſe* at the *ſixth hour*. STEEVENS.

[7] *I am woe for't, ſir.*] i. e. *I am ſorry for it.* STEEVENS.

Alon.

Fer. Sir, ſhe's mortal;
But, by immortal providence, ſhe's mine;
I choſe her, when I could not aſk my father
For his advice; nor thought I had one: ſhe
Is daughter to this famous duke of Milan,
Of whom ſo often I have heard renown,
But never ſaw before; of whom I have
Receiv'd a ſecond life, and ſecond father
This lady makes him to me.

Alon. I am hers:
But o, how oddly will it ſound, that I
Muſt aſk my child forgiveneſs!

Pro. There, ſir, ſtop;
Let us not burthen our remembrances[2]
With a heavineſs that's gone,

Gon. I've inly wept,
Or ſhould have ſpoke ere this. Look down, you gods,
And on this couple drop a bleſſed crown;
For it is you, that have chalk'd forth the way
Which brought us hither!

Alon. I ſay, Amen, Gonzalo!

Gon. Was Milan thruſt from Milan, that his iſſue
Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice
Beyond a common joy; and ſet it down
With gold on laſting pillars: In one voyage
Did Claribel her huſband find at Tunis;
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife,
Where he himſelf was loſt; Proſpero his dukedom,
In a poor iſle; and all of us, ourſelves,
When no man was his own.[3]

Alon. Give me your hands: [*To* Fer. *and* Mir.
Let grief and ſorrow ſtill embrace his heart,
That doth not wiſh you joy!

Gon. Be't ſo! Amen!

[2] *Our* remembrances—] By the miſtake of the tranſcriber the word *with* being placed at the end of this line, Mr. Pope and the ſubſequent editors, for the ſake of the metre, read—*remembrance*. The regulation now made renders change unneceſſary. MALONE.

[3] *When no man was his own.*] i. e. *at a time when* no one was in his ſenſes. It is ſtill ſaid, in colloquial language, that a madman *is not his own man*, i. e. is not maſter of himſelf. STEEVENS.

Re-

Re-enter ARIEL, *with the* Maſter *and* Boatſwain *amazedly following.*

O look, ſir, look, ſir, here are more of us!
I propheſy'd, if a gallows were on land,
This fellow could not drown:—Now, blaſphemy,
That ſwear'ſt grace o'erboard, not an oath on ſhore?
Haſt thou no mouth by land? What is the news?

Boatſ. The beſt news is, that we have ſafely found
Our king, and company: the next, our ſhip,
Which, but three glaſſes ſince, we gave out ſplit,
Is tight, and yare, and bravely rigg'd, as when
We firſt put out to ſea.

Ari. Sir, all this ſervice
Have I done ſince I went. } *Aſide.*

Pro. My trickſy ſpirit[4]!

Alon. Theſe are not natural events; they ſtrengthen,
From ſtrange to ſtranger:—Say, how came you hither?

Boatſ. If I did think, ſir, I were well awake,
I'd ſtrive to tell you. We were dead aſleep[5],
And (how, we know not,) all clapp'd under hatches,
Where, but even now, with ſtrange and ſeveral noiſes
Of roaring, ſhrieking, howling, gingling chains,
And more diverſity of ſounds, all horrible,
We were awak'd; ſtraitway, at liberty:
Where we, in all her trim[6], freſhly beheld
Our royal, good, and gallant ſhip; our maſter
Capering to eye her: On a trice, ſo pleaſe you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
And were brought moping hither.

Ari. Was't well done?

Pro. Bravely, my diligence. Thou ſhalt be free. } *Aſide.*

4 *My* trickſy ſpirit!] is, I believe, my clever, adroit ſpirit. Shakſpeare uſes the ſame word elſewhere:

" ——that for a *trickſy* word
" Defy the matter." STEEVENS.

5 — *dead* aſleep,] The old copy reads—*of* ſleep. STEEVENS. The emendation is Mr. Pope's. MALONE.

6 — *in all* her *trim*,] The old copy has—*our* trim. Corrected by Dr. Thirlby. MALONE.

Alon. This is as ſtrange a maze as e'er men trod;
And there is in this buſineſs more than nature
Was ever conduct of[7]: ſome oracle
Muſt rectify our knowledge.

Pro. Sir, my liege,
Do not infeſt your mind with beating on
The ſtrangeneſs of this buſineſs[8]; at pick'd leiſure,
Which ſhall be ſhortly, ſingle I'll reſolve you
(Which to you ſhall ſeem probable) of every
Theſe happen'd accidents[9]: till when, be chearful,
And think of each thing well.—Come hither, ſpirit; [*aſide.*
Set Caliban and his companions free:
Untie the ſpell. [*Exit* Ariel.] How fares my gracious ſir?
Theſe are yet miſſing of your company
Some few odd lads, that you remember not.

Re-enter ARIEL, *driving in* CALIBAN, STEPHANO, *and* TRINCULO, *in their ſtolen apparel.*

Ste. Every man ſhift for all the reſt, and let no man take care for himſelf; for all is but fortune:—Coragio, bully-monſter, Coragio!

7 — *conduct* of:] Conduct *for* conductor. STEEVENS.
So, in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Come bitter *conduct*, &c. MALONE.
Conduct is yet uſed in the ſame ſenſe: the perſon at Cambridge who reads prayers in King's and Trinity College chapels is ſtill ſo ſtyled. HENLEY.

8 ——*with beating on*
The ſtrangeneſs &c.] A ſimilar expreſſion occurs in one of the parts of *King Henry VI*:
"——your thoughts
"*Beat* on a crown."
Beating may mean *hammering*, working in the mind, dwelling long upon. Miranda, in the ſecond ſcene of this play, tells her father that the ſtorm is ſtill *beating* in her mind. STEEVENS.
A kindred expreſſion occurs in *Hamlet*: "*Cudgel* thy brains no more about it." MALONE.

9 —— *I'll reſolve you*
(Which to you ſhall ſeem probable) of every
Theſe happen'd accidents:] I will inform you how all theſe wonderful accidents have happened; which, though they now appear to you ſtrange, will then ſeem probable.
An anonymous writer pointed out the true conſtruction of this paſſage, but his explanation is, I think, incorrect. MALONE.

Trin.

Trin. If theſe be true ſpies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly ſight.

Cal. O Setebos, theſe be brave ſpirits, indeed! How fine my maſter is! I am afraid He will chaſtiſe me.

Seb. Ha, ha; What things are theſe, my lord Anthonio! Will money buy them?

Ant. Very like; one of them Is a plain fiſh, and, no doubt, marketable.

Pro. Mark but the badges of theſe men, my lords, Then ſay, if they be true [1]:—This miſ-ſhapen knave,— His mother was a witch; and one ſo ſtrong That could control the moon [2], make flows and ebbs, And deal in her command without her power: Theſe three have robb'd me; and this demi-devil (For he's a baſtard one,) had plotted with them To take my life; two of theſe fellows you Muſt know, and own; this thing of darkneſs I Acknowledge mine.

Cal. I ſhall be pinch'd to death.

Alon. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler?

Seb. He's drunk now: Where had he wine?

Alon. And Trinculo is reeling ripe; Where ſhould they Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them [3]? — How

[1] —*true:*] That is, *honeſt.* A *true man* is, in the language of that time, oppoſed to a *thief.* The ſenſe is, *Mark what theſe men wear, and ſay if they are honeſt.* JOHNSON.

[2] ——— *and one ſo ſtrong*

That could control the moon,] From Medea's ſpeech in Ovid (as tranſlated by Golding) our author might have learned, that this was one of the pretended powers of witchcraft:

"—— And thee, o lightſome *moon,*
" I darken oft, though beaten braſs abate thy peril ſoon."

MALONE.

[3] —*this grand* liquor *that hath* gilded *them?*] Shakſpeare, to be ſure, wrote—grand *elixir,* alluding to the *grand* Eixir of the alchymiſts, which they pretend would reſtore youth, and confer immortality. This, as they ſaid, being a preparation of gold, they called *Aurum potabile.* The phraſe of being *gilded* was a trite one on this occaſion. Thus Fletcher, in his *Chances*:—" Duke. *Is ſhe not drunk too?* Whore. *A little* gilded *o'er, ſir; old ſack, old ſack, boys!*" WARBURTON.

How cam'ſt thou in this pickle?

Trin. I have been in ſuch a pickle, ſince I ſaw you laſt, that, I fear me, will never out of my bones: I ſhall not fear fly-blowing [4].

Seb. Why, how now, Stephano?

Ste. O, touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp [5].

Pro. You'd be king of the iſle, ſirrah?

Ste. I ſhould have been a ſore one then.

Alon. This is a ſtrange thing as e'er I look'd on. [*Pointing to* CALIBAN.

Pro. He is as diſproportion'd in his manners,
As in his ſhape:—Go, ſirrah, to my cell;
Take with you your companions; as you look
To have my pardon, trim it handſomely.

Cal. Ay, that I will; and I'll be wiſe hereafter,
And ſeek for grace: What a thrice-double aſs
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worſhip this dull fool?

Pro. Go to; away!

Alon. Hence, and beſtow your luggage where you found it.

Seb. Or ſtole it, rather. [*Exeunt* CAL. STE. *and* TRIN.

Pro. Sir, I invite your highneſs, and your train,
To my poor cell: where you ſhall take your reſt
For this one night; which (part of it) I'll waſte
With ſuch diſcourſe, as, I not doubt, ſhall make it
Go quick away: the ſtory of my life,
And the particular accidents, gone by,
Since I came to this iſle: And in the morn,
I'll bring you to your ſhip, and ſo to Naples,
Where I have hope to ſee the nuptial
Of theſe our dear-beloved ſolemniz'd;

As the alchymiſt's *Elixir* was ſuppoſed to be a liquor, the old reading may ſtand, and the alluſion holds good without any alteration. STEEVENS.

4 —*fly-blowing.*] This pickle alludes to their plunge into the ſtinking pool; and *pickling* preſerves meat from *fly-blowing*. STEEVENS.

5 — *but a* cramp.] i. e. I am all over a *cramp*. Proſpero had ordered Ariel to *ſhorten up their ſinews with aged cramps*. *Touch me not* alludes to the *ſoreneſs* occaſioned by them. In the next line the ſpeaker confirms this meaning by a quibble on the word *ſore*. STEEVENS.

And

And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought ſhall be my grave.
Alon. I long
To hear the ſtory of your life, which muſt
Take the ear ſtrangely.
Pro. I'll deliver all;
And promiſe you calm ſeas, auſpicious gales,
And ſail ſo expeditious, that ſhall catch
Your royal fleet far off.—My Ariel;—chick,— } *Aſide.*
That is thy charge; then to the elements }
Be free, and fare thou well!—Pleaſe you, draw near.
[*Exeunt.*

EPILOGUE,

SPOKEN BY PROSPERO.

NOW my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what ſtrength I have's mine own;
Which is moſt faint: now, 'tis true,
I muſt be here confin'd by you,
Or ſent to Naples: Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got,
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare iſland, by your ſpell;
But releaſe me from my bands,
With the help of your good hands [6].
Gentle breath of yours my ſails
Muſt fill, or elſe my project fails,
Which was to pleaſe: Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is deſpair,
Unleſs I be reliev'd by prayer [7];
Which pierces ſo, that it aſſaults
Mercy itſelf, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence ſet me free [8].

[6] *With the help* &c.] By your applauſe, by clapping hands. JOHNS. Noiſe was ſuppoſed to diſſolve a ſpell. So twice before in this play:

"No tongue; all eyes; be ſilent."

Again: "——huſh! be mute;

"Or elſe our *ſpell is marr'd*. STEEVENS.

[7] *And my ending is deſpair,*
Unleſs I be reliev'd by prayer;] This alludes to the old ſtories told of the deſpair of necromancers in their laſt moments, and of the efficacy of the prayers of their friends for them. WARBURTON.

[8] It is obſerved of *The Tempeſt*, that its plan is regular; this the author of *The Reviſal* thinks, what I think too, an accidental effect of the ſtory, not intended or regarded by our author. But, whatever might be Shakſpeare's intention in forming or adopting the plot, he has made it inſtrumental to the production of many characters, diverſified with boundleſs invention, and preſerved with profound ſkill in nature, extenſive knowledge of opinions, and accurate obſervation of life. In a ſingle drama are here exhibited princes, courtiers, and ſailors, all ſpeaking in their real characters. There is the agency of airy ſpirits, and of an earthly goblin. The operations of magick, the tumults of a ſtorm, the adventures of a deſert iſland, the native effuſion of untaught affection, the puniſhment of guilt, and the final happineſs of the pair for whom our paſſions and reaſon are equally intereſted. JOHNSON.

TWO GENTLEMEN of VERONA.

Perſons Repreſented.

Duke of Milan, *father to* Silvia.
Valentine, } *Gentlemen of* Verona.
Protheus, }
Anthonio, *father to* Protheus.
Thurio, *a fooliſh rival to* Valentine.
Eglamour, *agent for* Silvia *in her eſcape.*
Speed, *a clowniſh ſervant to* Valentine.
Launce, *ſervant to* Protheus.
Panthino*, *ſervant to* Anthonio.
Hoſt, where Julia *lodges in* Milan.
Out-laws.

Julia, *a lady of* Verona, *beloved by* Protheus.
Silvia, *the duke's daughter, beloved by* Valentine.
Lucetta, *waiting-woman to* Julia.

Servants, muſicians.

SCENE, ſometimes in Verona; *ſometimes in* Milan; *and on the frontiers of* Mantua.

* *Panthino,*] In the enumeration of characters in the old copy, this attendant on Anthonio is called *Panthion*, but in the play, always *Panthino*. STEEVENS.

TWO GENTLEMEN of VERONA[1].

ACT I. SCENE I.

An open place in Verona.

Enter VALENTINE *and* PROTHEUS.

Val. Ceaſe to perſuade, my loving Protheus;
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits:

Wer't

[1] Some of the incidents in this play may be ſuppoſed to have been taken from *The Arcadia*, book I. chap. 6. where Pyrocles conſents to head the Helots. (The *Arcadia* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Aug. 23d, 1588, and printed in 1590.) The love-adventure of Julia reſembles that of Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and is indeed common to many of the ancient novels. STEEVENS.

Mrs. *Lenox* obſerves, and I think not improbably, that the ſtory of *Protheus* and *Julia* might be taken from a ſimilar one in the *Diana* of *George* of *Montemayor*.—"This paſtoral romance," ſays ſhe, "was tranſlated from the *Spaniſh* in *Shakſpeare's* time." I have ſeen no earlier tranſlation than that of *Bartholomew Yong*, who dates his dedication in *November* 1598; and *Meres*, in his *Wit's Treaſury*, printed the ſame year, expreſsly mentions the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Indeed *Montemayor* was tranſlated two or three years before by one *Thomas Wilſon*; but this work, I am perſuaded, was never publiſhed *entirely*; perhaps ſome parts of it were, or the tale might have been tranſlated by others. However, Mr. Steevens ſays, very truly, that this kind of love adventure is frequent in the old *noveliſts*. FARMER.

There is no earlier tranſlation of the *Diana* entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, than that of B. Younge, September 1598. Many tranſlations, however, after they were licenſed, were capriciouſly ſuppreſſed. Among others, "The Decameron of Mr. John Boccase, Florentine," was "recalled by my lord of Canterbury's commands." STEEVENS.

This comedy, I believe, was written in 1595. See *An Attempt to aſcertain the order of Shakſpeare's plays*, ante. MALONE.

It is obſervable, (I know not for what cauſe,) that the ſtyle of this comedy is leſs figurative, and more natural and unaffected than the greater part of this author's, though ſuppoſed to be one of the firſt he wrote. POPE.

It

Wer't not, affection chains thy tender days
To the ſweet glances of thy honour'd love,

It may very well be doubted whether Shakſpeare had any other hand in this play than the enlivening it with ſome ſpeeches and lines thrown in here and there, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed, as being of a different ſtamp from the reſt. HANMER.

To this obſervation of Mr. Pope, which is very juſt, Mr. Theobald has added, that this is one of Shakſpeare's *worſt plays, and is leſs corrupted than any other.* Mr. Upton peremptorily determines, *that if any proof can be drawn from manner and ſtyle, this play muſt be ſent packing, and ſeek for its parent elſewhere. How otherwiſe,* ſays he, *do painters diſtinguiſh copies from originals? and have not authors their peculiar ſtyle and manner, from which a true critick can form as unerring judgment as a painter?* I am afraid this illuſtration of a critick's ſcience will not prove what is deſired. A painter knows a copy from an original by rules ſomewhat reſembling thoſe by which criticks know a tranſlation, which if it be literal, and literal it muſt be to reſemble the copy of a picture, will be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Copies are known from originals, even when the painter copies his own picture; ſo, if an author ſhould literally tranſlate his work, he would loſe the manner of an original.

Mr. Upton confounds the copy of a picture with the imitation of a painter's manner. Copies are eaſily known, but good imitations are not detected with equal certainty, and are, by the beſt judges, often miſtaken. Nor is it true that the writer has always peculiarities equally diſtinguiſhable with thoſe of the painter. The peculiar manner of each ariſes from the deſire, natural to every performer, of facilitating his ſubſequent works by recurrence to his former ideas; this recurrence produces that repetition which is called habit. The painter, whoſe work is partly intellectual and partly manual, has habits of the mind, the eye, and the hand; the writer has only habits of the mind. Yet, ſome painters have differed as much from themſelves as from any other; and I have been told, that there is little reſemblance between the firſt works of Raphael and the laſt. The ſame variation may be expected in writers; and if it be true, as it ſeems, that they are leſs ſubject to habit, the difference between their works may be yet greater.

But by the internal marks of a compoſition we may diſcover the author with probability, though ſeldom with certainty. When I read this play, I cannot but think that I find, both in the ſerious and ludicrous ſcenes, the language and ſentiments of Shakſpeare. It is not indeed one of his moſt powerful effuſions; it has neither many diverſities of character, nor ſtriking delineations of life, but it abounds in γνωμαι beyond moſt of his plays, and few have more lines or paſſages, which, ſingly conſidered, are eminently beautiful. I am yet inclined to believe that it was not very ſucceſsful, and ſuſpect that it has eſcaped corruption, only becauſe, being ſeldom played, it was leſs expoſed to the hazards of tranſcription. JOHNSON.

I rather would entreat thy company,
To ſee the wonders of the world abroad,
Than, living dully ſluggardiz'd at home,
Wear out thy youth with ſhapeleſs idleneſs[2].
But, ſince thou lov'ſt, love ſtill, and thrive therein,
Even as I would, when I to love begin.

Pro. Wilt thou be gone? Sweet Valentine, adieu!
Think on thy Protheus, when thou, haply, ſeeſt
Some rare note-worthy object in thy travel:
Wiſh me partaker in thy happineſs,
When thou doſt meet good hap; and, in thy danger,
If ever danger do environ thee,
Commend thy grievance to my holy prayers,
For I will be thy bead's-man, Valentine.

Val. And on a love-book pray for my ſucceſs.

Pro. Upon ſome book I love, I'll pray for thee.

Val. That's on ſome ſhallow ſtory of deep love,
How young Leander croſs'd the Helleſpont[3].

Pro. That's a deep ſtory of a deeper love;
For he was more than over ſhoes in love.

Val. 'Tis true; for you are over boots in love,
And yet you never ſwom the Helleſpont.

Pro. Over the boots? nay, give me not the boots[4].

Val.

[2] —*ſhapeleſs idleneſs.*] The expreſſion is fine, as implying that *idleneſs* prevents the giving any form or character to the manners. WARBURTON.

[3] ——— *ſome ſhallow ſtory of deep love,*
How young Leander croſs'd the Helleſpont.] The poem of Muſæus, entitled HERO AND LEANDER, is meant. Marlowe's tranſlation of this piece was entered on the Stationers' books, Sept. 18, 1593, and the firſt two Seſtiads of it, with a ſmall part of the third, (which was all that he had finiſhed,) were printed, I imagine, in that, or the following year. See Blount's dedication to the edition of 1637, by which it appears that it was originally publiſhed in an imperfect ſtate. It was extremely popular, and deſervedly ſo, many of *Marlowe's* lines being as ſmooth as thoſe of Dryden. Our author has quoted one of them in *As you like it.* He had probably read this poem recently before he wrote the preſent play; for he again alludes to it in the third act:

" Why then a ladder, quaintly made of cords,
" Would ſerve to ſcale another *Hero's* tower,
" So bold *Leander* would adventure it." MALONE.

[4] —*nay, give me not the boots.*] A proverbial expreſſion, though now diſuſed,

Val. No, I will not, for it boots thee not.
Pro. What?
Val. To be in love, where ſcorn is bought with groans;
Coy looks, with heart-ſore ſighs; one fading moment's mirth,
With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
If haply won, perhaps, a hapleſs gain;
If loſt, why then a grievous labour won;
However, but a folly bought with wit,
Or elſe a wit by folly vanquiſhed[5].
Pro. So, by your circumſtance, you call me fool.
Val. So, by your circumſtance, I fear you'll prove.
Pro. 'Tis love you cavil at; I am not love.
Val. Love is your maſter, for he maſters you;
And he that is ſo yoked by a fool,
Methinks ſhould not be chronicled for wiſe.
Pro. Yet writers ſay, As in the ſweeteſt bud
The eating canker dwells[6], ſo eating love
Inhabits in the fineſt wits of all.
Val. And writers ſay, As the moſt forward bud
Is eaten by the canker ere it blow,
Even ſo by love the young and tender wit
Is turn'd to folly; blaſting in the bud,
Loſing his verdure even in the prime,
And all the fair effects of future hopes.
But wherefore waſte I time to counſel thee,

diſuſed, ſignifying, don't make a laughing ſtock of me; don't play upon me. The French have a phraſe, *Bailler ſoin en corne*; which Cotgrave thus interprets, *To give one the boots*; to ſell him a bargain. THEOBALD.

Perhaps this expreſſion took its origin from a ſport the country people in Warwickſhire uſe at their harveſt-home, where one ſits as judge, to try miſdemeanours committed in harveſt, and the puniſhment for the men is to be laid on a bench, and flapped on the breech with a pair of *boots*. This they call *giving them the boots*. The *boots*, however, were anciently an engine of torture. See Mſs Harl. 6999—48. STEEV.

5 *However, but a folly* &c.] This love will end in a *fooliſh action*, to produce which you are long to ſpend your *wit*, or it will end in the loſs of your *wit*, which will be overpowered by the folly of love. JOHNSON.

6 ——— *As in the* ſweeteſt bud
The eating canker *dwells*,] So, in our author's 70th Sonnet,
" For *canker* vice the *ſweeteſt buds* doth love." MALONE.

That

That art a votary to fond deſire?
Once more adieu: my father at the road
Expects my coming, there to ſee me ſhipp'd.
Pro. And thither will I bring thee, Valentine.
Val. Sweet Protheus no; now let us take our leave.
At Milan[7], let me hear from thee by letters,
Of thy ſucceſs in love, and what news elſe
Betideth here in abſence of thy friend;
And I likewiſe will viſit thee with mine.
Pro. All happineſs bechance to thee in Milan!
Val. As much to you at home! and ſo, farewell!
[*Exit* VALENTINE.
Pro. He after honour hunts, I after love:
He leaves his friends, to dignify them more;
I leave myſelf*, my friends, and all for love.
Thou, Julia, thou haſt metamorphos'd me;
Made me neglect my ſtudies, loſe my time,
War with good counſel, ſet the world at nought;
Made wit[8] with muſing weak, heart ſick with thought.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. Sir Protheus, ſave you: Saw you my maſter?
Pro. But now he parted hence, to embark for Milan.
Speed. Twenty to one then, he is ſhipp'd already;
And I have play'd the ſheep, in loſing him.
Pro. Indeed a ſheep doth very often ſtray,
An if the ſhepherd be awhile away.
Speed. You conclude, that my maſter is a ſhepherd then, and I a ſheep[9]?
Pro. I do.
Speed. Why then my horns are his horns, whether I wake or ſleep.
Pro. A ſilly anſwer, and fitting well a ſheep.

[7] At *Milan*,—] The old copy has—*To* Milan. The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. The firſt copy however may be right. "*To Milan*"—may here be intended as an imperfect ſentence. I am now bound for Milan. MALONE.

* *I* leave, &c.] Old copy—I *love*—Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

[8] Made *wit*—] i. e. thou haſt made &c. MALONE.

[9] — a *ſheep?*] The article, which is wanting in the original copy, was ſupplied by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

Speed.

Speed. This proves me ſtill a ſheep.

Pro. True; and thy maſter a ſhepherd.

Speed. Nay, that I can deny by a circumſtance.

Pro. It ſhall go hard, but I'll prove it by another.

Speed. The ſhepherd ſeeks the ſheep, and not the ſheep the ſhepherd; but I ſeek my maſter, and my maſter ſeeks not me: therefore, I am no ſheep.

Pro. The ſheep for fodder follow the ſhepherd, the ſhepherd for food follows not the ſheep; thou for wages followeſt thy maſter, thy maſter for wages follows not thee: therefore, thou art a ſheep.

Speed. Such another proof will make me cry baa.

Pro. But doſt thou hear? gav'ſt thou my letter to Julia?

Speed. Ay, ſir: I, a loſt mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton[9]; and ſhe, a laced mutton, gave me, a loſt mutton, nothing for my labour.

Pro. Here's too ſmall a paſture for ſuch a ſtore of muttons.

Speed. If the ground be overcharg'd, you were beſt ſtick her.

Pro. Nay, in that you are aſtray; 'twere beſt pound you.

Speed. Nay, ſir, leſs than a pound ſhall ſhall ſerve me for carrying your letter.

Pro. You miſtake; I mean the pound, a pinfold.

Speed. From a pound to a pin? fold it over and over,
'Tis threefold too little for carrying a letter to your lover.

9 *I, a* loſt mutton, *gave your letter to her, a* laced mutton;] Speed calls himſelf a *loſt mutton*, becauſe he had loſt his maſter, and becauſe Protheus had been proving him a ſheep. But why does he call the lady a laced mutton? Wenchers are to this day called *mutton-mongers*, and conſequently the object of their paſſion muſt be the *mutton*. THEOB.

A *laced mutton* was in our author's time ſo eſtabliſhed a term for a courtezan, that a ſtreet in Clerkenwell, which was much frequented by women of the town, was then called *Mutton-lane*. It ſeems to have been a phraſe of the ſame kind as the French expreſſion—*caille coiffée*, and might be rendered in that language, *mouton en coiffet*. This appellation appears to have been as old as the time of king Henry III. "Item ſequitur gravis pœna corporalis, ſed ſine amiſſione vitæ vel membrorum, ſi raptus ſit de *concubina* legitima, vel *aliâ qnæſtum faciente*, ſine delectu perſonarum: has quidem *oves* debet rex tueri pro pace ſuâ." Bracton *de Legibus*, lib. ii. MALONE.

Pro.

Pro. But what ſaid ſhe? did ſhe nod [2].

Speed. I. [Speed *nods.*

Pro. Nod, I? why that's noddy [3].

Speed. You miſtook, ſir; I ſay ſhe did nod: and you aſk me, if ſhe did nod; and I ſay, I.

Pro. And that ſet together, is noddy.

Speed. Now you have taken the pains to ſet it together, take it for your pains.

Pro. No, no, you ſhall have it for bearing the letter.

Speed. Well, I perceive, I muſt be fain to bear with you.

Pro. Why, ſir, how do you bear with me?

Speed. Marry, ſir, the letter very orderly; having nothing but the word, noddy, for my pains.

Pro. Beſhrew me, but you have a quick wit.

Speed. And yet it cannot overtake your ſlow purſe.

Pro. Come, come, open the matter in brief: What ſaid ſhe?

Speed. Open your purſe, that the money, and the matter, may be both at once deliver'd.

Pro. Well ſir, here is for your pains: What ſaid ſhe?

Speed. Truly, Sir, I think you'll hardly win her.

Pro. Why? Couldſt thou perceive ſo much from her?

Speed. Sir, I could perceive nothing at all from her; no, not ſo much as a ducat for delivering your letter: And being ſo hard to me that brought your mind, I fear ſhe'll prove as hard to you in telling your mind [4]. Give her no token but ſtones; for ſhe's as hard as ſteel.

Pro. What, ſaid ſhe nothing?

[2] —*did ſhe nod?*] Theſe words have been ſupplied by ſome of the editors, to introduce what follows. STEEVENS.

They were ſupplied by Mr. Theobald. In Speed's anſwer the old ſpelling of the affirmative particle has been retained; otherwiſe the conceit of Protheus (ſuch as it is) would be unintelligible. MALONE.

[3] — *that's* noddy.] *Noddy* was a game at cards. STEEVENS.

This play upon ſyllables is hardly worth explaining. The ſpeakers intend to fix the name of *noddy*, that is *fool*, on each other. REED.

[4] —*in telling* your *mind.*] The editor of the ſecond folio, not underſtanding this, altered *your* to *her*, which has been followed in all the ſubſequent editions. The old copy is certainly right. The meaning is,—*She being ſo hard to me who was the* bearer *of your mind, I fear ſhe will prove no leſs ſo to you, when* you addreſs *her in perſon.* The oppoſition is between *brought* and *telling.* MALONE.

Speed.

Speed. No, not ſo much as—*take this for thy pains.* To teſtify your bounty, I thank you, you have teſtern'd me [5]; in requital whereof, henceforth carry your letters yourſelf: and ſo, ſir, I'll commend you to my maſter.

Pro. Go, go, be gone, to ſave your ſhip from wreck;
Which cannot periſh, having thee aboard [6],
Being deſtined to a drier death on ſhore:—
I muſt go ſend ſome better meſſenger;
I fear, my Julia would not deign my lines,
Receiving them from ſuch a worthleſs poſt. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The ſame. Garden of Julia's *houſe.*

Enter JULIA *and* LUCETTA.

Jul. But ſay, Lucetta, now we are alone,
Would'ſt thou then counſel me to fall in love?

Luc. Ay, madam; ſo you ſtumble not unheedfully.

Jul. Of all the fair reſort of gentlemen,
That every day with parle encounter me,
In thy opinion, which is worthieſt love?

Luc. Pleaſe you, repeat their names, I'll ſhew my mind
According to my ſhallow ſimple ſkill.

Jul. What think'ſt thou of the fair Sir Eglamour [7]?

Luc. As of a knight well-ſpoken, neat and fine;
But, were I you, he never ſhould be mine.

Jul. What think'ſt thou of the rich Mercatio?

Luc. Well, of his wealth; but of himſelf, ſo, ſo.

Jul. What think'ſt thou of the gentle Protheus?

Luc. Lord, lord! to ſee what folly reigns in us!

Jul. How now, what means this paſſion at his name?

Luc. Pardon, dear madam; 'tis a paſſing ſhame,
That I, unworthy body as I am,

5 —*you have* teſtern'd *me*;] You have gratified me with a *teſter*, *teſtern*, or *teſten*, that is, with a ſixpence. JOHNSON.

The old reading is—*ceſtern'd*. STEEVENS.

This typographical error was corrected by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

6 *Which cannot periſh*, &c.] The ſame proverb has been already alluded to. See p. 6. REED.

7 —*fair* Sir Eglamour?] *Sir Eglamour* of *Artoys* is the hero of an ancient metrical romance. STEEVENS.

Should

Should cenſure thus [8] on lovely gentlemen.

Jul. Why not on Protheus, as of all the reſt?

Luc. Then thus,—of many good I think him beſt.

Jul. Your reaſon?

Luc. I have no other but a woman's reaſon;
I think him ſo, becauſe I think him ſo.

Jul. And would'ſt thou have me caſt my love on him?

Luc. Ay, if you thought your love not caſt away.

Jul. Why, he of all the reſt hath never mov'd me.

Luc. Yet he of all the reſt, I think, beſt loves ye.

Jul. His little ſpeaking ſhows his love but ſmall.

Luc. Fire, that is cloſeſt kept, burns moſt of all.

Jul. They do not love, that do not ſhow their love.

Luc. O, they love leaſt, that let men know their love.

Jul. I would, I knew his mind.

Luc. Peruſe this paper, madam.

Jul. *To Julia,*—Say, from whom?

Luc. That the contents will ſhow.

Jul. Say, ſay; who gave it thee?

Luc. Sir Valentine's page; and ſent, I think, from Protheus:
He would have given it you, but I, being in the way,
Did in your name receive it; pardon the fault, I pray.

Jul. Now, by my modeſty, a goodly broker [9]!
Dare you preſume to harbour wanton lines?
To whiſper and conſpire againſt my youth?
Now, truſt me, 'tis an office of great worth,
And you an officer fit for the place.
There, take the paper, ſee it be return'd;
Or elſe return no more into my ſight.

Luc. To plead for love deſerves more fee than hate.

Jul. Will you be gone?

Luc. That you may ruminate. [*Exit.*

Jul. And yet, I would I had o'erlook'd the letter.
It were a ſhame, to call her back again,
And pray her to a fault for which I chid her.

[8] *Should* cenſure *thus*—] To *cenſure*, in our author's time, generally ſignified to give one's judgment or opinion. MALONE.

[9] —*a goodly broker!*] A *broker* was uſed for matchmaker, ſometimes for a procureſs. JOHNSON.

What fool is ſhe, that knows I am a maid,
And would not force the letter to my view?
Since maids, in modeſty, ſay *No*, to that [1]
Which they would have the profferer conſtrue, *Ay*.
Fie, fie! how wayward is this fooliſh love,
That, like a teſty babe, will ſcratch the nurſe,
And preſently, all humbled, kiſs the rod!
How churliſhly I chid Lucetta hence,
When willingly I would have had her here!
How angrily I taught my brow to frown,
When inward joy enforc'd my heart to ſmile!
My penance is, to call Lucetta back,
And aſk remiſſion for my folly paſt:—
What ho! Lucetta!

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. What would your ladyſhip?
Jul. Is it near dinner-time?
Luc. I would, it were;
That you might kill your ſtomach [2] on your meat,
And not upon your maid.
Jul. What is't that you
Took up ſo gingerly?
Luc. Nothing.
Jul. Why didſt thou ſtoop then?
Luc. To take a paper up that I let fall.
Jul. And is that paper nothing?
Luc. Nothing concerning me.
Jul. Then let it lie for thoſe that it concerns.
Luc. Madam, it will not lie where it concerns,
Unleſs it have a falſe interpreter.
Jul. Some love of yours hath writ to you in rhime.
Luc. That I might ſing it, madam, to a tune:
Give me a note: your ladyſhip can ſet.
Jul. As little by ſuch toys as may be poſſible:
Beſt ſing it to the tune of *Light o' love*.
Luc. It is too heavy for ſo light a tune.
Jul. Heavy? belike, it hath ſome burden then.

[1] —*ſay* No, *to that* &c.] A paraphraſe on the old proverb, "Maids ſay *nay*, and take it." STEEVENS.

[2] —*ſtomach*] was uſed for *paſſion* or *obſtinacy*. JOHNSON.

Luc.

Luc. Ay; and melodious were it, would you ſing it.
Jul. And why not you?
Luc. I cannot reach ſo high.
Jul. Let's ſee your ſong:—How now, minion?
Luc. Keep tune there ſtill, ſo you will ſing it out:
And yet, methinks, I do not like this tune.
Jul. You do not?
Luc. No, madam; it is too ſharp.
Jul. You, minion, are too ſaucy.
Luc. Nay, now you are too flat,
And mar the concord with too harſh a deſcant[3]:
There wanteth but a mean[4] to fill your ſong.
Jul. The mean is drown'd with your unruly baſe.
Luc. Indeed, I bid the baſe for Protheus[5].
Jul. This babble ſhall not henceforth trouble me.
Here is a coil with proteſtation!— [*Tears the letter.*
Go, get you gone; and let the papers lie:
You would be fingering them, to anger me.
Luc. She makes it ſtrange; but ſhe would be beſt pleas'd
To be ſo anger'd with another letter. [*Exit.*
Jul. Nay, would I were ſo anger'd with the ſame!
O hateful hands, to tear ſuch loving words!
Injurious waſps; to feed on ſuch ſweet honey,
And kill the bees, that yield it, with your ſtings!
I'll kiſs each ſeveral paper for amends.
Look, here is writ—*kind Julia*;—unkind Julia!
As in revenge of thy ingratitude,
I throw thy name againſt the bruiſing ſtones,
Trampling contemptuouſly on thy diſdain.
And here is writ—*love-wounded Protheus:*—
Poor wounded name! my boſom, as a bed,
Shall lodge thee, till thy wound be throughly heal'd;
And

[3] — *too harſh a* deſcant:] *Deſcant* is a term in muſic. See Sir John Hawkins's note on the firſt ſpeech in *K. Richard III.* STEEVENS.

[4] — *but a* mean, &c.] The *mean* is the *tenor* in muſic. STEEVENS.

[5] *Indeed, I bid the baſe for Protheus.*] The ſpeaker here turns the alluſion (which her miſtreſs employed) from the *baſe in muſick* to a country exerciſe, *Bid the baſe:* in which ſome purſue, and others are made priſoners. So that Lucetta would intend, by this, to ſay, Indeed I take pains to make you a captive to Protheus's paſſion. WARB.

Dr. Warburton is not quite accurate. The game was not called *Bid*

And thus I ſearch it with a ſovereign kiſs.
But twice, or thrice, was Protheus written down:
Be calm, good wind, blow not a word away,
Till I have found each letter in the letter,
Except mine own name; that ſome whirlwind bear
Unto a ragged, fearful, hanging rock,
And throw it thence into the raging ſea!
Lo, here in one line is his name twice writ,—
Poor forlorn Protheus, paſſionate Protheus,
To the ſweet Julia;—that I'll tear away;
And yet I will not, ſith ſo prettily
He couples it to his complaining names:
Thus will I fold them one upon another;
Now kiſs, embrace, contend, do what you will.

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. Madam, dinner's ready, and your father ſtays.
Jul. Well, let us go.
Luc. What, ſhall theſe papers lie like tell-tales here?
Jul. If you reſpect them, beſt to take them up.
Luc. Nay, I was taken up for laying them down:
Yet here they ſhall not lie, for catching cold.
Jul. I ſee, you have a month's mind to them[6].
Luc. Ay, madam, you may ſay what ſights you ſee;
I ſee things too, although you judge I wink.
Jul. Come, come, will't pleaſe you go? [*Exeunt.*

the Baſe, but *the Baſe*. To *bid the baſe* means here, I believe, *to challenge to a contеſt*. So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

"To *bid* the wind a *baſe* he now prepares,
"And wh'er he run, or fly, they knew not whether." MALONE.

[6] *I ſee, you have a* month's mind *to them.*] A *month's mind* was an *anniverſary* in times of popery; or, as Mr. Ray calls it, a leſs ſolemnity directed by the will of the deceaſed. There was alſo *a year's mind*, and *a week's mind*. See *Proverbial Phraſes*. GREY.

A *month's mind*, in the ritual ſenſe, ſignifies not deſire or inclination, but remembrance; yet I ſuppoſe this is the true original of the expreſſion. JOHNSON.

In Hampſhire, and other weſtern counties, for "I can't *remember* it," they ſay, "I can't *mind* it." BLACKSTONE.

If this line was deſigned for a verſe, we ſhould read—mon*thes* mind. So, in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*:

"Swifter than the moon*es* ſphere."

Both theſe are the Saxon genitive caſe. STEEVENS.

SCENE

SCENE III.

The ſame. A Room in Anthonio's *Houſe.*

Enter ANTHONIO *and* PANTHINO.

Ant. Tell me, Panthino, what ſad talk [7] was that,
Wherewith my brother held you in the cloiſter?
Pant. 'Twas of his nephew Protheus, your ſon.
Ant. Why, what of him?
Pant. He wonder'd, that your lordſhip
Would ſuffer him to ſpend his youth at home;
While other men, of ſlender reputation,
Put forth their ſons to ſeek preferment out:
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to diſcover iſlands far away [8];
Some, to the ſtudious univerſities.
For any, or for all theſe exerciſes,
He ſaid, that Protheus, your ſon, was meet;
And did requeſt me, to impórtune you,
To let him ſpend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age [9],
In having known no travel in his youth.
Ant. Nor need'ſt thou much impórtune me to that
Whereon this month I have been hammering.
I have conſider'd well his loſs of time;
And how he cannot be a perfect man,
Not being try'd, and tutor'd in the world:
Experience is by induſtry atchiev'd,
And perfected by the ſwift courſe of time:
Then, tell me, whither were I beſt to ſend him?

[7] — *what ſad talk*] *Sad* is the ſame as *grave* or *ſerious*. JOHNSON.

[8] *Some, to diſcover iſlands far away*;] In Shakſpeare's time, voyages for the diſcovery of the iſlands of America were much in vogue. And we find, in the journals of the travellers of that time, that the ſons of noblemen, and of others of the beſt families in England, went very frequently on theſe adventures. Such as the Forteſcues, Collitons, Thornhills, Farmers, Pickerings, Littletons, Willoughbys, Cheſters, Hawleys, Bromleys, and others. To this prevailing faſhion our poet frequently alludes, and not without high commendations of it. WARB.

[9] —— *great* impeachment *to his age*,] *Impeachment* is *hindrance*. STEEVENS.

Pant. I think, your lordſhip is not ignorant,
How his companion, youthful Valentine,
Attends the emperor in his royal court [1].

Ant. I know it well.

Pant. 'Twere good, I think, your lordſhip ſent him thither:
There ſhall he practiſe tilts and tournaments,
Hear ſweet diſcourſe, converſe with noblemen;
And be in eye of every exerciſe,
Worthy his youth and nobleneſs of birth.

Ant. I like thy counſel; well haſt thou advis'd:
And, that thou may'ſt perceive how well I like it,
The execution of it ſhall make known;
Even with the ſpeedieſt expedition
I will diſpatch him to the emperor's court.

Pant. To-morrow, may it pleaſe you, Don Alphonſo,
With other gentlemen of good eſteem,
Are journeying to ſalute the emperor,
And to commend their ſervice to his will.

Ant. Good company; with them ſhall Protheus go:
And, in good time [2],—now will we break with him.

Enter PROTHEUS.

Pro. Sweet love! ſweet lines! ſweet life!
Here is her hand, the agent of her heart;
Here is her oath for love, her honour's pawn:
O, that our fathers would applaud our loves,

[1] *Attends the emperor in his royal court.*] Shakſpeare has been guilty of no miſtake in placing the emperor's court at Milan in this play. Several of the firſt German emperors held their courts there occaſionally, it being, at that time, their immediate property, and the chief town of their Italian dominions. Some of them were crowned kings of Italy at Milan, before they received the imperial crown at Rome. Nor has the poet fallen into any contradiction, by giving a duke to Milan at the ſame time that the emperor held his court there. The firſt dukes of that, and all the other great cities in Italy, were not ſovereign princes, as they afterwards became; but were merely governors, or viceroys, under the emperors, and removeable at their pleaſure. Such was the *Duke of Milan* mentioned in this play. STEEVENS.

[2] —*in good time,*] *In good time* was the old expreſſion when ſomething happened which ſuited the thing in hand, as the French ſay, *à propos.* JOHNSON.

To

To ſeal our happineſs with their conſents!
O heavenly Julia!

Ant. How now? what letter are you reading there?

Pro. May't pleaſe your lordſhip, 'tis a word or two
Of commendation ſent from Valentine,
Deliver'd by a friend that came from him.

Ant. Lend me the letter; let me ſee what news.

Pro. There is no news, my lord; but that he writes
How happily he lives, how well belov'd,
And daily graced by the emperor;
Wiſhing me with him, partner of his fortune.

Ant. And how ſtand you affected to his wiſh?

Pro. As one relying on your lordſhip's will,
And not depending on his friendly wiſh.

Ant. My will is ſomething ſorted with his wiſh:
Muſe not that I thus ſuddenly proceed;
For what I will, I will, and there an end.
I am reſolv'd, that thou ſhalt ſpend ſome time
With Valentinus in the emperor's court;
What maintenance he from his friends receives,
Like exhibition [3] thou ſhalt have from me.
To-morrow be in readineſs to go:
Excuſe it not, for I am peremptory.

Pro. My lord, I cannot be ſo ſoon provided;
Pleaſe you, deliberate a day or two.

Ant. Look, what thou want'ſt, ſhall be ſent after thee:
No more of ſtay; to-morrow thou muſt go.—
Come on, Panthino; you ſhall be employ'd
To haſten on his expedition.

[*Exeunt* ANTHONIO *and* PANTHINO.

Pro. Thus have I ſhunn'd the fire, for fear of burning;
And drench'd me in the ſea, where I am drown'd;
I fear'd to ſhew my father Julia's letter,
Leſt he ſhould take exceptions to my love;
And with the vantage of mine own excuſe
Hath he excepted moſt againſt my love.

[3] —*exhibition*] i. e. allowance. STEEVENS.

O, how this ſpring of love reſembleth [4]
The uncertain glory of an April day;
Which now ſhews all the beauty of the ſun,
And by and by a cloud takes all away!

Re-enter

4 *O, how this ſpring of love reſembleth*] It was not always the cuſtom among our early writers to make the firſt and third lines rhime to each other; and when a word was not long enough to complete the meaſure, they occaſionally extended it. Thus Spenſer, in his *Faery Queen*, B. II. c. 12:

"Formerly grounded, and faſt *fetteled*."

Again, B. II. c. 12:

"The while ſweet Zephirus loud *whiſteled*, &c.

From this practice, I ſuppoſe our author wrote *reſembeleth*, which, though it affords no jingle, completes the verſe. Many poems have been written in this meaſure, where the ſecond and fourth lines only rhime. STEEVENS.

Reſembleth is here uſed as a quadriſyllable, as if it was written *reſembeleth*. See *Com. of Errors*, Act V. ſc. the laſt:

"And theſe two Dromios, one in *ſemblance*."

As you like it, Act II. ſc. ii.

"The parts and graces of the *wreſtl.r*."

And it ſhould be obſerved, that Shakſpeare takes the ſame liberty with many other words, in which *l*, or *r*, is ſubjoined to another conſonant. See *Com. of Errors*, next verſe but one to that cited above:

"Theſe are the parents to theſe *children*."

where ſome editors, being unneceſſarily alarmed for the metre, have endeavoured to help it by a word of their own:

"Theſe *plainly* are the parents to theſe children." TYRWHITT.

Thus much I had thought ſufficient to ſay upon this point, in the edition of theſe plays publiſhed by Mr. Steevens in 1778. Since which the Author of *Remarks*, &c. on that edition has been pleaſed to aſſert, p. 7. "that Shakſpeare does not appear, from the above inſtances at leaſt, to have taken the ſmalleſt liberty in extending his words: neither has the incident of *l*, or *r*, being ſubjoined to another conſonant any thing to do in the matter."—"The truth is," he goes on to ſay, "that *every* verb in the Engliſh language gains an *additional ſyllable* by its termination in *eſt*, *eth*, *ed*, *ing*, or, (when formed into a ſubſtantive) in *er*; and the above words, *when rightly printed*, are not only unexceptionable, but moſt juſt. Thus *reſemble* makes *reſemble-eth*; *wreſtle*, *wreſtle-er*; and *ſettle*, *whiſtle*, *tickle*, make *ſettle-ed*, *whiſtle-ed*, *tickle-ed*."

As to this *ſuppoſed* Canon of the Engliſh language, it would be eaſy to ſhew that it is quite fanciful and unfounded; and what he calls *the right method of printing the above words* is ſuch as, I believe, was never adopted before by any mortal in writing them, nor can be followed in the pronunciation of them without the help of an entirely new ſyſtem of

Re-enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Protheus, your father calls for you;
He is in haſte, therefore, I pray you, go.
Pro. Why, this it is! my heart accords thereto;
And yet a thouſand times it anſwers, no. [*Exeunt.*

of ſpelling. But any further diſcuſſion of this matter is unneceſſary; becauſe the hypotheſis, though allowed in its utmoſt extent, will not prove either of the points to which it is applied. It will neither prove that Shakſpeare has not taken a liberty in extending certain words, nor that he has not taken that liberty chiefly with words in which *l*, or *r*, is ſubjoined to another conſonant. The following are all inſtances of nouns, ſubſtantive or adjective, which can receive no ſupport from the ſuppoſed Canon. That Shakſpeare has taken a liberty in extending theſe words is evident, from the conſideration, that the ſame words are more frequently uſed, by his contemporaries and by himſelf, without the additional ſyllable. Why he has taken this liberty chiefly with words in which *l*, or *r*, is ſubjoined to another conſonant, muſt be obvious to any one who can pronounce the language.

Country, triſyllable.
T. N. Act I. ſc. ii. The like of him. Know'ſt thou this *country*?
Coriol. Act I. ſc. iii. Die nobly for their *country*, than one.
Remembrance, quadriſyllable.
T. N. Act I. ſc. i. And laſting in her ſad *remembrance*.
W. T. Act IV. ſc. iv. Grace and *remembrance* be to you both.
Angry, tryſyllable.
Timon. Act III. ſc. v. But who is man, that is not *angry*.
Henry, triſyllable.
Rich. III. Act II. ſc. iii. So ſtood the ſtate, when *Henry* the Sixth—.
2 H. VI. Act II. ſc. ii. Crown'd by the name of *Henry* the Fourth.
And ſo in many other paſſages.
Monſtrous, triſyllable.
Macb. Act IV. ſc. vi. Who cannot want the thought how *monſtrous*.
Othello. Act II. ſc. iii. 'Tis *monſtrous*. Iago, who began it?
Aſſembly, quadriſyllable.
M. A. A. N. Act V. ſc. laſt. Good morrow to this fair *aſſembly*.
Douglas, triſyllable.
1 H. IV. Act V. ſc. ii. Lord *Douglas* go you and tell him ſo.
England, triſyllable.
Rich. II. Act IV. ſc. i. Than Bolingbrooke return to *England*.
Humbler, triſyllable.
3 H. VI. Act III. ſc. i. Methinks his lordſhip ſhould be *humbler*.
Nobler, triſyllable.
Coriol. Act III. ſc. ii. You do the *nobler*. *Cor.* I muſe my mother—.

TYRWHITT.

ACT

ACT II. SCENE I.

Milan. *A Room in the Duke's Palace.*

Enter VALENTINE *and* SPEED.

Speed. Sir, your glove.

Val. Not mine; my gloves are on.

Speed. Why then this may be yours, for this is but one [5].

Val. Ha! let me ſee: ay, give it me, it's mine:—
Sweet ornament that decks a thing divine!
Ah Silvia! Silvia!

Speed. Madam Silvia! madam Silvia!

Val. How now, ſirrah?

Speed. She is not within hearing, ſir.

Val. Why, ſir, who bad you call her?

Speed. Your worſhip, ſir; or elſe I miſtook.

Val. Well, you'll ſtill be too forward.

Speed. And yet I was laſt chidden for being too ſlow.

Val. Go to, ſir; tell me, do you know madam Silvia?

Speed. She that your worſhip loves?

Val. Why, how know you that I am in love?

Speed. Marry, by theſe ſpecial marks: Firſt, you have learn'd, like ſir Protheus, to wreath your arms like a male-content; to reliſh a love-ſong, like a Robin-red-breaſt; to walk alone, like one that had the peſtilence; to ſigh, like a ſchool-boy that had loſt his A B C; to weep, like a young wench that had buried her grandam; to faſt, like one that takes diet [6]; to watch, like one that fears rob-

5 Val. *Not mine, my gloves are* on.

Speed. *Why then, this may be yours; for this is but* one.] It ſhould ſeem from this paſſage, that the word *one* was anciently pronounced as if it were written *on*. The quibble here is loſt by the change of pronunciation; a loſs, however, which may be very patiently endured. MALONE.

6 —*takes diet*;] To *take diet* was the phraſe for being under a regimen for a diſeaſe mentioned in *Timon*:

" —bring down the roſe cheek'd youth
" To the tub-faſt and *the diet*." STEEVENS.

bing; to ſpeak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas [7]. You were wont, when you laugh'd, to crow like a cock; when you walk'd, to walk like one of the lions; when you faſted, it was preſently after dinner; when you look'd ſadly, it was for want of money: and now you are metamorphos'd with a miſtreſs, that, when I look on you, I can hardly think you my maſter.

Val. Are all theſe things perceived in me?

Speed. They are all perceived without ye.

Val. Without me? they cannot.

Speed. Without you? nay, that's certain; for, without you were ſo ſimple, none elſe would [8]: but you are ſo without theſe follies, that theſe follies are within you, and ſhine through you like the water in an urinal; that not an eye, that ſees you, but is a phyſician to comment on your malady.

Val. But, tell me, doſt thou know my lady Silvia?

Speed. She, that you gaze on ſo, as ſhe ſits at ſupper?

Val. Haſt thou obſerved that? even ſhe I mean.

Speed. Why, ſir, I know her not.

Val. Doſt thou know her by my gazing on her, and yet know'ſt her not?

Speed. Is ſhe not hard-favour'd, ſir?

Val. Not ſo fair, boy, as well-favour'd.

Speed. Sir, I know that well enough.

Val. What doſt thou know?

Speed. That ſhe is not ſo fair, as (of you) well-favour'd.

Val. I mean, that her beauty is exquiſite, but her favour infinite.

7 —*Hallowmas.*] That is, about the feaſt of All-Saints, when winter begins, and the life of a vagrant becomes leſs comfortable. JOHNSON.

Is it worth remarking, that on *All-Saints-Day* the poor people in *Staffordſhire*, and perhaps in other country places, go from pariſh to pariſh *a ſouling* as they call it; i. e. begging and *puling* (or finging ſmall, as Bailey's Dict. explains *puling*) for *ſoul-cakes*, or any good thing to make them merry? This cuſtom is mentioned by *Peck*, and ſeems a remnant of Popiſh ſuperſtition to pray for departed ſouls, particularly thoſe of friends. The *ſouler's* ſong, in *Staffordſhire*, is different from that which Mr. *Peck* mentions, and is by no means worthy publication. TOLLET.

8 — *none elſe would*:] None elſe would *be ſo ſimple.* JOHNSON.

Speed.

Speed. That's becauſe the one is painted, and the other out of all count.

Val. How painted? and how out of count?

Speed. Marry, ſir, ſo painted, to make her fair, that no man 'counts of her beauty.

Val. How eſteem'ſt thou me? I account of her beauty.

Speed. You never ſaw her ſince ſhe was deform'd.

Val. How long hath ſhe been deform'd?

Speed. Ever ſince you loved her.

Val. I have loved her ever ſince I ſaw her; and ſtill I ſee her beautiful.

Speed. If you love her, you cannot ſee her.

Val. Why?

Speed. Becauſe love is blind. O, that you had mine eyes; or your own eyes had the lights they were wont to have, when you chid at ſir Protheus for going ungartered[9]!

Val. What ſhould I ſee then?

Speed. Your own preſent folly, and her paſſing deformity: for he, being in love, could not ſee to garter his hoſe; and you, being in love, cannot ſee to put on your hoſe.

Val. Belike, boy, then you are in love; for laſt morning you could not ſee to wipe my ſhoes.

Speed. True, ſir; I was in love with my bed: I thank you, you ſwinged me for my love, which makes me the bolder to chide you for yours.

Val. In concluſion, I ſtand affected to her.

Speed. I would you were ſet; ſo, your affection would ceaſe.

Val. Laſt night ſhe enjoin'd me to write ſome lines to one ſhe loves.

Speed. And have you?

Val. I have.

Speed. Are they not lamely writ?

Val. No, boy, but as well as I can do them:—
Peace, here ſhe comes.

9 —*for going* ungartered!] This is enumerated by Roſalind in *As You Like It*, Act III. ſc. ii. as one of the undoubted marks of love: "Then your hoſe ſhould be *ungartered*, your bonnet unbanded, &c."
MALONE.

Enter

Enter SILVIA.

Speed. O excellent motion[1]! O exceeding puppet! Now will he interpret to her.

Val. Madam and miſtreſs, a thouſand good morrows.

Speed. O, 'give ye good even! here's a million of manners. [*Aſide.*

Sil. Sir Valentine and ſervant[2], to you two thouſand.

Speed. He ſhould give her intereſt; and ſhe gives it him.

Val. As you enjoin'd me, I have writ your letter,
Unto the ſecret nameleſs friend of yours;
Which I was much unwilling to proceed in,
But for my duty to your ladyſhip.

Sil. I thank you, gentle ſervant: 'tis very clerkly done[3].

Val. Now truſt me, madam, it came hardly off[4];
For, being ignorant to whom it goes,
I writ at random, very doubtfully.

Sil. Perchance you think too much of ſo much pains?

Val. No, madam; ſo it ſtead you, I will write,
Pleaſe you command, a thouſand times as much:
And yet,—

Sil. A pretty period! Well, I gueſs the ſequel;
And yet I will not name it:—and yet I care not;—
And yet take this again;—and yet I thank you;
Meaning henceforth to trouble you no more.

Speed. And yet you will; and yet another yet. [*Aſide.*

Val. What means your ladyſhip? do you not like it?

Sil. Yes, yes! the lines are very quaintly writ:
But ſince unwillingly, take them again;
Nay, take them.

Val. Madam, they are for you.

[1] *O excellent* motion! &c.] *Motion*, in Shakſpeare's time, ſignified *puppet*, and ſometimes a *puppet-ſhow*. Speed means to ſay, that Silvia is a *puppet*, and that Valentine is to interpret *to*, or rather *for* her. SIR J. HAWKINS.

[2] —*ſervant*,] Here Silvia calls her lover *ſervant*, and again, below, her *gentle ſervant*. This was the language of ladies to their lovers at the time when Shakſpeare wrote. SIR J. HAWKINS.

[3] —*'tis very* clerkly *done*.] i. e. like a ſcholar. STEEVENS.

[4] —*it* came *hardly* off;] A ſimilar phraſe occurs in *Timon*, A&I. ſc. i: "This *comes off* well and excellent." STEEVENS.

Sil.

Sil. Ay, ay; you writ them, ſir, at my requeſt;
But I will none of them; they are for you:
I would have had them writ more movingly.

Val. Pleaſe you, I'll write your ladyſhip another.

Sil. And, when it's writ, for my ſake read it over:
And, if it pleaſe you, ſo; if not, why, ſo.

Val. If it pleaſe me, madam; what then?

Sil. Why, if it pleaſe you, take it for your labour;
And ſo good-morrow, ſervant. [*Exit* SILVIA.

Speed. O jeſt unſeen, inſcrutable, inviſible,
As a noſe on a man's face, or a weathercock on a ſteeple!
My maſter ſues to her; and ſhe hath taught her ſuitor,
He being her pupil, to become her tutor.
O excellent device! was there ever heard a better?
That my maſter, being ſcribe, to himſelf ſhould write the letter?

Val. How now, ſir? what are you reaſoning with yourſelf[5]?

Speed. Nay, I was rhiming; 'tis you that have the reaſon.

Val. To do what?

Speed. To be a ſpokeſman from madam Silvia.

Val. To whom?

Speed. To yourſelf: why, ſhe wooes you by a figure.

Val. What figure?

Speed. By a letter, I ſhould ſay.

Val. Why, ſhe hath not writ to me?

Speed. What need ſhe, when ſhe hath made you write to yourſelf? Why, do you not perceive the jeſt?

Val. No, believe me.

Speed. No believing you indeed, ſir: But did you perceive her earneſt?

Val. She gave me none, except an angry word.

Speed. Why, ſhe hath given you a letter.

Val. That's the letter I writ to her friend.

Speed. And that letter hath ſhe deliver'd, and there an end[6].

Val. I would, it were no worſe.

5 — *reaſoning with yourſelf?*] That is, *diſcourſing, talking.* An Italianiſm. JOHNSON.

6 — *and there an end.*] i. e. there's the concluſion of the matter. STEEVENS.

Speed.

Speed. I'll warrant you, 'tis as well:
For often have you writ to her; and ſhe, in modeſty,
Or elſe for want of idle time, could not again reply;
Or fearing elſe ſome meſſenger, that might her mind diſcover,
Herſelf hath taught her love himſelf to write unto her lover.—
All this I ſpeak in print[7]; for in print I found it.—
Why muſe you, ſir? 'tis dinner time.

Val. I have dined.

Speed. Ay, but hearken, ſir: though the cameleon love can feed on the air, I am one that am nouriſh'd by my victuals, and would fain have meat: O, be not like your miſtreſs; be moved, be moved. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

Verona. *A Room in* Julia's *Houſe.*

Enter PROTHEUS *and* JULIA.

Pro. Have patience, gentle Julia.

Jul. I muſt, where is no remedy.

Pro. When poſſibly I can, I will return.

Jul. If you turn not, you will return the ſooner:
Keep this remembrance for thy Julia's ſake.
[*giving a ring.*

Pro. Why then we'll make exchange; here, take you this.

Jul. And ſeal the bargain with a holy kiſs.

Pro. Here is my hand for my true conſtancy;
And when that hour o'er-ſlips me in the day,
Wherein I ſigh not, Julia, for thy ſake,
The next enſuing hour ſome foul miſchance
Torment me for my love's forgetfulneſs!
My father ſtays my coming; anſwer not;
The tide is now: nay, not thy tide of tears;
That tide will ſtay me longer than I ſhould;
Julia, farewell.—What! gone without a word? [*Exit* JUL.
Ay, ſo true love ſhould do: it cannot ſpeak;
For truth hath better deeds, than words, to grace it.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Protheus, you are ſtaid for.

Pro. Go; I come, I come:—
Alas! this parting ſtrikes poor lovers dumb. [*Exeunt.*

7 — *in* print;] Means *with exactneſs.* STEEVENS.

SCENE

SCENE III.

The ſame. A Street.

Enter LAUNCE, *leading a dog.*

Launce. Nay, 'twill be this hour ere I have done weeping; all the kind of the Launces have this very fault: I have received my proportion, like the prodigious ſon, and am going with ſir Protheus to the imperial's court. I think, Crab my dog be the ſoureſt-natured dog that lives: my mother weeping, my father wailing, my ſiſter crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands, and all our houſe in a great perplexity, yet did not this cruel-hearted cur ſhed one tear: he is a ſtone, a very pebble-ſtone, and has no more pity in him than a dog: a Jew would have wept to have ſeen our parting; why, my grandam having no eyes, look you, wept herſelf blind at my parting. Nay, I'll ſhow you the manner of it: This ſhoe is my father;—no, this left ſhoe is my father;—no, no, this left ſhoe is my mother;—nay, that cannot be ſo neither;—yes, it is ſo, it is ſo; it hath the worſer ſole: This ſhoe, with the hole in it, is my mother, and this my father; A vengeance on't! there 'tis: now, ſir, this ſtaff is my ſiſter; for, look you, ſhe is as white as a lily, and as ſmall as a wand: this hat is Nan, our maid; I am the dog[7]:—no, the dog is himſelf, and I am the dog,—oh, the dog is me, and I am myſelf; ay, ſo, ſo. Now come I to my father; *Father, your bleſſing*; now ſhould not the ſhoe ſpeak a word for weeping; now ſhould I kiſs my father; well, he weeps on: now come I to my mother, (O, that ſhe could ſpeak now!) like a wood woman[8];—well,

7 — I *am the dog*:—&c.] This paſſage is much confuſed, and of confuſion the preſent reading makes no end. Sir T. Hanmer reads, *I am the dog, no, the dog is himſelf, and* I *am* me, *the dog is* the dog, *and* I *am myſelf.* This certainly is more reaſonable, but I know not how much reaſon the author intended to beſtow on Launce's ſoliloquy. JOHNSON.

8 — *like a* wood *woman!*] i. e. a frantick woman. The old copy reads—*would* woman. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

Oh!

well, I kiſs her;—why there 'tis; here's my mother's breath up and down: now come I to my ſiſter; mark the moan ſhe makes: now the dog all this while ſheds not a tear, nor ſpeaks a word; but ſee how I lay the duſt with my tears.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Launce, away, away, aboard; thy maſter is ſhipped, and thou art to poſt after with oars. What's the matter? why weep'ſt thou, man? Away, aſs; you will loſe the tide, if you tarry any longer.

Launce. It is no matter if the ty'd were loſt[9]; for it is the unkindeſt ty'd that ever any man ty'd.

Pant. What's the unkindeſt tide?

Launce. Why, he that's ty'd here; Crab, my dog.

Pant. Tut, man, I mean thou'lt loſe the flood; and, in loſing the flood, loſe thy voyage; and, in loſing thy voyage, loſe thy maſter; and, in loſing thy maſter, loſe thy ſervice; and, in loſing thy ſervice,—Why doſt thou ſtop my mouth?

Launce. For fear thou ſhould'ſt loſe thy tongue.

Pant. Where ſhould I loſe my tongue?

Launce. In thy tale.

Pant. In thy tail?

Launce. Loſe the tide, and the voyage, and the maſter,

Oh! that ſhe could ſpeak now like a wood-woman!] I am not certain that I underſtand this paſſage. *Wood*, or crazy women, were anciently ſuppoſed to tell fortunes. *Launce* may therefore mean, that as her geſtures are thoſe of frantick perſons, ſo he wiſhes ſhe was poſſeſſed of their other powers, and could predict his fate. Or ſhould we point the line as interrupted? Oh that ſhe could ſpeak now!—like a wood woman! meaning, I wiſh ſhe could ſpeak—but ſhe behaves as if ſhe were out of her ſenſes! STEEVENS.

Print thus: Now come I to my mother (oh that ſhe could ſpeak now!) like a wood woman. Perhaps the humour would be heightened by reading (oh that the *ſhoe* could ſpeak now!) BLACKSTONE.

I have followed the punctuation recommended by Sir W. Blackſtone. The emendation propoſed by him was made, I find, by Sir T. Hanmer. MALONE.

9 —*if the* ty'd *were loſt*;] This quibble, wretched as it is, might have been borrowed by *Shakſpeare* from Lylly's *Endymion*, 1591: "*Epi.* You know it is ſaid, the *tide* tarrieth for no man.—*Sam.* True.—*Epi.* A monſtrous lye: for I was *ty'd* two hours, and tarried for one to unloſe me." STEEVENS.

and the ſervice, and the tide[1]? Why, man, if the river were dry, I am able to fill it with my tears; if the wind were down, I could drive the boat with my ſighs.

Pant. Come, come away, man; I was ſent to call thee.

Launce. Sir, call me what thou dareſt.

Pant. Wilt thou go?

Launce. Well, I will go. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

Milan. *A Room in the* Duke's *Palace.*

Enter VALENTINE, SILVIA, THURIO, *and* SPEED.

Sil. Servant,—

Val. Miſtreſs?

Speed. Maſter, ſir Thurio frowns on you.

Val. Ay, boy, it's for love.

Speed. Not of you.

Val. Of my miſtreſs then.

Speed. 'Twere good, you knock'd him.

Sil. Servant, you are ſad.

Val. Indeed, madam, I ſeem ſo.

Thu. Seem you that you are not?

Val. Haply, I do.

Thu. So do counterfeits.

Val. So do you.

Thu. What ſeem I, that I am not?

Val. Wiſe.

Thu. What inſtance of the contrary?

Val. Your folly.

Thu. And how quote you my folly[2]?

Val. I quote it in your jerkin.

Thu. My jerkin is a doublet.

Val. Well, then, I'll double your folly.

Thu. How?

Sil. What, angry, ſir Thurio? do you change colour?

[1] — *and the* tide?] I ſhould ſuppoſe theſe three words to be repeated through ſome error of the printer. STEEVENS.

[2] — *how* quote *you my folly?*] To *quote* is to *obſerve.* STEEVENS. Valentine in his anſwer plays upon the word, which was pronounced as if written *coat.* MALONE.

Val.

Val. Give him leave, madam; he is a kind of cameleon.

Thu. That hath more mind to feed on your blood, than live in your air.

Val. You have ſaid, ſir.

Thu. Ay, ſir, and done too, for this time.

Val. I know it well, ſir; you always end ere you begin.

Sil. A fine volley of words, gentlemen, and quickly ſhot off.

Val. 'Tis indeed, madam; we thank the giver.

Sil. Who is that, ſervant?

Val. Yourſelf, ſweet lady; for you gave the fire: ſir Thurio borrows his wit from your ladyſhip's looks, and ſpends what he borrows, kindly in your company.

Thu. Sir, if you ſpend word for word with me, I ſhall make your wit bankrupt.

Val. I know it well, ſir: you have an exchequer of words, and, I think, no other treaſure to give your followers; for it appears by their bare liveries, that they live by your bare words.

Sil. No more, gentlemen, no more; here comes my father.

Enter Duke.

Duke. Now, daughter Silvia, you are hard beſet.
Sir Valentine, your father's in good health:
What ſay you to a letter from your friends
Of much good news?

Val. My lord, I will be thankful
To any happy meſſenger from thence.

Duke. Know you Don Anthonio, your countryman?

Val. Ay, my good lord, I know the gentleman
To be of worth, and worthy eſtimation,
And not without deſert ſo well reputed [3].

Duke. Hath he not a ſon?

Val. Ay, my good lord; a ſon, that well deſerves
The honour and regard of ſuch a father.

Duke. You know him well?

[3] *And not without deſert* &c.] And not dignified with ſo much reputation without proportionate merit. JOHNSON.

Val. I knew him, as myſelf; for from our infancy
We have convers'd, and ſpent our hours together:
And though myſelf have been an idle truant,
Omitting the ſweet benefit of time,
To cloath mine age with angel-like perfection;
Yet hath ſir Protheus, for that's his name,
Made uſe and fair advantage of his days;
His years but young, but his experience old;
His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe;
And, in a word, (for far behind his worth
Come all the praiſes that I now beſtow,)
He is complete in feature, and in mind,
With all good grace to grace a gentleman.

Duke. Beſhrew me, ſir, but, if he make this good,
He is as worthy for an empreſs' love,
As meet to be an emperor's counſellor.
Well, ſir; this gentleman is come to me,
With commendation from great potentates;
And here he means to ſpend his time a-while:
I think, 'tis no unwelcome news to you.

Val. Should I have wiſh'd a thing, it had been he.

Duke. Welcome him then according to his worth;
Silvia, I ſpeak to you; and you, ſir Thurio:—
For Valentine, I need not 'cite him to it[4]:
I'll ſend him hither to you preſently. [*Exit* Duke.

Val. This is the gentleman, I told your ladyſhip,
Had come along with me, but that his miſtreſs
Did hold his eyes lock'd in her cryſtal looks.

Sil. Belike, that now ſhe hath enfranchis'd them
Upon ſome other pawn for fealty.

Val. Nay, ſure, I think, ſhe holds them priſoners ſtill.

Sil. Nay, then he ſhould be blind; and, being blind,
How could he ſee his way to ſeek out you?

Val. Why, lady, love hath twenty pair of eyes.

Thu. They ſay, that love hath not an eye at all.

Val. To ſee ſuch lovers, Thurio, as yourſelf;
Upon a homely object love can wink.

4 *I need not* 'cite *him to it:*] i. e. *incite* him to it. MALONE.

Enter

Enter PROTHEUS.

Sil. Have done, have done; here comes the gentleman.
Val. Welcome, dear Protheus!—Miſtreſs, I beſeech you,
Confirm his welcome with ſome ſpecial favour.
Sil. His worth is warrant for his welcome hither,
If this be he you oft have wiſh'd to hear from.
Val. Miſtreſs, it is: ſweet lady, entertain him
To be my fellow-ſervant to your ladyſhip.
Sil. Too low a miſtreſs for ſo high a ſervant.
Pro. Not ſo, ſweet lady; but too mean a ſervant
To have a look of ſuch a worthy miſtreſs.
Val. Leave off diſcourſe of diſability:—
Sweet lady, entertain him for your ſervant.
Pro. My duty will I boaſt of, nothing elſe.
Sil. And duty never yet did want his meed:
Servant, you are welcome to a worthleſs miſtreſs.
Pro. I'll die on him that ſays ſo, but yourſelf.
Sil. That you are welcome?
Pro. That you are worthleſs[5].

Enter Servant.

Ser. Madam[6], my lord your father would ſpeak with you.
Sil. I'll wait upon his pleaſure. [*Exit* Servant.] Come, Sir Thurio,
Go with me:—Once more, new ſervant, welcome:
I'll leave you to confer of home-affairs;
When you have done, we look to hear from you.
Pro. We'll both attend upon your ladyſhip.
[*Exeunt* SILVIA, THURIO, *and* SPEED.
Val. Now, tell me, how do all from whence you came?
Pro. Your friends are well, and have them much commended.
Val. And how do yours?

[5] *That you are worthleſs.*] Dr. Johnſon reads—*No*, that you are worthleſs. But perhaps the particle which he has ſupplied is unneceſſary. *Worthleſs* was, I believe, uſed as a triſyllable. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, p. 120. MALONE.

[6] *Ser. Madam,—*] This ſpeech, which was given in the old copies to Thurio, was properly transferred to the Servant by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

Pro. [illegible]

Val. How does your lady? and how thrives your love?

Pro. My tales of love were wont to weary you;
I know, you joy not in a love-discourse.

Val. Ay, Proteus, but that life is alter'd now:
I have done penance for contemning love;
Whose high imperious thoughts[7] have punish'd me
With bitter fasts, with penitential groans,
With nightly tears, and daily heart-sore sighs;
For, in revenge of my contempt of love,
Love hath chas'd sleep from my enthralled eyes,
And made them watchers of mine own heart's sorrow.
O, gentle Proteus, love's a mighty lord;
And hath so humbled me, as, I confess,
There is no woe to his correction[8],
Nor, to his service, no such joy on earth!
Now, no discourse, except it be of love;
Now can I break my fast, dine, sup, and sleep,
Upon the very naked name of love.

Pro. Enough; I read your fortune in your eye:
Was this the idol that you worship so?

Val. Even she; and is she not a heavenly saint?

Pro. No; but she is an earthly paragon.

Val. Call her divine.

Pro. I will not flatter her.

Val. O flatter me; for love delights in praises.

Pro. When I was sick, you gave me bitter pills;
And I must minister the like to you.

Val. Then speak the truth by her; if not divine,

[7] *Whose High imperious thoughts*—] For *whose* I read *those*. I have contemned love and am punished. *Those* high thoughts, by which I exalted myself above human passions or frailties, have brought upon me fasts and groans. JOHNSON.

I believe the old copy is right. *Imperious* is an epithet very frequently applied to *Love* by Shakspeare and his contemporaries. A few lines lower Valentine observes, that "love's a *mighty lord*." MALONE.

[8] *—no woe to his correction*;] No misery that *can be compared to* the punishment inflicted by love. Herbert calls for the prayers of the Liturgy a little before his death, saying, *None* to *them*, *none* to *them*. JOHNSON.

Yet

Yet let her be a principality [1],
Sovereign to all the creatures on the earth.
Pro. Except my miſtreſs.
Val. Sweet, except not any;
Except thou wilt except againſt my love.
Pro. Have I not reaſon to prefer mine own?
Val. And I will help thee to prefer her too:
She ſhall be dignified with this high honour,—
To bear my lady's train; leſt the baſe earth
Should from her veſture chance to ſteal a kiſs,
And, of ſo great a favour growing proud,
Diſdain to root the ſummer-ſwelling flower [2],
And make rough winter everlaſtingly.
Pro. Why, Valentine, what braggardiſm is this?
Val. Pardon me, Protheus: all I can, is nothing
To her, whoſe worth makes other worthies nothing;
She is alone [3].
Pro. Then let her alone.
Val. Not for the world: why, man, ſhe is mine own;
And I as rich in having ſuch a jewel,
As twenty ſeas, if all their ſand were pearl,
The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold.
Forgive me, that I do not dream on thee,
Becauſe thou ſee'ſt me dote upon my love.
My fooliſh rival, that her father likes,
Only for his poſſeſſions are ſo huge,
Is gone with her along; and I muſt after,
For love, thou know'ſt, is full of jealouſy.
Pro. But ſhe loves you?
Val. Ay, and we are betroth'd; nay, more, our marriage hour,
With all the cunning manner of our flight,
Determin'd of: how I muſt climb her window;

[1] — *a principality*,] The firſt or *principal* of women. So the old writers uſe *ſtate*. "*She is a lady, a great* ſtate." Latymer. JOHNSON.
There is a ſimilar ſenſe of this word in St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, viii. 38.—"nor angels, nor *principalities*." STEEVENS.

[2] — *ſummer-ſwelling flower*,] The *ſummer-ſwelling* flower is the flower which ſwells in ſummer, till it expands itſelf into bloom. STEEV.

[3] *She is alone.*] She ſtands by herſelf. There is none to be compared to her. JOHNSON.

The ladder made of cords; and all the means
Plotted, and 'greed on, for my happineſs.
Good Protheus, go with me to my chamber,
In theſe affairs to aid me with thy counſel.

Pro. Go on before; I ſhall enquire you forth:
I muſt unto the road [4], to diſembark
Some neceſſaries that I needs muſt uſe;
And then I'll preſently attend you.

Val. Will you make haſte?

Pro. I will.— [*Exit* VALENTINE.

Even as one heat another heat expels,
Or as one nail by ſtrength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten [5].
Is it mine eye, or Valentinus' praiſe [6],
Her true perfection, or my falſe tranſgreſſion,
That makes me, reaſonleſs, to reaſon thus?
She's fair; and ſo is Julia, that I love;—
That I did love, for now my love is thaw'd;
Which, like a waxen image 'gainſt a fire [7],

Bears

4 — *the* road] The haven; where ſhips *ride* at anchor. MALONE.

5 *Even as one heat another heat expels,*
Or as one nail *by ſtrength* drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten.] Our author ſeems here to have remembered *The Tragicall Hyſtory of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:
" And as out of a planke *a nayle a nayle doth drive*,
" *So novel love out of the minde the auncient love doth rive.*"
So alſo, in *Coriolanus*:
" One fire drives out one fire; *one nail one nail.*" MALONE.

6 *Is it mine* eye, *or Valentinus' praiſe.*] The word *eye*, which is not in the firſt folio, was ſupplied by Dr. Warburton. The editor of the ſecond folio, finding the line defective, abſurdly filled it up thus:
Is it mine *then*, or Valentinean's praiſe.
The old copy has—*Valen,tines*, and perhaps the Saxon genitive caſe was intended. The reading however, that I have placed in the text, is juſtified by a former line. See page 119. MALONE.

7 — *a* waxen image *'gainſt a fire,*] Alluding to the figures made by witches, as repreſentatives of thoſe whom they deſigned to torment or deſtroy. STEEVENS.

King James aſcribes theſe images to the devil, in his *Treatiſe of Dæmonologie*:— " to ſome others at theſe times he teacheth to make pictures of waxe or claye, that by the roaſting thereof, the perſons that they

Bears no impreſſion of the thing it was.
Methinks, my zeal to Valentine is cold;
And that I love him not, as I was wont:
O! but I love his lady too, too much;
And that's the reaſon I love him ſo little.
How ſhall I dote on her with more advice [8],
That thus without advice begin to love her?
'Tis but her picture I have yet beheld [9],
And that hath dazzled my reaſon's light;
But when I look on her perfections,
There is no reaſon but I ſhall be blind [1].
If I can check my erring love, I will;
If not, to compaſs her I'll uſe my ſkill. [*Exit.*

SCENE V.

A Street.

Enter SPEED *and* LAUNCE.

Speed. Launce! by mine honeſty, welcome to Milan [2].

Launce. Forſwear not thyſelf, ſweet youth; for I am not welcome. I reckon this always—that a man is never un-

they bear the name of may be continually melted, and dried away by continual ſickneſſe." See Servius on the 8th Eclogue of Virgil; Theoc. Idyl. ii. 22; Hudibras, p. 2. l. 2. v. 331. S. W.

[8] — *with more* advice,] *Is, on further knowledge, on better conſideration.* STEEVENS.

The word is ſtill current among mercantile people, whoſe conſtant language is "we are *adviſed* by letters from abroad;" meaning—*informed.* So, in bills of exchange, the concluſion always is, "without further *advice*—." MALONE.

[9] *'Tis but her picture* &c.] Protheus means, that, as yet, he had ſeen only her outward form, without having known her long enough to have any acquaintance with her mind. So, in *Cymbeline:*

"All of her, that is *out of door*, moſt rich!
"If ſhe be furniſh'd with a mind ſo rare, &c." STEEVENS.

[1] *And that hath* dazzled *my reaſon's light*;
But when I look &c.] Our author uſes *dazzled* as a triſyllable. The editor of the ſecond folio not perceiving this, introduced *ſo*, ("And that hath dazzled *ſo*" &c.) a word as hurtful to the ſenſe as unneceſſary to the metre. The plain meaning is, *Her mere outſide has* dazzled *me;—when I am acquainted with the perfections of her mind, I ſhall be ſtruck* blind. MALONE.

[2] — *to Milan.*] It is *Padua* in the former editions. See the note on Act III. p. 149. POPE.

done,

done, till he be hang'd; nor never welcome to a place, till ſome certain ſhot be paid, and the hoſteſs ſay, welcome.

Speed. Come on, you mad-cap, I'll to the ale-houſe with you preſently; where, for one ſhot of five pence, thou ſhalt have five thouſand welcomes. But, ſirrah, how did thy maſter part with madam Julia?

Launce. Marry, after they cloſed in earneſt, they parted very fairly in jeſt.

Speed. But ſhall ſhe marry him?

Launce. No.

Speed. How then? Shall he marry her?

Launce. No, neither.

Speed. What, are they broken?

Launce. No, they are both as whole as a fiſh.

Speed. Why then, how ſtands the matter with them?

Launce. Marry, thus; when it ſtands well with him, it ſtands well with her.

Speed. What an aſs art thou? I underſtand thee not.

Launce. What a block art thou, that thou canſt not? My ſtaff underſtands me [3].

Speed. What thou ſay'ſt?

Launce. Ay, and what I do too: look thee, I'll but lean, and my ſtaff underſtands me.

Speed. It ſtands under thee, indeed,

Launce. Why, ſtand-under and underſtand is all one.

Speed. But tell me true, will't be a match?

Launce. Aſk my dog: if he ſay, ay, it will; if he ſay, no, it will; if he ſhake his tail, and ſay nothing, it will.

Speed. The concluſion is then, that it will.

Launce. Thou ſhalt never get ſuch a ſecret from me, but by a parable.

Speed. 'Tis well that I get it ſo. But, Launce, how ſay'ſt thou, that my maſter is become a notable lover?

[3] *My ſtaff underſtands me.*] This equivocation, miſerable as it is, has been admitted by Milton in his great poem, B. vi:

"——The terms we ſent were terms of weight,
"Such as we may perceive, amaz'd them all,
"And ſtagger'd many; who receives them right,
"Had need from head to foot well *underſtand*;
"Not *underſtood*, this gift they have beſides,
"To ſhew us when our foes ſtand not upright." JOHNSON.

Launce.

Launce. I never knew him otherwiſe.

Speed. Than how?

Launce. A notable lubber, as thou reporteſt him to be.

Speed. Why, thou whorſon aſs, thou miſtakeſt me.

Launce. Why, fool, I meant not thee; I meant thy maſter.

Speed. I tell thee, my maſter is become a hot lover.

Launce. Why, I tell thee, I care not though he burn himſelf in love. If thou wilt go with me to the ale-houſe, ſo[4]; if not, thou art an Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Chriſtian.

Speed. Why?

Launce. Becauſe thou haſt not ſo much charity in thee, as to go to the ale[5] with a Chriſtian: Wilt thou go?

Speed. At thy ſervice. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VI.

The ſame. A Room in the Palace.

Enter PROTHEUS.

Pro. To leave my Julia, ſhall I be forſworn;
To love fair Silvia, ſhall I be forſworn;
To wrong my friend, I ſhall be much forſworn;
And even that power, which gave me firſt my oath,
Provokes me to this threefold perjury.
Love bad me ſwear, and love bids me forſwear:
O ſweet-ſuggeſting love[6], if thou haſt ſinn'd,
Teach me, thy tempted ſubject, to excuſe it!
At firſt I did adore a twinkling ſtar,
But now I worſhip a celeſtial ſun.
Unheedful vows may heedfully be broken;
And he wants wit, that wants reſolved will
To learn his wit to exchange the bad for better.—

4 *If thou wilt go with me to the ale-houſe, ſo;*] *So,* which is wanting in the firſt folio, was ſupplied by the editor of the ſecond. MALONE.

5 — *the* ale] *Ales* were merry-meetings inſtituted in country places. STEEVENS.

6 *O ſweet-ſuggeſting love,*] To *ſuggeſt* is to *tempt* in our author's language. So again:

"Knowing that tender youth is ſoon *ſuggeſted.*"

The ſenſe is. *O* tempting love, *if thou haſt* influenced me to ſin, *teach me to excuſe it.* JOHNSON.

Fie,

Fie, fie, unreverend tongue! to call her bad,
Whoſe ſovereignty ſo oft thou haſt preferr'd
With twenty thouſand ſoul-confirming oaths.
I cannot leave to love, and yet I do;
But there I leave to love, where I ſhould love.
Julia I loſe, and Valentine I loſe:
If I keep them, I needs muſt loſe myſelf;
If I loſe them, thus find I by their loſs,
For Valentine, myſelf; for Julia, Silvia.
I to myſelf am dearer than a friend;
For love is ſtill more precious in itſelf:
And Silvia, witneſs heaven, that made her fair!
Shows Julia but a ſwarthy Ethiope.
I will forget that Julia is alive,
Rememb'ring that my love to her is dead;
And Valentine I'll hold an enemy,
Aiming at Silvia as a ſweeter friend.
I cannot now prove conſtant to myſelf,
Without ſome treachery uſed to Valentine:—
This night, he meaneth with a corded ladder
To climb celeſtial Silvia's chamber-window;
Myſelf in counſel, his competitor[7]:
Now preſently I'll give her father notice
Of their diſguiſing, and pretended flight[8];
Who, all enrag'd, will baniſh Valentine;
For Thurio, he intends, ſhall wed his daughter:
But, Valentine being gone, I'll quickly croſs,
By ſome ſly trick, blunt Thurio's dull proceeding.

[7] — *in counſel, his competitor:*] *Myſelf, who am his* competitor *or* rival, being admitted to his counſel. JOHNSON.

Competitor is *confederate, aſſiſtant, partner.* So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

" It is not Cæſar's natural vice, to hate
" One great *competitor.*"

and he is ſpeaking of Lepidus, one of the triumvirate. STEEVENS.

Perhaps Dr. Johnſon's explanation of *competitor* is the true one, and " in counſel" here ſignifies, *in ſecret*; myſelf being ſecretly his rival. See a note on the *Merry Wives of Windſor*, Act I. ſc. i. " It were better for you, if't were known in *counſel.*" I offer this rather as a poſſible, than a probable, interpretation. MALONE.

[8] — *pretended flight*;] *Pretended* flight is *propoſed* or *intended* flight. So, in *Macbeth*:

" —What good could they *pretend?*" STEEVENS.

Love,

Love, lend me wings to make my purpoſe ſwift,
As thou haſt lent me wit to plot this drift [9]! [*Exit.*

SCENE VII.

Verona. *A Room in* Julia's *Houſe.*

Enter JULIA *and* LUCETTA.

Jul. Counſel, Lucetta: gentle girl, aſſiſt me!
And, even in kind love, I do conjure thee,—
Who art the table wherein all my thoughts
Are viſibly character'd and engrav'd,—
To leſſon me; and tell me ſome good mean,
How, with my honour, I may undertake
A journey to my loving Protheus.

Luc. Alas! the way is wearifome and long.

Jul. A true-devoted pilgrim is not weary
To meaſure kingdoms with his feeble ſteps;
Much leſs ſhall ſhe, that hath love's wings to fly;
And when the flight is made to one ſo dear,
Of ſuch divine perfection, as ſir Protheus.

Luc. Better forbear, till Protheus make return.

Jul. O, know'ſt thou not, his looks are my ſoul's food?
Pity the dearth that I have pined in,
By longing for that food ſo long a time.
Didſt thou but know the inly touch of love,
Thou would'ſt as ſoon go kindle fire with ſnow,
As ſeek to quench the fire of love with words.

Luc. I do not ſeek to quench your love's hot fire;
But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
Leſt it ſhould burn above the bounds of reaſon.

Jul. The more thou dam'ſt it up, the more it burns:
The current, that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou know'ſt, being ſtopp'd, impatiently doth rage;
But, when his fair courſe is not hindered,
He makes ſweet muſick with the enamel'd ſtones,
Giving a gentle kiſs to every ſedge

9 I ſuſpect that the author concluded the act with this couplet, and that the next ſcene ſhould begin the third act; but the change, as it will add nothing to the probability of the action, is of no great importance. JOHNSON.

He overtaketh in his pilgrimage;
And ſo by many winding nooks he ſtrays,
With willing ſport, to the wild ocean.
Then let me go, and hinder not my courſe:
I'll be as patient as a gentle ſtream,
And make a paſtime of each weary ſtep,
Till the laſt ſtep have brought me to my love;
And there I'll reſt, as, after much turmoil,
A bleſſed ſoul doth in Elyſium.

Luc. But in what habit will you go along?

Jul. Not like a woman; for I would prevent
The looſe encounters of laſcivious men:
Gentle Lucetta, fit me with ſuch weeds
As may beſeem ſome well-reputed page.

Luc. Why then your ladyſhip muſt cut your hair.

Jul. No, girl; I'll knit it up in ſilken ſtrings,
With twenty odd-conceited true-love knots:
To be fantaſtick, may become a youth
Of greater time than I ſhall ſhow to be.

Luc. What faſhion, madam, ſhall I make your breeches?

Jul. That fits as well, as—"tell me, good my lord,
"What compaſs will you wear your farthingale?"
Why, even that faſhion thou beſt lik'ſt, Lucetta.

Luc. You muſt needs have them with a cod-piece[1], madam.

Jul. Out, out, Lucetta[2]! that will be ill-favour'd.

Luc. A round hoſe, madam, now's not worth a pin,
Unleſs you have a cod-piece to ſtick pins on.

Jul. Lucetta, as thou lov'ſt me, let me have
What thou think'ſt meet, and is moſt mannerly:

[1] — *with a cod-piece*, &c.] Whoever wiſhes to be acquainted with this particular, relative to dreſs, may conſult Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*, in which ſuch matters are very amply diſcuſſed. Ocular inſtruction may be had from the armour ſhewn as John of Gaunt's in the Tower of London. The ſame faſhion appears to have been no leſs offenſive in France. See Montaigne, chap. XXII. The cuſtom of ſticking pins in this oſtentatious piece of indecency was continued by the illiberal warders of the Tower, till forbidden by authority. STEEVENS.

[2] Out, out, *Lucetta!* &c.] Dr. Percy obſerves, that this interjection is ſtill uſed in the North. It ſeems to have the ſame meaning as *apage*, Lat. STEEVENS.

But

But tell me, wench, how will the world repute me,
For undertaking ſo unſtaid a journey?
I fear me, it will make me ſcandaliz'd.
Luc. If you think ſo, then ſtay at home, and go not.
Jul. Nay, that I will not.
Luc. Then never dream on infamy, but go.
If Protheus like your journey, when you come,
No matter who's diſpleas'd, when you are gone:
I fear me, he will ſcarce be pleas'd withal.
Jul. That is the leaſt, Lucetta, of my fear:
A thouſand oaths, an ocean of his tears,
And inſtances as infinite [3] of love,
Warrant me welcome to my Protheus.
Luc. All theſe are ſervants to deceitful men.
Jul. Baſe men, that uſe them to ſo baſe effect!
But truer ſtars did govern Protheus' birth:
His words are bonds, his oaths are oracles;
His love ſincere, his thoughts immaculate;
His tears, pure meſſengers ſent from his heart;
His heart as far from fraud, as heaven from earth.
Luc. Pray heaven, he prove ſo, when you come to him!
Jul. Now, as thou lov'ſt me, do him not that wrong,
To bear a hard opinion of his truth:
Only deſerve my love, by loving him;
And preſently go with me to my chamber,
To take a note of what I ſtand in need of,
To furniſh me upon my longing journey [4].
All that is mine I leave at thy diſpoſe,
My goods, my lands, my reputation;
Only, in lieu thereof, diſpatch me hence.
Come, anſwer not, but to it preſently;
I am impatient of my tarriance. [*Exeunt.*

3 — as *infinite*] Old edit. *of* infinite. JOHNSON.
The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.
4 — *my* longing *journey.*] Dr. Grey obſerves, that *longing* is a participle active, with a paſſive ſignification; for *longed*, wiſhed or deſired. STEEVENS.

ACT III. SCENE I.

Milan. *An Ante-room in the* Duke's *Palace.*

Enter Duke, THURIO, *and* PROTHEUS.

Duke. Sir Thurio, give us leave, I pray, awhile;
We have ſome ſecrets to confer about.— [*Exit* THURIO.
Now, tell me, Protheus, what's your will with me?
Pro. My gracious lord, that which I would diſcover,
The law of friendſhip bids me to conceal:
But, when I call to mind your gracious favours
Done to me, undeſerving as I am,
My duty pricks me on to utter that
Which elſe no worldly good ſhould draw from me.
Know, worthy prince, ſir Valentine, my friend,
This night intends to ſteal away your daughter;
Myſelf am one made privy to the plot.
I know, you have determin'd to beſtow her
On Thurio, whom your gentle daughter hates;
And ſhould ſhe thus be ſtolen away from you,
It would be much vexation to your age.
Thus, for my duty's ſake, I rather choſe
To croſs my friend in his intended drift,
Than, by concealing it, heap on your head
A pack of ſorrows, which would preſs you down,
Being unprevented, to your timeleſs grave.
Duke. Protheus, I thank thee for thine honeſt care;
Which to requite, command me while I live.
This love of theirs myſelf have often ſeen,
Haply, when they have judg'd me faſt aſleep;
And oftentimes have purpos'd to forbid
Sir Valentine her company, and my court:
But, fearing leſt my jealous aim [5] might err,
And ſo, unworthily, diſgrace the man,
(A raſhneſs that I ever yet have ſhunn'd,)
I gave him gentle looks; thereby to find

5 —*jealous* aim] *Aim* is *gueſs*. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:
"I *aim'd* ſo near when I ſuppos'd you lov'd." STEEVENS.

That

That which thyſelf haſt now diſclos'd to me.
And, that thou may'ſt perceive my fear of this,
Knowing that tender youth is ſoon ſuggeſted,
I'nightly lodge her in an upper tower,
The key whereof myſelf have ever kept;
And thence ſhe cannot be convey'd away.

Pro. Know, noble lord, they have devis'd a mean
How he her chamber-window will aſcend,
And with a corded ladder fetch her down;
For which the youthful lover now is gone,
And this way comes he with it preſently;
Where, if it pleaſe you, you may intercept him.
But, good my lord, do it ſo cunningly,
That my diſcovery be not aimed at[6];
For love of you, not hate unto my friend,
Hath made me publiſher of this pretence[7].

Duke. Upon mine honour, he ſhall never know
That I had any light from thee of this.

Pro. Adieu, my lord; ſir Valentine is coming. [*Exit.*

Enter VALENTINE.

Duke. Sir Valentine, whither away ſo faſt?

Val. Pleaſe it your grace, there is a meſſenger
That ſtays to bear my letters to my friends,
And I am going to deliver them.

Duke. Be they of much import?

Val. The tenor of them doth but ſignify
My health, and happy being at your court.

Duke. Nay, then no matter; ſtay with me a while;
I am to break with thee of ſome affairs,
That touch me near, wherein thou muſt be ſecret.
'Tis not unknown to thee, that I have ſought
To match my friend, ſir Thurio, to my daughter.

Val. I know it well, my lord; and, ſure, the match
Were rich and honourable; beſides, the gentleman
Is full of virtue, bounty, worth, and qualities

[6] — *be not* aimed at;] Be not *gueſſed*. JOHNSON.

[7] — *of this pretence.*] *Pretence* is *deſign*. So, in *K. Lear*: "—to my affection to your honour, and no other *pretence* of danger." Again, in the ſame play: "—*pretence* and purpoſe of unkindneſs." STEEV.

Beſeeming ſuch a wife as your fair daughter:
Cannot your grace win her to fancy him?

Duke. No, truſt me; ſhe is peeviſh, ſullen, froward,
Proud, diſobedient, ſtubborn, lacking duty;
Neither regarding that ſhe is my child,
Nor fearing me as if I were her father:
And, may I ſay to thee, this pride of hers,
Upon advice, hath drawn my love from her;
And, where * I thought the remnant of mine age
Should have been cheriſh'd by her child-like duty,
I now am full reſolv'd to take a wife,
And turn her out to who will take her in:
Then let her beauty be her wedding-dower;
For me and my poſſeſſions ſhe eſteems not.

Val. What would your grace have me to do in this?

Duke. There is a lady, ſir, in Milan, here [8],
Whom I affect; but ſhe is nice, and coy,
And nought eſteems my aged eloquence:
Now, therefore, would I have thee to my tutor,
(For long agone I have forgot to court;
Beſides, the faſhion of the time [9] is chang'd;)
How, and which way, I may beſtow myſelf,
To be regarded in her ſun-bright eye.

Val. Win her with gifts, if ſhe reſpect not words;
Dumb jewels often, in their ſilent kind,
More than quick words, do move a woman's mind [1].

* *And* where—] *Where* for *whereas*. It is often ſo uſed by our old writers. MALONE.

[8] —*ſir, in* Milan, *here,*] It ought to be thus, inſtead of—*in* Verona, *here*; for the ſcene apparently is in Milan, as is clear from ſeveral paſſages in the firſt act, and in the beginning of the firſt ſcene of the fourth act. A like miſtake has crept into the eighth ſcene of act II. where Speed bids his fellow-ſervant Launce welcome to Padua. POPE.

9 — *the faſhion of the time*—] The modes of courtſhip, the acts by which men recommended themſelves to ladies. JOHNSON.

[1] *Win her with* gifts, *if ſhe reſpect not* words;
Dumb jewels often, in their ſilent kind,
More than quick words, do move a woman's mind.] An earlier writer than Shakſpeare, ſpeaking of women, has the ſame unfavourable (and, I hope, unfounded) ſentiment:

"'Tis wiſdom to give much; a gift prevails,
"When deep perſuaſive oratory fails."

Marlowe's *Hero and Leander.* MALONE.

Duke.

Duke. But ſhe did ſcorn a preſent that I ſent her.
Val. A woman ſometime ſcorns what beſt contents her:
Send her another; never give her o'er;
For ſcorn at firſt makes after-love the more.
If ſhe do frown, 'tis not in hate of you,
But rather to beget more love in you:
If ſhe do chide, 'tis not to have you gone;
For why, the fools are mad, if left alone.
Take no repulſe, whatever ſhe doth ſay;
For, *get you gone*, ſhe doth not mean, *away:*
Flatter, and praiſe, commend, extol their graces;
Though ne'er ſo black, ſay, they have angels' faces.
That man that hath a tongue, I ſay, is no man,
If with his tongue he cannot win a woman.
Duke. But ſhe I mean, is promis'd by her friends
Unto a youthful gentleman of worth;
And kept ſeverely from reſort of men,
That no man hath acceſs by day to her.
Val. Why then I would reſort to her by night.
Duke. Ay, but the doors be lock'd, and keys kept ſafe,
That no man hath recourſe to her by night.
Val. What lets [a], but one may enter at her window?
Duke. Her chamber is aloft, far from the ground;
And built ſo ſhelving, that one cannot climb it
Without apparent hazard of his life.
Val. Why then, a ladder, quaintly made of cords,
To caſt up, with a pair of anchoring hooks,
Would ſerve to ſcale another Hero's tower,
So bold Leander would adventure it.
Duke. Now, as thou art a gentleman of blood,
Adviſe me where I may have ſuch a ladder.
Val. When would you uſe it? pray, ſir, tell me that.
Duke. This very night; for love is like a child,
That longs for every thing that he can come by.
Val. By ſeven o'clock I'll get you ſuch a ladder.
Duke. But hark thee; I will go to her alone;
How ſhall I beſt convey the ladder thither?
Val. It will be light, my lord, that you may bear it
Under a cloak, that is of any length.

[a] *What lets,*] i. e. what hinders. STEEVENS.

Duke. A cloak as long as thine will ſerve the turn?
Val. Ay, my good lord.
Duke. Then let me ſee thy cloak;
I'll get me one of ſuch another length.
Val. Why, any cloak will ſerve the turn, my lord.
Duke. How ſhall I faſhion me to wear a cloak?—
I pray thee, let me feel thy cloak upon me.—
What letter is this ſame? What's here?—*To Silvia?*
And here an engine fit for my proceeding!
I'll be ſo bold to break the ſeal for once. [*reads.*
My thoughts do harbour with my Silvia nightly;
And ſlaves they are to me, that ſend them flying:
O, could their maſter come and go as lightly,
Himſelf would lodge, where ſenſeleſs they are lying.
My herald thoughts in thy pure boſom reſt them[3];
While I, their king, that thither them importune,
Do curſe the grace that with ſuch grace hath bleſs'd them,
Becauſe myſelf do want my ſervants' fortune:
I curſe myſelf, for they are ſent by me[4],
That they ſhould harbour where their lord ſhould be.
What's here?
Silvia, this night I will enfranchiſe thee.
'Tis ſo; and here's the ladder for the purpoſe.—
Why, Phaëton, (for thou art Merops' ſon[5],)
Wilt thou aſpire to guide the heavenly car,
And with thy daring folly burn the world?
Wilt thou reach ſtars, becauſe they ſhine on thee?
Go, baſe intruder! over-weening ſlave!
Beſtow thy fawning ſmiles on equal mates;
And think, my patience, more than thy deſert,

3 *My herald thoughts in thy pure boſom* &c.] i. e. the thoughts contained in my letter. See p. 151, n. 9. MALONE.

4 — for *they are ſent*—] *For* is the ſame as *for that, ſince.* JOHNSON.

5 — *Merops' ſon,*)] Thou art Phaëton in thy raſhneſs, but without his pretenſions; thou art not the ſon of a divinity, but a *terræ filius*, a low-born wretch; Merops is thy true father, with whom Phaëton was falſely reproached. JOHNSON.

This ſcrap of mythology Shakſpeare might have found in the ſpurious play of *K. John*, 1591:

" ——as ſometime *Phaeton*,
" Miſtruſting ſilly *Merops* for his ſire." STEEVENS.

Is

Is privilege for thy departure hence:
Thank me for this, more than for all the favours,
Which, all too much, I have beſtow'd on thee.
But if thou linger in my territories,
Longer than ſwifteſt expedition
Will give thee time to leave our royal court,
By heaven, my wrath ſhall far exceed the love
I ever bore my daughter, or thyſelf.
Be gone, I will not hear thy vain excuſe,
But, as thou lov'ſt thy life, make ſpeed from hence.
[*Exit* Duke.

Val. And why not death, rather than living torment?
To die, is to be baniſh'd from myſelf;
And Silvia is myſelf: baniſh'd from her,
Is ſelf from ſelf; a deadly baniſhment!
What light is light, if Silvia be not ſeen?
What joy is joy, if Silvia be not by?
Unleſs it be, to think that ſhe is by,
And feed upon the ſhadow of perfection[6].
Except I be by Silvia in the night,
There is no muſick in the nightingale;
Unleſs I look on Silvia in the day,
There is no day for me to look upon:
She is my eſſence; and I leave to be,
If I be not by her fair influence
Foſter'd, illumin'd, cheriſh'd, kept alive.
I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom[7]:
Tarry I here, I but attend on death;
But, fly I hence, I fly away from life.

Enter PROTHEUS *and* LAUNCE.

Pro. Run, boy, run, run, and ſeek him out.
Launce. So-ho! ſo-ho!
Pro. What ſee'ſt thou?

[6] *And feed upon the ſhadow of perfection.*] Animum pictura paſcit inani. *Virg.* HENLEY.

[7] *I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom:*] *To fly his doom*, uſed for *by flying*, or *in flying*, is a galliciſm. The ſenſe is, By avoiding the execution of his ſentence I ſhall not eſcape death. If I ſtay here, I ſuffer myſelf to be deſtroyed; if I go away, I deſtroy myſelf. JOHNSON.

Launce. Him we go to find: there's not a hair [a] on's head, but 'tis a Valentine.

Pro. Valentine?

Val. No.

Pro. Who then? his ſpirit?

Val. Neither.

Pro. What then?

Val. Nothing.

Launce. Can nothing ſpeak? maſter, ſhall I ſtrike?

Pro. Whom [b] would'ſt thou ſtrike?

Launce. Nothing.

Pro. Villain, forbear.

Launce. Why, ſir, I'll ſtrike nothing: I pray you,—

Pro. Sirrah, I ſay, forbear: Friend Valentine, a word.

Val. My ears are ſtopp'd, and cannot hear good news,
So much of bad already hath poſſeſs'd them.

Pro. Then in dumb ſilence will I bury mine,
For they are harſh, untuneable, and bad.

Val. Is Silvia dead?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, indeed, for ſacred Silvia!—
Hath ſhe forſworn me?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, if Silvia have forſworn me!—
What is your news?

Launce. Sir, there's a proclamation that you are vaniſh'd.

Pro. That thou art baniſh'd, O, that is the news,
From hence, from Silvia, and from me thy friend.

Val. O, I have fed upon this woe already,
And now exceſs of it will make me ſurfeit.
Doth Silvia know that I am baniſhed?

Pro. Ay, ay; and ſhe hath offer'd to the doom,
(Which, unrevers'd, ſtands in effectual force,)
A ſea of melting pearl, which ſome call tears:
Thoſe at her father's churliſh feet ſhe tender'd;
With them, upon her knees, her humble ſelf;
Wringing her hands, whoſe whiteneſs ſo became them,

[a] There's not a *hair*—] Launce is ſtill quibbling. He is now running down the *bare* that he ſtarted when he entered. MALONE.

[b] Whom—] Old Copy—*Who*. Corrected in the ſecond folio, MALONE.

As

As if but now they waxed pale for woe:
But neither bended knees, pure hands held up,
Sad ſighs, deep groans, nor ſilver-ſhedding tears,
Could penetrate her uncompaſſionate ſire;
But Valentine, if he be ta'en, muſt die.
Beſides, her interceſſion chafed him ſo,
When ſhe for thy repeal was ſuppliant,
That to cloſe priſon he commanded her,
With many bitter threats of 'biding there.

Val. No more; unleſs the next word, that thou ſpeak'ſt,
Have ſome malignant power upon my life:
If ſo, I pray thee, breathe it in mine ear,
As ending anthem of my endleſs dolour.

Pro. Ceaſe to lament for that thou canſt not help,
And ſtudy help for that which thou lament'ſt.
Time is the nurſe and breeder of all good.
Here if thou ſtay, thou canſt not ſee thy love;
Beſides, thy ſtaying will abridge thy life.
Hope is a lover's ſtaff; walk hence with that,
And manage it againſt deſpairing thoughts.
Thy letters may be here, though thou art hence;
Which, being writ to me, ſhall be deliver'd
Even in the milk-white boſom of thy love[9],
The time now ſerves not to expoſtulate:
Come, I'll convey thee through the city-gate;
And, ere I part with thee, confer at large
Of all that may concern thy love-affairs:
As thou lov'ſt Silvia, though not for thyſelf,
Regard thy danger, and along with me.

Val. I pray thee, Launce, an if thou ſeeſt my boy,

9 *Even in the* milk-white boſom of thy love.] So, in *Hamlet*:
" Theſe *to her excellent white boſom*, &c."
Trifling as the remark may appear, before the meaning of this *addreſs of letters to the boſom of a miſtreſs* can be underſtood, it ſhould be known that women anciently had a pocket in the fore part of their ſtays, in which they not only carried love-letters and love tokens, but even their money and materials for needle-work. In many parts of England the ruſtic damſels ſtill obſerve the ſame practice; and a very old lady informs me that ſhe remembers when it was the faſhion to wear very prominent ſtays, it was no leſs the cuſtom for ſtratagem or gallantry to drop its literary favours within the front of them. STEEVENS.

Bid him make haſte, and meet me at the north gate.

Pro. Go, ſirrah, find him out. Come, Valentine.

Val. O my dear Silvia! hapleſs Valentine!

[*Exeunt* VALENTINE *and* PROTHEUS.

Launce. I am but a fool, look you; and yet I have the wit to think, my maſter is a kind of a knave: but that's all one, if he be but one knave [1]. He lives not now, that knows me to be in love: yet I am in love; but a team of horſe ſhall not pluck [2] that from me; nor who 'tis I love, and yet 'tis a woman: but what woman, I will not tell myſelf; and yet 'tis a milk-maid: yet 'tis not a maid, for ſhe hath had goſſips [3]: yet 'tis a maid, for ſhe is her maſter's maid, and ſerves for wages. She hath more qualities than a water-ſpaniel,—which is much in a bare chriſtian [4]. Here is the cat-log [*pulling out a paper.*] of her conditions [5]. Imprimis, *She can fetch and*

[1] — *but that's all one, if he be but one* knave.] I know not whether, in Shakſpeare's language, *one knave* may not ſignify *a knave on only one occaſion*, a *ſingle knave*. We ſtill uſe a *double* villain for a villain beyond the common rate of guilt. JOHNSON.

I agree with Dr. Johnſon, and will ſupport his interpretation with indiſputable authority. In the old play of *Damon and Pythias*, *Ariſtippus* declares of *Cariſophus*, "you loſe money by him if you ſell him for *one knave*, for he ſerves for *twayne*." This phraſeology is often met with: *Arragon* ſays, in the *Merchant of Venice*:

"With *one fool's* head I came to woo,
"But I go away with *two*."

And *Donne* begins one of his ſonnets:

"I am *two fools*, I know,
"For *loving*, and for *ſaying ſo*, &c. FARMER.

[2] — *but a team of horſe ſhall not pluck*—] I ſee how Valentine ſuffers for telling his love-ſecrets, therefore I will keep mine cloſe. JOHNSON.

Perhaps Launce was not intended to ſhew ſo much ſenſe; but here indulges himſelf in talking contradictory nonſenſe. STEEVENS.

[3] — *for ſhe hath had goſſips:*] *Goſſips* not only ſignify thoſe who anſwer for a child in baptiſm, but the tattling women who attend lyings-in. The quibble between theſe is evident. STEEVENS.

[4] — *a* bare *chriſtian.*] *Launce* is quibbling on. *Bare* has two ſenſes; *mere* and *naked*. In *Coriolanus* it is uſed in the firſt:

"'Tis but a *bare* petition of the ſtate."

Launce uſes it in both, and oppoſes the *naked* female to the water-ſpaniel *cover'd with hairs of remarkable thickneſs*. STEEVENS.

[5] — conditions.] i. e. qualities. The old copy has *condition*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

carry:

carry: Why, a horſe can do no more: nay, a horſe cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore, is ſhe better than a jade. Item, *She can milk*; look you, a ſweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. How now, ſignior Launce? what news with your maſterſhip?

Launce. With my maſter's ſhip[6]? why, it is at ſea.

Speed. Well, your old vice ſtill; miſtake the word: What news then in your paper?

Launce. The blackeſt news that ever thou heard'ſt.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head; thou canſt not read.

Speed. Thou lieſt, I can.

Launce. I will try thee: Tell me this: Who begot thee?

Speed. Marry, the ſon of my grandfather.

Launce. O illiterate loiterer! it was the ſon of thy grandmother[7]: this proves, that thou canſt not read.

Speed. Come, fool, come: try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and ſaint Nicholas be thy ſpeed[8]!

Speed. Imprimis, *She can milk.*

Launce. Ay, that ſhe can.

[6] — *with my* maſter's ſhip?] The old copy reads—*maſterſhip*. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

[7] — *the ſon of thy* grandmother:] It is undoubtedly true that the mother only knows the legitimacy of the child. I ſuppoſe *Launce* infers, that if he could read, he muſt have read this well-known obſervation. STEEVENS.

[8] — *ſaint Nicholas be thy ſpeed!*] St. Nicholas preſided over ſcholars, who were therefore called *St. Nicholas's clerks*. Hence, by a quibble between Nicholas and Old Nick, highwaymen, in *The Firſt Part of Henry the Fourth*, are called *Nicholas's clerks*. WARBURTON.

That this ſaint preſided over young ſcholars may be gathered from Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 362; for by the ſtatutes of Paul's ſchool there inſerted, the children are required to attend divine ſervice at the cathedral on his anniverſary. The reaſon I take to be, that the legend of this ſaint makes him to have been a biſhop, while he was a boy. SIR J. HAWKINS.

Speed.

Speed. Item, *She brews good ale.*

Launce. And therefore comes the proverb,—Bleſſing of your heart, you brew good ale.

Speed. Item, *She can ſew.*

Launce. That's as much as to ſay, Can ſhe ſo?

Speed. Item, *She can knit.*

Launce. What need a man care for a ſtock with a wench, when ſhe can knit him a ſtock [9]?

Speed. Item, *She can waſh and ſcour.*

Launce. A ſpecial virtue; for then ſhe need not be waſh'd and ſcour'd.

Speed. Item, *She can ſpin.*

Launce. Then may I ſet the world on wheels, when ſhe can ſpin for her living.

Speed. Item, *She hath many nameleſs virtues.*

Launce. That's as much as to ſay, baſtard virtues; that, indeed, know not their fathers, and therefore have no names.

Speed. Here follow her vices.

Launce. Cloſe at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. Item, *She is not to be kiſs'd faſting* [1], *in reſpect of her breath.*

Launce. Well, that fault may be mended with a breakfaſt: Read on.

Speed. Item, *She hath a ſweet mouth* [2].

Launce. That makes amends for her ſour breath.

Speed. Item, *She doth talk in her ſleep.*

Launce. It's no matter for that, ſo ſhe ſleep not in her talk.

9 — *knit him a* ſtock?] i. e. a *ſtocking*. So, in *Twelfth Night*:
" —it does indifferent well in a flame-colour'd *ſtock*." STEEV.

1 — *ſhe is not to be* kiſs'd *faſting*,] The old copy reads,—*ſhe is not to be faſting*, &c. The neceſſary word, *kiſs'd*, was firſt added by Mr. Rowe. STEEVENS.

2 — *ſweet mouth.*] This I take to be the ſame with what is now vulgarly called a *ſweet tooth*, a luxurious deſire of dainties and ſweetmeats. JOHNSON.

How a *luxurious deſire of dainties* can make amends for *offenſive breath*, I know not: I rather believe that by a *ſweet mouth* is meant that ſhe *ſings ſweetly*. In *Twelfth Night* we have heard of a *ſweet breaſt* as the recommendation of a finger. It may however mean a *liquoriſh* mouth, in a wanton ſenſe. So, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*:
" Their ſaucy *ſweetneſs*, that do coin heaven's image &c." STEEV.

Speed.

Speed. Item, *She is ſlow in words.*

Launce. O villainy, that ſet this down among her vices! To be ſlow in words, is a woman's only virtue: I pray thee, out with't; and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. Item, *She is proud.*

Launce. Out with that too; it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. Item, *She hath no teeth.*

Launce. I care not for that neither, becauſe I love cruſts.

Speed. Item, *She is curſt.*

Launce. Well; the beſt is, ſhe hath no teeth to bite.

Speed. Item, *She will often praiſe her liquor* [3].

Launce. If her liquor be good, ſhe ſhall: if ſhe will not, I will; for good things ſhould be praiſed.

Speed. Item, *She is too liberal* [4].

Launce. Of her tongue ſhe cannot; for that's writ down ſhe is ſlow of: of her purſe ſhe ſhall not; for that I'll keep ſhut: now of another thing ſhe may; and that I cannot help. Well, proceed.

Speed. Item, *She hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.*

Launce. Stop there; I'll have her: ſhe was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that laſt article: Rehearſe that once more.

Speed. Item, *She hath more hair than wit* [5],—

Launce. More hair than wit,—it may be; I'll prove it: The cover of the ſalt hides the ſalt, and therefore it is more than the ſalt: the hair, that covers the wit, is more than the wit; for the greater hides the leſs. What's next?

Speed. —*And more faults than hairs,*—

Launce. That's monſtrous: O, that that were out!

[3] — *praiſe her liquor.*] That is, ſhew how well ſhe likes it by drinking often. JOHNSON.

[4] — *too* liberal.] *Liberal*, is licentious and groſs in language So, in *Othello*: "Is he not a moſt profane and *liberal* counſellor?" JOHNSON.

[5] — *She hath more hair than wit,*—] An old Engliſh proverb. See Ray's Collection: "Buſh natural, *more hair than wit.*" STEEVENS.

Speed.

Speed. —*And more wealth than faults.*

Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious[6]: Well, I'll have her: And if it be a match, as nothing is impoſſible,—

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee,—that thy maſter ſtays for thee at the north gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee? ay; who art thou? he hath ſtaid for a better man than thee.

Speed. And muſt I go to him?

Launce. Thou muſt run to him, for thou haſt ſtaid ſo long, that going will ſcarce ſerve the turn.

Speed. Why did'ſt not tell me ſooner? 'pox of your love-letters! [*Exit.*

Launce. Now will he be ſwing'd for reading my letter; An unmannerly ſlave, that will thruſt himſelf into ſecrets! —I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.

The ſame. A Room in the Duke's *Palace.*

Enter Duke *and* THURIO; PROTHEUS *behind.*

Duke. Sir Thurio, fear not, but that ſhe will love you, Now Valentine is baniſh'd from her ſight.

Thu. Since his exile ſhe hath deſpis'd me moſt, Forſworn my company, and rail'd at me, That I am deſperate of obtaining her.

Duke. This weak impreſs of love is as a figure Trenched in ice[7]; which with an hour's heat Diſſolves to water, and doth loſe his form. A little time will melt her frozen thoughts, And worthleſs Valentine ſhall be forgot.— How now, ſir Protheus? Is your countryman, According to our proclamation, gone?

Pro. Gone, my good lord.

[6] — *gracious*:] in old language, means *graceful*. So, in *K. John*: "There was not ſuch a *gracious* creature born." STEEVENS.

[7] Trenched *in ice*;] Cut, carved in ice, *Trancher*, to cut, Fr. JOHNS.

Duke.

Duke. My daughter takes his going grievouſly [*].
Pro. A little time, my lord, will kill that grief.
Duke. So I believe; but Thurio thinks not ſo.—
Protheus, the good conceit I hold of thee,
(For thou haſt ſhewn ſome ſign of good deſert,)
Makes me the better to confer with thee.
Pro. Longer than I prove loyal to your grace,
Let me not live to look upon your grace.
Duke. Thou know'ſt, how willingly I would effect
The match between ſir Thurio and my daughter.
Pro. I do, my lord.
Duke. And alſo, I think, thou art not ignorant
How ſhe oppoſes her againſt my will.
Pro. She did, my lord, when Valentine was here.
Duke. Ay, and perverſely ſhe perſévers ſo.
What might we do to make the girl forget
The love of Valentine, and love ſir Thurio?
Pro. The beſt way is, to ſlander Valentine
With falſhood, cowardice, and poor deſcent;
Three things that women highly hold in hate.
Duke. Ay, but ſhe'll think, that it is ſpoke in hate.
Pro. Ay, if his enemy deliver it:
Therefore it muſt, with circumſtance [b], be ſpoken
By one, whom ſhe eſteemeth as his friend.
Duke. Then you muſt undertake to ſlander him.
Pro. And that, my lord, I ſhall be loth to do:
'Tis an ill office for a gentleman;
Eſpecially, againſt his very friend [9].
Duke. Where your good word cannot advantage him,
Your ſlander never can endamage him;
Therefore the office is indifferent,
Being entreated to it by your friend.
Pro. You have prevail'd, my lord: if I can do it,

[*] — *grievouſly.*] So ſome copies of the firſt folio; others have, *heavily*. The word therefore muſt have been corrected, while the ſheet was working off at the preſs. The word *laſt*, p. 155, l. 23, was inſerted in ſome copies in the ſame manner. MALONE.

[b] — *with circumſtance,*] With the addition of ſuch incidental particulars as may induce belief. JOHNSON.

[9] — *his* very *friend.*] *Very* is *immediate*. So, in *Macbeth*:
"And the *very* points they blow." STEEVENS.

By aught that I can ſpeak in his diſpraiſe,
She ſhall not long continue love to him.
But ſay, this weed her love from Valentine,
It follows not that ſhe will love ſir Thurio.

Thu. Therefore as you unwind her love [1] from him,
Leſt it ſhould ravel, and be good to none,
You muſt provide to bottom it on me:
Which muſt be done, by praiſing me as much
As you in worth diſpraiſe ſir Valentine.

Duke. And, Protheus, we dare truſt you in this kind;
Becauſe we know, on Valentine's report,
You are already love's firm votary,
And cannot ſoon revolt and change your mind.
Upon this warrant ſhall you have acceſs,
Where you with Silvia may confer at large;
For ſhe is lumpiſh, heavy, melancholy,
And, for your friend's ſake, will be glad of you;
Where you may temper her [2], by your perſuaſion,
To hate young Valentine, and love my friend.

Pro. As much as I can do, I will effect:—
But you, ſir Thurio, are not ſharp enough;
You muſt lay lime [3], to tangle her deſires,
By wailful ſonnets, whoſe compoſed rhimes
Should be full fraught with ſerviceable vows.

Duke. Ay, Much is the force of heaven-bred poeſy.

Pro. Say, that upon the altar of her beauty
You ſacrifice your tears, your ſighs, your heart:
Write, till your ink be dry; and with your tears
Moiſt it again; and frame ſome feeling line,
That may diſcover ſuch integrity [4]:—

[1] — *as you unwind her love*—] As you wind off her love from him, make me the *bottom* on which you wind it. The houſewife's term for a ball of thread wound upon a central body, is a *bottom of thread*. JOHNSON.

[2] — *you may* temper *her* —] Mould her, like wax, to whatever ſhape you pleaſe. So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II: "I have him already *tempering* between my finger and my thumb; and ſhortly will I ſeal with him." MALONE.

[3] — *lime*] That is, *birdlime*. JOHNSON.

[4] — *ſuch integrity*:—] I ſuſpect that a line following this has been loſt; the import of which perhaps was

As her obdurate heart may penetrate. MALONE.

For

For Orpheus' lute was ſtrung with poets' ſinews;
Whoſe golden touch could ſoften ſteel and ſtones,
Make tygers tame, and huge leviathans
Forſake unſounded deeps to dance on ſands.
After your dire-lamenting elegies,
Viſit by night your lady's chamber-window
With ſome ſweet concert[5]: to their inſtruments
Tune a deploring dump[6]; the night's dead ſilence
Will well become ſuch ſweet-complaining grievance.
This, or elſe nothing, will inherit her[7].

Duke. This diſcipline ſhews thou haſt been in love.

Thu. And thy advice this night I'll put in practice:
Therefore, ſweet Protheus, my direction-giver,
Let us into the city preſently
To ſort[8] ſome gentlemen well ſkill'd in muſick:
I have a ſonnet, that will ſerve the turn,
To give the onſet to thy good advice.

Duke. About it, gentlemen.

Pro. We'll wait upon your grace, till after ſupper;
And afterward determine our proceedings.

Duke. Even now about it; I will pardon you[9].

[*Exeunt.*

5 — *with ſome ſweet* concert:] The old copy has *conſort*, which I once thought might have meant in our author's time a band or company of muſicians. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"*Tyb.* Mercutio, thou *conſort'ſt* with Romeo.

"*Mer. Conſort!* what, doſt thou make us *minſtrels*?"

The ſubſequent words, "*To* their *inſtruments*—," ſeem to favour this interpretation; but other inſtances, that I have ſince met with, in books of our author's age, have convinced me that *conſort* was only the old ſpelling of *concert*, and I have accordingly printed the latter word in the text. The epithet *ſweet*, annexed to it, ſeems better adapted to the muſick itſelf than to the band. *Conſort*, when accented on the firſt ſyllable, (as here) had, I believe, the former meaning; when on the ſecond, it ſignified a company. So, in the next ſcene:

"What ſay'ſt thou? Wilt thou be of our *conſort*?" MALONE.

6 *Tune a deploring* dump;] A *dump* was the ancient term for a *mournful elegy*. STEEVENS.

7 — *will* inherit *her.*] To *inherit*, is by our author, ſometimes uſed, as in this inſtance, for *to obtain poſſeſſion* of, without any idea of acquiring *by inheritance*. STEEVENS.

8 *To* ſort—] i. e. to chooſe out. So, in *K. Richard III*:

"Yet I will *ſort* a pitchy hour for thee." STEEVENS.

9 — *I will pardon you.*] I will excuſe you from waiting. JOHNSON.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

A Foreſt near Mantua.

Enter certain Out-laws.

1 *Out.* Fellows, ſtand faſt; I ſee a paſſenger.
2 *Out.* If there be ten, ſhrink not, but down with 'em.

Enter VALENTINE *and* SPEED.

3 *Out.* Stand, ſir, and throw us that you have about you;
If not, we'll make you ſit, and rifle you.
Speed. Sir, we are undone! theſe are the villains
That all the travellers do fear ſo much.
Val. My friends,—
1 *Out.* That's not ſo, ſir; we are your enemies.
2 *Out.* Peace; we'll hear him.
3 *Out.* Ay, by my beard, will we;
For he's a proper man[1].
Val. Then know, that I have little wealth to loſe;
A man I am, croſs'd with adverſity:
My riches are theſe poor habiliments,
Of which if you ſhould here diſfurniſh me,
You take the ſum and ſubſtance that I have.
2 *Out.* Whither travel you?
Val. To Verona.
1 *Out.* Whence came you?
Val. From Milan.
3 *Out.* Have you long ſojourn'd there?
Val. Some ſixteen months; and longer might have ſtaid,
If crooked fortune had not thwarted me.
2 *Out.* What, were you baniſh'd thence?
Val. I was.
2 *Out.* For what offence?
Val. For that which now torments me to rehearſe:
I kill'd a man, whoſe death I much repent;

[1] — *a* proper *man.*] i. e. a *well-looking* man; he has the appearance of a gentleman. So, afterwards:

"And parted, ſeeing you are *beautified*
"*With goodly ſhape*"—.

Again, in another play, "thou waſt the *propereſt* man in Italy." MALONE.

But

But yet I ſlew him manfully in fight,
Without falſe vantage, or baſe treachery.

1 *Out.* Why ne'er repent it, if it were done ſo:
But were you baniſh'd for ſo ſmall a fault?

Val. I was, and held me glad of ſuch a doom.

1 *Out.* Have you the tongues?

Val. My youthful travel therein made me happy;
Or elſe I often had been miſerable.

3 *Out.* By the bare ſcalp of Robin Hood's fat friar [2],
This fellow were a king for our wild faction.

1 *Out.* We'll have him: ſirs, a word.

Speed. Maſter, be one of them;
It is an honourable kind of thievery.

Val. Peace, villain!

2 *Out.* Tell us this; Have you any thing to take to?

Val. Nothing, but my fortune.

3 *Out.* Know then, that ſome of us are gentlemen,
Such as the fury of ungovern'd youth
Thruſt from the company of awful men [3]:

[2] — *Robin Hood's fat friar,*] *Robin Hood* was captain of a band of robbers, and was much inclined to rob churchmen. JOHNSON.

By Robin Hood's *fat friar*, I believe, Shakſpeare means *Friar Tuck*, who was confeſſor and companion to this noted outlaw. See figure III. in the plate at the end of the firſt part of *K. Henry IV.* with Mr. Tollet's obſervations on it. STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnſon ſeems to have miſunderſtood this paſſage. The ſpeaker does not ſwear by the ſcalp of ſome churchman who had been plundered, but by the ſhaven crown of Robin Hood's chaplain.—"We will live and die together, (ſays a perſonage in Peele's *Edward I.* 1593,) like Robin Hood, little John, *friar Tucke*, and Maide Marian." MALONE.

[3] — *awful men:*] Reverend, worſhipful, ſuch as magiſtrates, and other principal members of civil communities. JOHNSON.

Awful is uſed by Shakſpeare, in another place, in the ſenſe of *lawful*. Second part of *Henry IV.* Act IV. ſc. ii.

"We come within our *awful* banks again." TYRWHITT.

So, in *K. Henry V.* 1600:

"—— creatures that by *awe* ordain
"An *act* of order to a peopled kingdom." MALONE.

I think we ſhould read *lawful* in oppoſition to *lawleſs* men. In judicial proceedings the word has this ſenſe. SIR J. HAWKINS.

I believe we ſhould read *lawful* men; i. e. legales homines. So, in the *Newe Boke of Juſtices*, 1560:—"commaundinge him to the ſame to make an inqueſt and pannel of *lawful* men of his countie." For this remark I am indebted to Dr. Farmer. STEEVENS.

Myſelf was from Verona baniſhed,
For practiſing to ſteal away a lady,
An heir, and near ally'd unto the duke[4].
2 *Out.* And I from Mantua, for a gentleman,
Who, in my mood[5], I ſtabb'd unto the heart.
1 *Out.* And I, for ſuch like petty crimes as theſe.
But to the purpoſe,—(for we cite our faults,
That they may hold excus'd our lawleſs lives,)
And, partly, ſeeing you are beautify'd
With goodly ſhape; and by your own report
A linguiſt; and a man of ſuch perfection,
As we do in our quality[6] much want;—
2 *Out.* Indeed, becauſe you are a baniſh'd man,
Therefore, above the reſt, we parley to you:
Are you content to be our general?
To make a virtue of neceſſity,
And live, as we do, in this wilderneſs?
3 *Out.* What ſay'ſt thou? wilt thou be of our conſort?
Say, ay, and be the captain of us all:
We'll do thee homage, and be rul'd by thee,
Love thee as our commander, and our king.
1 *Out.* But if thou ſcorn our courteſy, thou dieſt.
2 *Out.* Thou ſhalt not live to brag what we have offer'd.
Val. I take your offer, and will live with you;
Provided, that you do no outrages[7]
On ſilly women, or poor paſſengers.
3 *Out.* No, we deteſt ſuch vile baſe practices.
Come, go with us, we'll bring thee to our crews,

4 *An* heir, *and* near *elly'd unto the duke.*] *Heir* in our author's time (as it ſometimes is now) was applied to females, as well as males. The old copy reads—and *neece.* The change, which is very ſlight, (*near* being formerly ſpelt *neere*) was made by Mr. Theobald. It likewiſe reads—*And* heir. The correction was made in the third folio. MALONE.

5 *Who, in my* mood,] *Mood* is anger or reſentment. MALONE.

6 — *in our* quality—] i. e. in our profeſſion. So, in *the Tempeſt*:

" —— talk
" Ariel, and all his *quality.*" See p. 16. n. 3. MALONE.

7 —— *no outrages*

On ſilly women, or poor paſſengers.] This was one of the rules of Robin Hood's government. STEEVENS.

And

And ſhew thee all the treaſure we have got;
Which, with ourſelves, all reſt at thy diſpoſe. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

Milan. *Court of the Palace.*

Enter PROTHEUS.

Pro. Already have I been falſe to Valentine,
And now I muſt be as unjuſt to Thurio.
Under the colour of commending him,
I have acceſs my own love to prefer;
But Silvia is too fair, too true, too holy,
To be corrupted with my worthleſs gifts.
When I proteſt true loyalty to her,
She twits me with my falſhood to my friend;
When to her beauty I commend my vows,
She bids me think, how I have been forſworn
In breaking faith with Julia whom I lov'd:
And, notwithſtanding all her ſudden quips[8],
The leaſt whereof would quell a lover's hope,
Yet, ſpaniel-like, the more ſhe ſpurns my love,
The more it grows, and fawneth on her ſtill.
But here comes Thurio: now muſt we to her window,
And give ſome evening muſick to her ear.

Enter THURIO, *and Muſicians.*

Thu. How now, ſir Protheus? are you crept before us?
Pro. Ay, gentle Thurio; for, you know, that love
Will creep in ſervice where it cannot go.
Thu. Ay, but, I hope, ſir, that you love not here.
Pro. Sir, but I do; or elſe I would be hence.
Thu. Whom? Silvia?
Pro. Ay, Silvia,—for your ſake.
Thu. I thank you for your own. Now, gentlemen,
Let's tune, and to it luſtily a while.

[8] — *ſudden quips,*] That is, haſty paſſionate reproaches and ſcoffs. So Macbeth is in a kindred ſenſe ſaid to be *ſudden*; that is, iraſcible and impetuous. JOHNSON.

Enter Host, *at a diſtance; and* JULIA *in boy's cloaths.*

Hoſt. Now, my young gueſt! methinks you're all-choly; I pray you, why is it?

Jul. Marry, mine hoſt, becauſe I cannot be merry.

Hoſt. Come, we'll have you merry: I'll bring you where you ſhall hear muſick, and ſee the gentleman that you aſk'd for.

Jul. But ſhall I hear him ſpeak?

Hoſt. Ay, that you ſhall.

Jul. That will be muſick. [*Muſick plays.*

Hoſt. Hark! hark!

Jul. Is he among theſe?

Hoſt. Ay: but peace, let's hear 'em.

SONG.

Who is Silvia? what is ſhe,
That all our ſwains commend her?
Holy, fair, and wiſe is ſhe;
The heavens ſuch grace did lend her,
That ſhe might admired be.

Is ſhe kind, as ſhe is fair?
For beauty lives with kindneſs[9]*:*
Love doth to her eyes repair,
To help him of his blindneſs;
And, being help'd, inhabits there.

Then to Silvia let us ſing,
That Silvia is excelling;
She excells each mortal thing,
Upon the dull earth dwelling:
To her let us garlands bring.

Hoſt. How now? are you ſadder than you were before? How do you, man? the muſick likes you not.

Jul. You miſtake; the muſician likes me not.

Hoſt. Why, my pretty youth?

9 — *beauty lives with kindneſs:*] Beauty without kindneſs *does* unenjoyed, and undelighting. JOHNSON.

Jul.

Jul. He plays falſe, father.

Hoſt. How? out of tune on the ſtrings?

Jul. Not ſo; but yet ſo falſe, that he grieves my very heart-ſtrings.

Hoſt. You have a quick ear.

Jul. Ay, I would I were deaf! it makes me have a ſlow heart.

Hoſt. I perceive, you delight not in muſick.

Jul. Not a whit, when it jars ſo.

Hoſt. Hark, what fine change is in the muſick!

Jul. Ay; that change is the ſpite.

Hoſt. You would have them always play but one thing?

Jul. I would always have one play but one thing. But, hoſt, doth this ſir Protheus, that we talk on, often reſort unto this gentlewoman?

Hoſt. I tell you what Launce, his man, told me, he loved her out of all nick[1].

Jul. Where is Launce?

Hoſt. Gone to ſeek his dog; which, to-morrow, by his maſter's command, he muſt carry for a preſent to his lady.

Jul. Peace! ſtand aſide; the company parts.

Pro. Sir Thurio, fear not you; I will ſo plead,
That you ſhall ſay, my cunning drift excels.

Thu. Where meet we?

Pro. At ſaint Gregory's well.

Thu. Farewell. [*Exeunt* Thurio *and Muſicians.*

SILVIA *appears above, at her window.*

Pro. Madam, good even to your ladyſhip.

Sil. I thank you for your muſick, gentlemen:
Who is that, that ſpake?

Pro. One, lady, if you knew his pure heart's truth,
You'd quickly learn to know him by his voice.

Sil. Sir Protheus, as I take it.

Pro. Sir Protheus, gentle lady, and your ſervant.

Sil. What is your will?

[1] — *out of all nick.*] Beyond all reckoning or count. Reckonings are kept upon nicked or notched ſticks or tallies. WARBURTON.

As it is an inn-keeper who employs the alluſion, it is much in character. STEEVENS.

Pro. That I may compaſs yours.
Sil. You have your wiſh; my will is even this [2],—
That preſently you hie you home to bed.
Thou ſubtle, perjur'd, falſe, diſloyal man!
Think'ſt thou, I am ſo ſhallow, ſo conceitleſs,
To be ſeduced by thy flattery,
That haſt deceiv'd ſo many with thy vows?
Return, return, and make thy love amends.
For me,—by this pale queen of night I ſwear,
I am ſo far from granting thy requeſt,
That I deſpiſe thee for thy wrongful ſuit;
And by and by intend to chide myſelf,
Even for this time I ſpend in talking to thee.
Pro. I grant, ſweet love, that I did love a lady;
But ſhe is dead.
Jul. 'Twere falſe, if I ſhould ſpeak it;
For, I am ſure, ſhe is not buried. [*Aſide.*
Sil. Say, that ſhe be; yet Valentine, thy friend,
Survives; to whom, thyſelf art witneſs,
I am betroth'd; And art thou not aſham'd
To wrong him with thy importúnacy?
Pro. I likewiſe hear, that Valentine is dead.
Sil. And ſo, ſuppoſe, am I; for in his grave [3],
Aſſure thyſelf, my love is buried.
Pro. Sweet lady, let me rake it from the earth.
Sil. Go to thy lady's grave, and call her's thence;
Or, at the leaſt, in her's ſepulcher thine.
Jul. He heard not that. [*Aſide.*
Pro. Madam, if your heart be ſo obdúrate,
Vouchſafe me yet your picture for my love,
The picture that is hanging in your chamber;
To that I'll ſpeak, to that I'll ſigh and weep:
For, ſince the ſubſtance of your perfect ſelf

[2] *You have your wiſh; my will is even this,*—] The word *will* is here ambiguous. He wiſhes to *gain* her *will*: ſhe tells him, if he wants her *will*, he has it. JOHNSON.

[3] —*in* his *grave,*] The old copy has—*her* grave. The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

Is elſe devoted, I am but a ſhadow;
And to your ſhadow will I make true love.

Jul. If 'twere a ſubſtance, you would, ſure, deceive it,
And make it but a ſhadow, as I am. [*Aſide.*

Sil. I am very loath to be your idol, ſir;
But, ſince your falſhood ſhall become you well[4]
To worſhip ſhadows, and adore falſe ſhapes,
Send to me in the morning, and I'll ſend it:
And ſo, good reſt.

Pro. As wretches have o'er night,
That wait for execution in the morn.

[*Exeunt* PROTHEUS; *and* SILVIA, *from above.*

Jul. Hoſt, will you go?

Hoſt. By my hallidom, I was faſt aſleep.

Jul. Pray you, where lies ſir Protheus?

Hoſt. Marry, at my houſe: Truſt me, I think, tis almoſt day.

Jul. Not ſo; but it hath been the longeſt night
That e'er I watch'd, and the moſt heavieſt. [*Exeunt.*

4 *But, ſince your falſhood ſhall become you well*] I once had a better opinion of an alteration propoſed by Dr. Johnſon [But ſince *you're falſe, it* ſhall &c.] than I have at preſent. I now believe the text is right, and that our author means, however licentious the expreſſion,—But, ſince your falſhood well becomes, or is well ſuited to, the worſhipping of ſhadows, and the adoring of falſe ſhapes, ſend to me in the morning for my picture, &c. Or, in other words, But, ſince the worſhipping of ſhadows and the adoring of falſe ſhapes ſhall well become *you, falſe as you are,* ſend &c. *To worſhip ſhadows* &c. I conſider as the objective caſe, as well as *you*. There are other inſtances in theſe plays of a double accuſative depending on the ſame verb. I have therefore followed the punctuation of the old copy, and not placed a comma after *falſhood,* as in the modern editions. *Since* is, I think, here an adverb, not a preposition. MALONE.

There is no occaſion for any alteration, if we only ſuppoſe that *it* is underſtood here, as in ſeveral other places.

But, ſince your falſhood, ſhall become you well
To worſhip ſhadows and adore falſe ſhapes,—

i. e. But, ſince your falſhood, *it* ſhall become you well, &c. Or indeed, in this place, *To worſhip ſhadows* &c. may be conſidered as the nominative caſe to *ſhall become.* TYRWHITT.

SCENE III.

The ſame.

Enter EGLAMOUR.

Egl. This is the hour that madam Silvia
Entreated me to call, and know her mind;
There's ſome great matter ſhe'd employ me in.—
Madam, madam!

SILVIA *appears above, at her window.*

Sil. Who calls?

Egl. Your ſervant, and your friend;
One that attends your ladyſhip's command.

Sil. Sir Eglamour, a thouſand times good morrow.

Egl. As many, worthy lady, to yourſelf.
According to your ladyſhip's impoſe[5],
I am thus early come, to know what ſervice
It is your pleaſure to command me in.

Sil. O Eglamour, thou art a gentleman,
(Think not, I flatter, for, I ſwear, I do not,)
Valiant, wiſe, remorſeful[6], well accompliſh'd.
Thou art not ignorant, what dear good will
I bear unto the baniſh'd Valentine;
Nor how my father would enforce me marry
Vain Thurio, whom my very ſoul abhorr'd:
Thyſelf haſt lov'd; and I have heard thee ſay,
No grief did ever come ſo near thy heart,
As when thy lady and thy true love died,
Upon whoſe grave thou vow'dſt pure chaſtity[7]:

[5] — *your ladyſhip's* impoſe,] *Impoſe* is *injunction, command.* A taſk ſet at college, in conſequence of a fault, is ſtill called an *impoſition.* STEEVENS.

[6] *Remorſeful* is pitiful. STEEVENS.

[7] *Upon whoſe grave thou vow'dſt pure chaſtity:*] It was common in former ages for widowers and widows to make vows of chaſtity in honour of their deceaſed wives or huſbands. In Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickſhire,* page 1013, there is the form of a commiſſion by the biſhop of the dioceſe for taking a vow of chaſtity made by a widow. It ſeems that, beſides obſerving the vow, the widow was for life, to wear

Sir Eglamour, I would to Valentine,
To Mantua, where, I hear, he makes abode;
And, for the ways are dangerous to paſs,
I do deſire thy worthy company,
Upon whoſe faith and honour I repoſe.
Urge not my father's anger, Eglamour,
But think upon my grief, a lady's grief;
And on the juſtice of my flying hence,
To keep me from a moſt unholy match,
Which heaven and fortune ſtill reward with plagues.
I do deſire thee, even from a heart
As full of ſorrows as the ſea of ſands,
To bear me company, and go with me:
If not, to hide what I have ſaid to thee,
That I may venture to depart alone.

Egl. Madam, I pity much your grievances [8];
Which ſince I know they virtuouſly are plac'd,
I give conſent to go along with you;
Recking as little [9] what betideth me,
As much I wiſh all good befortune you.
When will you go?

Sil. This evening coming.

Egl. Where ſhall I meet you?

Sil. At friar Patrick's cell,
Where I intend holy confeſſion.

Egl. I will not fail your ladyſhip:
Good morrow, gentle lady.

Sil. Good morrow, kind ſir Eglamour. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The ſame.

Enter LAUNCE, *with his dog.*

When a man's ſervant ſhall play the cur with him, look you,

wear a veil, and a mourning habit. The ſame diſtinction we may ſuppoſe to have been made in reſpect of male votariſts; and therefore this circumſtance might inform the players how ſir Eglamour ſhould be dreſt; and will account for Silvia's having choſen him as a perſon in whom ſhe could confide without injury to her own character. STEEVENS.

8 ——*grievances*;] Sorrows, ſorrowful affections. JOHNSON.

9 Recking *as little*—] To *reck* is to care for. STEEVENS.

you, it goes hard: one that I brought up of a puppy; one that I ſaved from drowning, when three or four of his blind brothers and ſiſters went to it! I have taught him—even as one would ſay preciſely, *Thus I would teach a dog.* I was ſent to deliver him, as a preſent to miſtreſs Silvia, from my maſter; and I came no ſooner into the dining-chamber, but he ſteps me to her trencher[*], and ſteals her capon's leg. O, 'tis a foul thing, when a cur cannot keep himſelf [1] in all companies! I would have, as one ſhould ſay, one that takes upon him to be a dog [2] indeed, to be, as it were, a dog at all things. If I had not had more wit than he, to take a fault upon me that he did, I think verily he had been hang'd for't; ſure as I live, he had ſuffer'd for't: you ſhall judge. He thruſts me himſelf into the company of three or four gentlemen-like dogs, under the duke's table: he had not been there (bleſs the mark) a piſſing while [3], but all the chamber ſmelt him. *Out with the dog*, ſays one; *What cur is that?* ſays another; *Whip him out*, ſays the third; *Hang him up*, ſays the duke: I, having been acquainted with the ſmell before, knew it was Crab; and goes me to the fellow that whips the dogs [4]: *Friend*, quoth I, *you mean to whip the dog? Ay, marry, do I*, quoth he. *You do him the more wrong*, quoth I; *'twas I did the thing you wot of.* He makes me no more ado, but whips me out of the chamber. How many maſters would do this for their ſervant [5]? Nay, I'll be ſworn, I have ſat in the ſtocks for puddings he hath ſtolen, otherwiſe he had been executed: I have ſtood on the pillory for geeſe he hath kill'd, otherwiſe he had ſuffer'd for't: thou think'ſt not of this now!—Nay, I re-

[*] —*to her* trencher,] See p. 54. n. 3. MALONE.

[1] —keep *himſelf*] i. e. reſtrain himſelf. STEEVENS.

[2] —*to be a dog*—] I believe we ſhould read, *I would have*, &c. *one that takes upon him to be a dog*, to be a dog *indeed, to be*, &c. JOHNSON.

[3] —*a* piſſing while,] It appears from Ray's Collection, that this expreſſion is proverbial. STEEVENS.

[4] —*the fellow that whips the dogs:*] This appears to have been part of the office of an *uſher of the table.* STEEVENS.

[5] —*their ſervant?*] The old copy reads—*his* ſervant? STEEVENS. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

member

member the trick you ſerved me, when I took my leave of madam Silvia [6]; did not I bid thee ſtill mark me, and do as I do? When didſt thou ſee me heave up my leg, and make water againſt a gentlewoman's farthingale? Didſt thou ever ſee me do ſuch a trick?

Enter PROTHEUS *and* JULIA.

Pro. Sebaſtian is thy name? I like thee well,
And will employ thee in ſome ſervice preſently.

Jul. In what you pleaſe;—I will do what I can.

Pro. I hope thou wilt.—How, now, you whoreſon peaſant?
Where have you been theſe two days loitering?

Launce. Marry, ſir, I carry'd miſtreſs Silvia the dog you bade me.

Pro. And what ſays ſhe to my little jewel?

Launce. Marry, ſhe ſays, your dog was a cur; and tells you, curriſh thanks is good enough for ſuch a preſent.

Pro. But ſhe receiv'd my dog?

Launce. No, indeed, did ſhe not: here have I brought him back again.

Pro. What, didſt thou offer her this from me?

Launce. Ay, ſir; the other ſquirrel [7] was ſtolen from me by the hangman's boys in the market-place: and then I offer'd her mine own; who is a dog as big as ten of yours, and therefore the gift the greater.

Pro. Go, get thee hence, and find my dog again,
Or ne'er return again into my ſight.

[6] *Madam* Silvia;] Dr. Warburton, without any neceſſity I think, reads—Julia; "alluding to the leave his maſter and he took when they left Verona." But it appears from a former ſcene, (as Mr. Heath has obſerved,) that Launce was not preſent when Protheus and Julia parted. Launce on the other hand has juſt taken leave of, i. e. parted from, (for that is all that is meant) Madam Silvia. MALONE.

[7] — *the other* ſquirrel &c.] Sir T. Hanmer reads,—the other, *Squirrel*, &c. and conſequently makes *Squirrel* the proper name of the beaſt. Perhaps Launce only ſpeaks of it as a diminutive animal, more reſembling a *ſquirrel* in ſize, than a dog. STEEVENS.

The ſubſequent words,—"who is a dog *as big as ten of yours*," ſhew that Mr. Steevens's interpretation is the true one. MALONE.

Away,

Away, I ſay; Stay'ſt thou to vex me here?
A ſlave, that, ſtill an end [8], turns me to ſhame. [*Ex.* Lau.
Sebaſtian, I have entertained thee,
Partly, that I have need of ſuch a youth,
That can with ſome diſcretion do my buſineſs,
For 'tis no truſting to yon fooliſh lowt;
But, chiefly, for thy face, and thy behaviour;
Which (if my augury deceive me not,)
Witneſs good bringing up, fortune, and truth:
Therefore know thou [9], for this I entertain thee.
Go preſently, and take this ring with thee,
Deliver it to Madam Silvia:
She lov'd me well, deliver'd it to me [1].

Jul. It ſeems, you lov'd her not, to leave her token [2]:
She's dead, belike.

Pro. Not ſo; I think, ſhe lives.

Jul. Alas!

Pro. Why doſt thou cry, alas?

Jul. I cannot chooſe but pity her.

Pro. Wherefore ſhould'ſt thou pity her?

Jul. Becauſe, methinks, that ſhe lov'd you as well
As you do love your lady Silvia:
She dreams on him, that has forgot her love;
You dote on her, that cares not for your love.
'Tis pity, love ſhould be ſo contrary;
And thinking on it makes me cry, alas!

Pro. Well, give her that ring, and therewithal

8 — *an end,*] i. e. *in the end,* at the concluſion of every buſineſs he undertakes. Steevens.

9 — *know* thou,] The old copy has—*thee.* The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. Malone.

1 *She lov'd me well, deliver'd it to me.*] i. e. She, *who* delivered it to me, lov'd me well. Malone.

2 *It ſeems, you lov'd her not, to leave her token:*] To *leave* ſeems to be uſed here for *to part with.* It is uſed with equal licence in a former ſcene, for to *ceaſe.* "I leave to be, &c."—In the firſt copy *not* is inadvertently repeated by the careleſſneſs of the printer:

It ſeems you lov'd her not, *not* leave her token.

The emendation was made in the ſecond folio. Dr. Johnſon would read:

It ſeems you lov'd her not, *nor leave* her token. Malone.

This

This letter;—that's her chamber.—Tell my lady,
I claim the promiſe for her heavenly picture.
Your meſſage done, hie home unto my chamber,
Where thou ſhalt find me ſad and ſolitary.
[*Exit* PROTHEUS.

Jul. How many women would do ſuch a meſſage?
Alas, poor Protheus! thou haſt entertain'd
A fox, to be the ſhepherd of thy lambs:
Alas, poor fool! why do I pity him
That with his very heart deſpiſeth me?
Becauſe he loves her, he deſpiſeth me;
Becauſe I love him, I muſt pity him.
This ring I gave him, when he parted from me,
To bind him to remember my good will:
And now am I (unhappy meſſenger)
To plead for that, which I would not obtain;
To carry that, which I would have refus'd[3];
To praiſe his faith, which I would have diſpraiſ'd.
I am my maſter's true confirmed love;
But cannot be true ſervant to my maſter,
Unleſs I prove falſe traitor to myſelf.
Yet will I woo for him; but yet ſo coldly,
As, heaven it knows, I would not have him ſpeed.

Enter SILVIA, *attended.*

Gentlewoman, good day! I pray you, be my mean
To bring me where to ſpeak with Madam Silvia.

Sil. What would you with her, if that I be ſhe?

Jul. If you be ſhe, I do entreat your patience
To hear me ſpeak the meſſage I am ſent on.

Sil. From whom?

Jul. From my maſter, ſir Protheus, madam.

Sil. O,—he ſends you for a picture?

Jul. Ay, madam.

Sil. Urſula, bring my picture there. [*Picture brought.*
Go, give your maſter this: tell him from me,
One Julia, that his changing thoughts forget,

3 *To carry that, which I would have refus'd*; &c.] The ſenſe is, To go and preſent that which I wiſh to be not accepted, to praiſe him whom I wiſh to be diſpraiſed. JOHNSON.

Would

Would better fit his chamber, than this ſhadow.
Jul. Madam, pleaſe you peruſe this letter.—
Pardon me, madam; I have unadvis'd
Deliver'd you a paper that I ſhould not;
This is the letter to your ladyſhip.
Sil. I pray thee, let me look on that again.
Jul. It may not be; good madam, pardon me.
Sil. There, hold.
I will not look upon your maſter's lines:
I know, they are ſtuff'd with proteſtations,
And full of new-found oaths; which he will break,
As eaſily as I do tear this paper.
Jul. Madam, he ſends your ladyſhip this ring.
Sil. The more ſhame for him that he ſends it me;
For, I have heard him ſay a thouſand times,
His Julia gave it him at his departure:
Though his falſe finger have profan'd the ring,
Mine ſhall not do his Julia ſo much wrong.
Jul. She thanks you.
Sil. What ſay'ſt thou?
Jul. I thank you, madam, that you tender her:
Poor gentlewoman! my maſter wrongs her much.
Sil. Doſt thou know her?
Jul. Almoſt as well as I do know myſelf:
To think upon her woes, I do proteſt,
That I have wept an hundred ſeveral times.
Sil. Belike, ſhe thinks, that Protheus hath forſook her.
Jul. I think ſhe doth; and that's her cauſe of ſorrow.
Sil. Is ſhe not paſſing fair?
Jul. She hath been fairer, madam, than ſhe is:
When ſhe did think my maſter lov'd her well,
She, in my judgement, was as fair as you;
But ſince ſhe did neglect her looking-glaſs,
And threw her ſun-expelling maſk away,
The air hath ſtarv'd the roſes in her cheeks,
And pinch'd the lily-tincture of her face,
That now ſhe is become as black as I[4].

Sil.

4 *And* pinch'd *the lily-tincture of her face,*
That now ſhe is become as black as I.] The colour of a part *pinched*, is

Sil. How tall was ſhe?

Jul. About my ſtature: for, at pentecoſt,
When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
Our youth got me to play the woman's part,
And I was trimm'd in madam Julia's gown;
Which ſerved me as fit, by all men's judgment,
As if the garment had been made for me:
Therefore, I know ſhe is about my height.
And, at that time I made her weep a-good [5],
For I did play a lamentable part:
Madam, 'twas Ariadne, paſſioning [6]
For Theſeus' perjury, and unjuſt flight;
Which I ſo lively acted with my tears,
That my poor miſtreſs, moved therewithal,
Wept bitterly; and, would I might be dead,
If I in thought felt not her very ſorrow!

Sil. She is beholden to thee, gentle youth!—
Alas, poor lady! deſolate and left!—
I weep myſelf, to think upon thy words.
Here, youth, there is my purſe; I give thee this
For thy ſweet miſtreſs' ſake, becauſe thou lov'ſt her.
Farewell. [*Exit* SILVIA.

Jul. And ſhe ſhall thank you for't, if e'er you know her.—
A virtuous gentlewoman, mild, and beautiful.
I hope, my maſter's ſuit will be but cold,
Since ſhe reſpects my miſtreſs' love ſo much [7].

Alas,

is livid, as it is commonly termed, *black and blue.* The weather may therefore be juſtly ſaid to *pinch*, when it produces the ſame viſible effect. I believe this is the reaſon why the cold is ſaid to *pinch*. JOHNSON.

Cleopatra ſays of herſelf,——"Think on me,
"That am with Phœbus' amorous *pinches* black." STEEVENS.

5 — *weep* a-good;] i. e. in good earneſt. *Tout de bon.* Fr. STEEV.

6 — *'twas Ariadne*, paſſioning—] On her being deſerted by Theſeus in the night, and left on the Iſland of Naxos. MALONE.

To *paſſion* is uſed as a verb by writers contemporary with Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

7 — my miſtreſs' *love ſo much.*] She had in her preceding ſpeech called Julia *her miſtreſs*; but it is odd enough that ſhe ſhould thus deſcribe

Alas, how love can trifle with itſelf!
Here is her picture: Let me ſee; I think,
If I had ſuch a tire, this face of mine
Were full as lovely as is this of hers:
And yet the painter flatter'd her a little,
Unleſs I flatter with myſelf too much.
Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow:
If that be all the difference in his love,
I'll get me ſuch a colour'd periwig [3].
Her eyes are grey as glaſs [9]; and ſo are mine:
Ay, but her forehead's low [1], and mine's as high.
What ſhould it be, that he reſpects in her,
But I can make reſpective [2] in myſelf,
If this fond love were not a blinded god?
Come, ſhadow, come, and take this ſhadow up,
For 'tis thy rival. O thou ſenſeleſs form,
Thou ſhalt be worſhipp'd, kiſs'd, lov'd, and ador'd;
And, were there ſenſe in his idolatry,
My ſubſtance ſhould be ſtatue in thy ſtead [3].

I'll

ſcribe herſelf, when ſhe is *alone*. Sir T. Hanmer reads—"*his* miſtreſs;" but without neceſſity. Our author knew that his audience conſidered the diſguiſed Julia in the preſent ſcene as a page to Protheus, and this, I believe, and the love of antitheſis, produced the expreſſion. MALONE.

[3] *I'll get me ſuch a colour'd* periwig.] It ſhould be remembered, that falſe hair was worn by the ladies, long before *wigs* were in faſhion. Theſe falſe coverings, however, were called *periwigs*. STEEVENS.

See *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act II. ſc. iii.—"and her hair ſhall be of what colour it pleaſe God."—and the *Merchant of Venice*, Act. III. ſc. ii.

"So are thoſe criſped ſnaky golden locks, &c." MALONE.

9 *Her eyes are* grey as glaſs;] So Chaucer, in the character of his Prioreſs:

"Ful ſemely hire wimple y-pinched was;
"Hire noſe tretis; hire *eyen grey as glas*." THEOBALD.

[1] — *her forehead's low*,] A high forehead was in our author's time accounted a feature eminently beautiful. So, in *The Hiſtory of Guy of Warwick*, "Felice his lady" is ſaid to have "*the ſame high forehead as Venus*." JOHNSON.

[2] — reſpective—] i. e. *reſpectful*, or *reſpectable*. STEEVENS.

[3] *My ſubſtance ſhould be* ſtatue *in thy ſtead*.] It would be eaſy to read with no more roughneſs than is to be found in many lines of Shakſpeare:

——ſhould be *a* ſtatue in thy ſtead.

The

I'll uſe thee kindly for thy miſtreſs' ſake,
That us'd me ſo; or elſe, by Jove I vow,
I ſhould have ſcratch'd out your unſeeing eyes,
To make my maſter out of love with thee. [*Exit.*

ACT V. SCENE I.

The ſame. An Abbey.

Enter EGLAMOUR.

Egl. The ſun begins to gild the weſtern ſky;
And now it is about the very hour
That Silvia, at friar Patrick's cell, ſhould meet me.
She will not fail; for lovers break not hours,
Unleſs it be to come before their time;
So much they ſpur their expedition.

Enter SILVIA.

See, where ſhe comes: Lady, a happy evening!
Sil. Amen, amen! go on, good Eglamour,
Out at the poſtern by the abbey-wall;
I fear, I am attended by ſome ſpies.
Egl. Fear not: the foreſt is not three leagues off;
If we recover that, we are ſure enough[1]. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The ſame. A Room in the Duke's *Palace.*

Enter THURIO, PROTHEUS, *and* JULIA.

Thu. Sir Protheus, what ſays Silvia to my ſuit?
Pro. O, ſir, I find her milder than ſhe was;
And yet ſhe takes exceptions at your perſon.

The ſenſe, as Mr. Edwards obſerves, is, "He ſhould have my ſubſtance as a *ſtatue*, inſtead of thee [the picture], who art a ſenſeleſs form." This word, however, is uſed without the article *a* in Maſſinger's *Great Duke of Florence*, and in Lord Surrey's tranſlation of the fourth Æneid. STEEVENS.

[1] — ſure *enough.*] *Sure* is ſafe, out of danger. JOHNSON.

Thu. What, that my leg is too long?

Pro. No; that it is too little.

Thu. I'll wear a boot, to make it ſomewhat rounder.

Pro. But love will not be ſpurr'd to what it loaths.

Thu. What ſays ſhe to my face?

Pro. She ſays, it is a fair one.

Thu. Nay, then the wanton lies; my face is black.

Pro. But pearls are fair; and the old ſaying is,
Black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes [2].

Jul. 'Tis true [3], ſuch pearls as put out ladies' eyes;
For I had rather wink than look on them. [*Aſide.*

Thu. How likes ſhe my diſcourſe?

Pro. Ill, when you talk of war.

Thu. But well, when I diſcourſe of love, and peace?

Jul. But better, indeed, when you hold your peace. [*Aſide.*

Thu. What ſays ſhe to my valour?

Pro. O, ſir, ſhe makes no doubt of that.

Jul. She needs not, when ſhe knows it cowardice. [*Aſide.*

Thu. What ſays ſhe to my birth?

Pro. That you are well deriv'd.

Jul. True; from a gentleman to a fool. [*Aſide.*

Thu. Conſiders ſhe my poſſeſſions?

Pro. O, ay; and pities them.

Thu. Wherefore?

Jul. That ſuch an aſs ſhould owe them. [*Aſide.*

Pro. That they are out by leaſe [4].

Jul. Here comes the duke.

Enter Duke.

Duke. How now, ſir Protheus? how now, Thurio?
Which of you ſaw ſir Eglamour *, of late?

[2] *Black men are pearls* &c.] "A black man is a jewel in a fair woman's eye,"—is one of Ray's proverbial ſentences. MALONE.

[3] Jul. *'Tis true*, &c.] This ſpeech, which certainly belongs to Julia, is given in the old copy to Thurio. Mr. Rowe reſtored it to its proper owner. STEEVENS.

[4] *That they are out by leaſe.*] I ſuppoſe he means, becauſe Thurio's folly has let them on diſadvantageous terms. STEEVENS.

* — ſir *Eglamour*—] *Sir*, which is not in the old copy, was inſerted by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

Thu.

Thu. Not I.
Pro. Nor I.
Duke. Saw you my daughter?
Pro. Neither.
Duke. Why, then ſhe's fled unto that peaſant Valentine;
And Eglamour is in her company.
'Tis true; for friar Laurence met them both,
As he in penance wander'd through the foreſt:
Him he knew well, and gueſs'd that it was ſhe;
But, being maſk'd, he was not ſure of it:
Beſides, ſhe did intend confeſſion
At Patrick's cell this even; and there ſhe was not:
Theſe likelihoods confirm her flight from hence.
Therefore, I pray you, ſtand not to diſcourſe,
But mount you preſently; and meet with me
Upon the riſing of the mountain-foot
That leads toward Mantua, whither they are fled:
Diſpatch, ſweet gentlemen, and follow me. [*Exit.*
Thu. Why, this it is to be a peeviſh girl,
That flies her fortune when it follows her:
I'll after; more to be reveng'd on Eglamour,
Than for the love of reckleſs Silvia. [*Exit.*
Pro. And I will follow, more for Silvia's love,
Than hate of Eglamour that goes with her. [*Exit.*
Jul. And I will follow, more to croſs that love,
Than hate for Silvia, that is gone for love. [*Exit.*

SCENE III.

Frontiers of Mantua. *The Foreſt.*

Enter SILVIA *and* Out-laws.

1 *Out.* Come, come;
Be patient, we muſt bring you to our captain.
Sil. A thouſand more miſchances than this one
Have learn'd me how to brook this patiently.
2 *Out.* Come, bring her away.
1 *Out.* Where is the gentleman that was with her?
3 *Out.* Being nimble-footed, he hath out-run us,
But Moyſes, and Valerius, follow him.

Go thou with her to the next end of the wood,
There is our captain: we'll follow him that's fled;
The thicket is deſert, he cannot 'ſcape.

1 *Out.* Come, I must bring you to our captain's cave:
Fear not; he bears an honourable mind,
And will not uſe a woman lawleſsly.

Sil. O Valentine, this I endure for thee! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

Another part of the foreſt.

Enter VALENTINE.

Val. How uſe doth breed a habit in a man!
This ſhadowy deſert, unfrequented woods,
I better brook than flouriſhing peopled towns:
Here can I ſit alone, unſeen of any,
And, to the nightingale's complaining notes,
Tune my diſtreſſes, and record my woes[5].
O thou that doſt inhabit in my breaſt,
Leave not the manſion ſo long tenantleſs;
Leſt, growing ruinous, the building fall,
And leave no memory of what it was[6]!
Repair me with thy preſence, Silvia;
Thou gentle nymph, cheriſh thy forlorn ſwain!—
What halloing, and what ſtir, is this to-day?
Theſe are my mates, that make their wills their law,
Have ſome unhappy paſſenger in chace:
They love me well; yet I have much to do,
To keep them from uncivil outrages.
Withdraw thee, Valentine; who's this comes here?
[*ſteps aſide.*

[5] — record *my woes.*] To *record* anciently ſignified to *ſing*. *Sir John Hawkins* informs me, that to *record* is a term ſtill uſed by bird-fanciers, to expreſs the firſt eſſays of a bird in ſinging. STEEVENS.

[6] *O thou, that doſt inhabit in my breaſt,*
Leave not the manſion ſo long tenantleſs;
Leſt, growing ruinous, the building fall,
And leave no memory of what it was!] It is hardly poſſible to point out four lines in any of the plays of Shakſpeare, more remarkable for eaſe and elegance. STEEVENS.

Enter

Enter PROTHEUS, SILVIA, *and* JULIA.

Pro. Madam, this ſervice I have done for you,
(Though you reſpect not aught your ſervant doth,)
To hazard life, and reſcue you from him,
That would have forc'd your honour and your love.
Vouchſafe me, for my meed [7], but one fair look;
A ſmaller boon than this I cannot beg,
And leſs than this, I am ſure, you cannot give.

Val. How like a dream is this, I ſee, and hear!
Love, lend me patience to forbear a while. [*Aſide.*

Sil. O miſerable, unhappy that I am!

Pro. Unhappy were you, madam, ere I came;
But, by my coming, I have made you happy.

Sil. By thy approach thou mak'ſt me moſt unhappy.

Jul. And me, when he approacheth to your preſence.
[*Aſide.*

Sil. Had I been ſeized by a hungry lion,
I would have been a breakfaſt to the beaſt,
Rather than have falſe Protheus reſcue me.
O, heaven be judge, how I love Valentine,
Whoſe life's as tender to me as my ſoul;
And full as much (for more there cannot be,)
I do deteſt falſe perjur'd Protheus:
Therefore be gone, ſolicit me no more.

Pro. What dangerous action, ſtood it next to death,
Would I not undergo for one calm look?
O, 'tis the curſe in love, and ſtill approv'd [8],
When women cannot love, where they're belov'd.

Sil. When Protheus cannot love, where he's belov'd.
Read over Julia's heart, thy firſt beſt love,
For whoſe dear ſake thou didſt then rend thy faith
Into a thouſand oaths; and all thoſe oaths
Deſcended into perjury, to love me.
Thou haſt no faith left now, unleſs thou had'ſt two,
And that's far worſe than none; better have none
Than plural faith, which is too much by one:

7 — *my* meed,] i. e. reward. STEEVENS.
8 — *and ſtill* approv'd,] *Approv'd* is *felt, experienced.* MALONE.

Thou counterfeit to thy true friend!

Pro. In love,
Who reſpects friend?

Sil. All men but Protheus.

Pro. Nay, if the gentle ſpirit of moving words
Can no way change you to a milder form,
I'll woo you like a ſoldier, at arms' end;
And love you 'gainſt the nature of love, force you.

Sil. O heaven!

Pro. I'll force thee yield to my deſire.

Val. Ruffian, let go that rude uncivil touch;
Thou friend of an ill faſhion!

Pro. Valentine!

Val. Thou common friend, that's without faith or love [9];
(For ſuch is a friend now,) treacherous man!
Thou haſt beguil'd my hopes; nought but mine eye
Could have perſuaded me: Now I dare not ſay,
I have one friend alive; thou would'ſt diſprove me.
Who ſhould be truſted, when one's own right hand [1]
Is perjur'd to the boſom? Protheus,
I am ſorry, I muſt never truſt thee more,
But count the world a ſtranger for thy ſake.
The private wound is deepeſt: O time moſt accurſt [2]!
'Mongſt all foes, that a friend ſhould be the worſt!

Pro. My ſhame and guilt confounds me.—
Forgive me, Valentine: if hearty ſorrow
Be a ſufficient ranſom for offence,
I tender it here; I do as truly ſuffer,
As e'er I did commit.

9 —that's *without faith or love*;] *That's* is perhaps here uſed, not for *who is*, but for *id eſt*, *that is to ſay*. MALONE.

1 *Who ſhall be truſted, when one's* own *right hand*] The old copy has not *own*; which was introduced into the text by Sir T. Hanmer. The ſecond folio, to complete the metre, reads:

Who ſhall be truſted *now*, when one's right hand—.

The addition, like all thoſe made in that copy, appears to have been merely arbitrary; and the modern word is, in my opinion, more likely to have been the author's than the other. MALONE.

2 *The private wound is deepeſt, O time moſt accurſt!*] *Deepeſt*, *higheſt*, and other ſimilar words, were ſometimes uſed by the poets of Shakſpeare's age as monoſyllables. See p. 76. n. 2. MALONE.

Val.

Val. Then I am paid;
And once again I do receive thee honeſt:—
Who by repentance is not ſatisfy'd,
Is nor of heaven, nor earth; for theſe are pleas'd;
By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeas'd:—
And, that my love may appear plain and free,
All, that was mine in Silvia, I give thee[3].

Jul. O me unhappy! [*faints.*

Pro. Look to the boy.

Val. Why, boy! why wag! how now? what is the matter?
Look up; ſpeak.

Jul. O good ſir, my maſter charg'd me
To deliver a ring to madam Silvia;
Which, out of my neglect, was never done.

Pro. Where is that ring, boy?

Jul. Here 'tis: this is it. [*gives a ring.*

Pro. How! let me ſee:
Why this is the ring I gave to Julia.

[3] *All, that was mine in Silvia, I give thee.*] It is, I think, very odd, to give up his miſtreſs thus at once, without any reaſon alledged. But our author probably followed the ſtories juſt as he found them in his novels as well as hiſtories. POPE.

This paſſage either hath been much ſophiſticated, or is one great proof that the main parts of this play did not proceed from Shakſpeare; for it is impoſſible he could make Valentine act and ſpeak ſo much out of character, or give to Silvia ſo unnatural a behaviour, as to take no notice of this ſtrange conceſſion, if it had been made. HANMER.

Valentine, from ſeeing *Silvia* in the company of Protheus, might conceive ſhe had eſcaped with him, from her father's court, for the purpoſes of love, though ſhe could not foreſee the violence which his villainy might offer, after he had ſeduced her under the pretence of an honeſt paſſion. If Valentine, however, be ſuppoſed to hear all that paſſed between them in this ſcene, I am afraid I have only to ſubſcribe to the opinion of my predeceſſors. STEEVENS.

And, that my love &c.] Tranſfer theſe two lines to the end of Thurio's ſpeech in page 185, and all is right. Why then ſhould Julia faint? It is only an artifice, ſeeing Silvia given up to Valentine, to diſcover herſelf to Protheus, by a pretended miſtake of the rings. One great fault of this play is the haſtening too abruptly, and without due preparation, to the denouëment, which ſhews that, if it be Shakſpeare's, (which I cannot doubt) it was one of his very early performances. BLACKSTONE.

Jul. O, cry your mercy, ſir, I have miſtook;
This is the ring you ſent to Silvia. [*ſhews another ring.*
Pro. But, how cam'ſt thou by this ring? at my depart
I gave this unto Julia.
Jul. And Julia herſelf did give it me;
And Julia herſelf hath brought it hither.
Pro. How! Julia!
Jul. Behold her that gave aim to all thy oaths,
And entertain'd them deeply in her heart:
How oft haſt thou with perjury cleft the root[4]?
O Protheus, let this habit make thee bluſh!
Be thou aſham'd, that I have took upon me
Such an immodeſt raiment; if ſhame live
In a diſguiſe of love[5]:
It is the leſſer blot, modeſty finds,
Women to change their ſhapes, than men their minds.
Pro. Than men their minds! 'tis true: O heaven! were man
But conſtant, he were perfect: that one error
Fills him with faults; makes him run through all the ſins:
Inconſtancy falls off, ere it begins:
What is in Silvia's face, but I may ſpy
More freſh in Julia's with a conſtant eye?
Val. Come, come, a hand from either:
Let me be bleſt to make this happy cloſe;
'Twere pity two ſuch friends ſhould be long foes.
Pro. Bear witneſs, heaven,
I have my wiſh for ever.
Jul. And I mine.

Enter Out-laws, *with* Duke *and* THURIO.

Out. A prize, a prize, a prize!
Val. Forbear, forbear, I ſay; it is my lord the duke.
Your grace is welcome to a man diſgrac'd,
Baniſh'd Valentine?
Duke. Sir Valentine!

4 *How oft haſt thou with perjury cleft the* root?] i. e. of her heart. MALONE.

5 — *if ſhame live* &c.] That is, *if it be any ſhame to wear a diſguiſe for the purpoſes of love.* JOHNSON.

Thu.

Thu. Yonder is Silvia; and Silvia's mine.

Val. Thurio, give back, or elſe embrace thy death;
Come not within the meaſure of my wrath[6]:
Do not name Silvia thine; if once again,
Milan ſhall not behold thee[7]. Here ſhe ſtands,
Take but poſſeſſion of her with a touch;—
I dare thee but to breathe upon my love.

Thu. Sir Valentine, I care not for her, I;
I hold him but a fool, that will endanger
His body for a girl that loves him not:
I claim her not, and therefore ſhe is thine.

Duke. The more degenerate and baſe art thou,
To make ſuch means for her as thou haſt done,
And leave her on ſuch ſlight conditions.—
Now, by the honour of my anceſtry,
I do applaud thy ſpirit, Valentine,
And think thee worthy of an empreſs' love.
Know then, I here forget all former griefs[8],
Cancel all grudge, repeal thee home again.—
Plead a new ſtate in thy unrival'd merit,
To which I thus ſubſcribe,—ſir Valentine,
Thou art a gentleman, and well deriv'd;
Take thou thy Silvia, for thou haſt deſerv'd her.

Val. I thank your grace; the gift hath made me happy.
I now beſeech you, for your daughter's ſake,
To grant one boon that I ſhall aſk of you.

Duke. I grant it; for thine own, whate'er it be.

Val. Theſe baniſh'd men, that I have kept withal,
Are men endued with worthy qualities;
Forgive them what they have committed here,

6 — *the meaſure of my wrath:*] The length of my ſword, the reach of my anger. JOHNSON.

7 Milan *ſhall not* behold *thee.*] The old copy reads—*Verona* ſhall not *hold* thee. The correction was made by Mr. Theobald, who obſerves, that Thurio was a *Milaneſe*, and therefore the threat muſt be, "*Milan*, i. e. thy country, ſhall never ſee thee again; thou ſhalt not live to go back thither."—This emendation having been adopted by all the ſubſequent editors, I have not diſplaced it; yet, I ſuſpect, the miſtake was our author's own. MALONE.

8 — *all former* griefs,] *Griefs* in old language frequently ſignified *grievances, wrongs.* MALONE.

And

And let them be recall'd from their exile:
They are reformed, civil, full of good,
And fit for great employment, worthy lord.
Duke. Thou haſt prevail'd: I pardon them, and thee;
Diſpoſe of them, as thou know'ſt their deſerts.
Come, let us go; we will include all jars [9]
With triumphs, mirth, and rare ſolemnity.
Val. And, as we walk along, I dare be bold
With our diſcourſe to make your grace to ſmile:
What think you of this page, my lord?
Duke. I think the boy hath grace in him; he blushes.
Val. I warrant you, my lord; more grace than boy.
Duke. What mean you by that ſaying?
Val. Pleaſe you, I'll tell you as we paſs along,
That you will wonder, what hath fortuned.—
Come, Protheus; 'tis your penance, but to hear
The ſtory of your loves diſcovered:
That done, our day of marriage ſhall be yours;
One feaſt, one houſe, one mutual happineſs [1]. [*Exeunt.*

9 — include *all jars*—] To *include* is to *ſhut up*. So, in *Macbeth*:

" ——and *ſhut up*
" In meaſureleſs content." STEEVENS.

1 In this play there is a ſtrange mixture of knowledge and ignorance, of care and negligence. The verſification is often excellent, the alluſions are learned and juſt; but the author conveys his heroes by ſea from one inland town to another in the ſame country; he places the emperor at Milan, and ſends his young men to attend him, but never mentions him more; he makes Protheus, after an interview with Silvia, ſay he has only ſeen her picture *; and, if we may credit the old copies, he has, by miſtaking places, left his ſcenery inextricable. The reaſon of all this confuſion ſeems to be, that he took his ſtory from a novel, which he ſometimes followed, and ſometimes forſook, ſometimes remembered, and ſometimes forgot.

That this play is rightly attributed to Shakſpeare, I have little doubt. If it be taken from him, to whom ſhall it be given? This queſtion may be aſked of all the diſputed plays, except *Titus Andronicus*; and it will be found more credible, that Shakſpeare might ſometimes ſink below his higheſt flights, than that any other ſhould riſe up to his loweſt.

JOHNSON.

* This is a ſlight miſtake of this moſt judicious critick, founded on a miſapprehenſion of a paſſage in Act II. See p. 137. MALONE.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

Perſons Repreſented.

Sir John Falſtaff.
Fenton.
Shallow, *a country Juſtice.*
Slender, *couſin to* Shallow.
Mr. Ford, } *two gentlemen dwelling at* Windſor.
Mr. Page, }
William Page, *a boy, ſon to* Mr. Page.
Sir Hugh Evans, *a Welch parſon.*
Dr. Caius, *a French phyſician.*
Hoſt of the Garter Inn.
Bardolph, }
Piſtol, } *followers of* Falſtaff.
Nym, }
Robin, *page to* Falſtaff.
Simple, *ſervant to* Slender.
Rugby, *ſervant to* Dr. Caius.

Mrs. Ford.
Mrs. Page.
Mrs. Anne Page, *her daughter, in love with* Fenton.
Mrs. Quickly, *ſervant to* Dr. Caius.

Servants to Page, Ford, *&c.*

SCENE, Windſor; *and the parts adjacent.*

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR[1]

ACT I. SCENE I.

Windſor. *Before* Page's *Houſe.*

Enter Juſtice SHALLOW, SLENDER, *and Sir* Hugh EVANS.

Shal. Sir Hugh[2], perſuade me not; I will make a Star-chamber matter of it[3]: if he were twenty ſir John Falſtaffs, he ſhall not abuſe Robert Shallow, eſquire.

Slen.

[1] A few of the incidents in this comedy might have been taken from ſome old tranſlation of *Il Pecorone* by Giovanni Fiorentino. I have lately met with the ſame ſtory in a very contemptible performance, intitled, *The fortunate, the deceived, and the unfortunate Lovers.* Of this book, as I am told, there are ſeveral impreſſions; but that in which I read it, was publiſhed in 1632, quarto. A ſomething ſimilar ſtory occurs in *Piacevoli Notti di Straparola.* Nott. 4ta. Fav. 4ta.

This comedy was firſt entered at Stationers' Hall, Jan. 18, 1601, by John Buſby. STEEVENS.

This play ſhould be read between *K. Henry IV.* and *K. Henry V.* JOHNSON.

A paſſage in the firſt ſketch of the *Merry Wives of Windſor* ſhews, I think, that it ought rather to be read between *the Firſt* and *the Second Part of King Henry IV.* in the latter of which young Henry becomes king. In the laſt act, Falſtaff ſays:

" Herne the hunter, quoth you? am I a ghoſt?
" 'Sblood, the fairies hath made a ghoſt of me.
" What, hunting at this time of night!
" I'le lay my life the mad *prince of Wales*
" Is ſtealing his father's deare."

and in this play, as it now appears, Mr. Page diſcountenances the addreſſes of Fenton to his daughter, becauſe " he keeps company with the wild *prince*, and with Poins."

The Fiſhwife's Tale of Brainford in WESTWARD FOR SMELTS, a book which Shakſpeare appears to have read, (having borrowed from it part of the fable of *Cymbeline,*) probably led him to lay the ſcene of Falſtaff's love-adventures at *Windſor.* It begins thus: " In *Winſor* not long agoe dwelt a ſumpterman, who had to wife a very faire but wanton creature, over whom, not without cauſe, he was ſomething *jealous*; yet had he never any proof of her inconſtancy."

The

Slen. In the county of Gloſter, juſtice of peace, and *coram.*

The reader who is curious in ſuch matters, may find the ſtory of the *Lovers of Piſa*, mentioned by Dr. Farmer in the following note, at the end of this play. MALONE.

The adventures of *Falſtaff* in this play ſeem to have been taken from the ſtory of the *Lovers of Piſa*, in an old piece, called "*Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie.*" A late editor pretended to much knowledge of this ſort; and I am ſorry that it proved to be only pretenſion.

In the firſt edition of the imperfect play, quarto, 1602, *ſir Hugh Evans* is called on the title-page, the *Welch Knight*; and yet there are ſome perſons who ſtill affect to believe, that all our author's plays were originally publiſhed by *himſelf*. FARMER.

Queen Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the admirable character of Falſtaff in *The Two Parts of Henry IV.* that, as Mr. Rowe informs us, ſhe commanded Shakſpeare to continue it for one play more, and to ſhew him in love. To this command we owe *The Merry Wives of Windſor*; which, Mr. Gildon ſays, [*Remarks* on Shakſpeare's plays, 8vo. 1710,] he was very well aſſured our author finiſhed in a fortnight. But this muſt be meant only of the firſt imperfect ſketch of this comedy. An old quarto edition which I have ſeen, printed in 1602, ſays, in the title-page,—*As it hath been divers times acted before her majeſty, and elſewhere.* This which we have here, was altered and improved by the author almoſt in every ſpeech. POPE. THEOBALD.

Mr. Gildon has likewiſe told us, "that our author's houſe at Stratford bordered on the Church-yard, and that he wrote the ſcene of the Ghoſt in *Hamlet* there." But neither for this, or the aſſertion that the play before us was written in a fortnight, does he quote any authority. The latter circumſtance was firſt mentioned by Mr. Dennis. "This comedy," ſays he, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the *Comical Gallant*, (an alteration of the preſent play,) 1702, "was written at her [Queen Elizabeth's] command, and by her direction, and ſhe was ſo eager to ſee it acted, that ſhe commanded it to be finiſhed in *fourteen days*; and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleaſed at the repreſentation." The information, it is probable, came originally from Dryden, who from his intimacy with Sir William Davenant had an opportunity of learning many particulars concerning our author.

At what period Shakſpeare new-modelled the *Merry Wives of Windſor* is unknown. I believe it was enlarged in 1603. See ſome conjectures on the ſubject in the *Attempt to aſcertain the order of his plays*, ante. MALONE.

It is not generally known, that the firſt edition of *the Merry Wives of Windſor*, in its preſent ſtate, is in the valuable folio, printed 1623, from whence the quarto of the ſame play, dated 1630, was evidently copied. The two earlier quartos, 1602, and 1619, only exhibit this comedy as it was originally written, and are ſo far curious, as they contain Shakſpeare's firſt conceptions in forming a drama, which is the moſt complete ſpecimen of his comick powers. T. WARTON.

Shal. Ay, coufin Slender, and *Cuſt-alorum*[4].

Slen. Ay, and *ratolorum* too; and a gentleman born, maſter

[2] Sir *Hugh,*] *Sir* is the deſignation of a Bachelor of Arts in the Univerſities; but is there always annexed to the ſurname;—Sir Evans, &c. In conſequence, however, of this, all the inferior Clergy in England were diſtinguiſhed by this title affixed to their chriſtian name for many centuries. Hence our author's *Sir* Hugh in the preſent play,—Sir Topaz in *Twelfth Night*, Sir Oliver in *As you like it*, &c. So lately as in the time of King William and Queen Mary, (as Sir John Hawkins has obſerved,) in a depoſition in the Exchequer in a caſe of tithes, the witneſs, ſpeaking of the Curate, ſtiles him *Sir* Gyles. MALONE.

Sir ſeems to have been a title formerly appropriated to ſuch of the inferior clergy as were only *Readers* of the ſervice, and not admitted to be preachers, and therefore were held in the loweſt eſtimation; as appears from a remarkable paſſage in Machell's Mſ. *Collections for the hiſtory of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland*, in ſix volumes, folio, preſerved in the Dean and Chapter's library at Carliſle. The reverend Thomas Machell, author of the Collections, lived temp. Car. II. Speaking of the little chapel of Martindale in the mountains of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, the writer ſays, "There is little remarkable in or about it, but a neat chapel-yard, which by the peculiar care of the old Reader, *Sir Richard**, is kept clean, and as neat as a bowling-green."—

* Richard Berket, Reader, Æt. 74. Mſ. note.

"Within the limits of myne own memory all *Readers* in chapels were called *Sirs* †, and of old have been writ ſo; whence, I ſuppoſe, ſuch of the laity as received the noble order of knighthood being called *Sirs* too, for diſtinction ſake had *Knight* writ after them; which had been ſuperfluous, if the title of *Sir* had been peculiar to them. But now this *Sir Richard* is the only *Knight Templar* (if I may ſo call him) that retains the old ſtyle, which in other places is much laid aſide, and grown out of uſe." PERCY.

[3] —*a Star-chamber matter of it:*] See p. 193,—"The Council ſhall hear it; it is a riot;" and the note there. MALONE.

[4] —*Cuſt-alorum.*] This is, I ſuppoſe, intended for a corruption of *Cuſtos Rotulorum*. The miſtake was hardly deſigned by the author, who, though he gives Shallow folly enough, makes him rather pedantick than illiterate. If we read:

Shal. *Ay, coufin Slender, and* Cuſtos Rotulorum.

it follows naturally:

Slen. *Ay, and* Ratolorum *too.* JOHNSON.

I think with Dr. Johnſon, that this blunder could ſcarcely be intended. *Shallow*, we know, had been bred to the law at *Clement's Inn.*—But I would rather read *cuſtos* only; then *Slender* adds naturally, "Ay, and

† In the margin is a Mſ. note ſeemingly in the hand-writing of Bp. Nicholſon, who gave theſe volumes to the library:

"Since I can remember there was not a *reader* in any chapel but was called *Sir*."

master parſon; who writes himſelf armigero; in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, armigero.

Shal. Ay, that I do; and have done any time theſe three hundred years.

Slen. All his ſucceſſors, gone before him, have done't; and all his anceſtors, that come after him, may: they may give the dozen white luces in their coat.

Shal. It is an old coat.

Evans. The dozen white louſes do become an old coat well; it agrees well, paſſant: it is a familiar beaſt to man, and ſignifies—love.

Shal. The luce is the freſh fiſh; the ſalt fiſh is an old coat[6].

Slen.

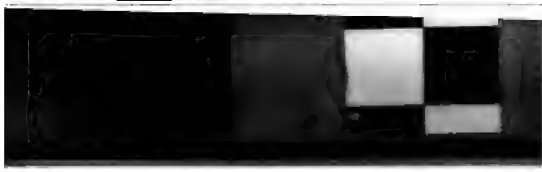
and *retulorum* too." He had heard the words *cuſtos rotulorum*, and ſuppoſes them to mean different offices. FARMER.

Perhaps Shakſpeare might have intended to ridicule the abbreviations ſometimes uſed in writs and other legal inſtruments, with which his Juſtice might have been acquainted. In the old copy the word is printed *Cuſt-alorum*, as it is now exhibited in the text. If, however, this was intended, it ſhould be *Cuſt-ulorum*; and, it muſt be owned, abbreviation by cutting off the beginning of a word is not authorized by any precedent, except what we may ſuppoſe to have exiſted in Shallow's imagination. MALONE.

5 —*and have done*—] i. e. all the Shallows *have done*. Shakſpeare has many expreſſions equally licentious. MALONE.

6 *The luce is the freſh fiſh; the ſalt fiſh is an old coat.*] Our author here alludes to the arms of Sir Thomas Lucy, who is ſaid to have proſecuted him in the younger part of his life for a miſdemeſnor, and who is ſuppoſed to be pointed at under the character of Juſtice Shallow. The text however, by ſome careleſſneſs of the printer or tranſcriber, has been ſo corrupted, that the paſſage, as it ſtands at preſent, ſeems inexplicable. Dr. Farmer's regulation appears to me highly probable; and in further ſupport of it, it may be obſerved, that ſome other ſpeeches, beſide thoſe he has mentioned, are miſplaced in a ſubſequent part of this ſcene, as exhibited in the firſt folio. See p. 194. Mr. Smith's note is not, I think, worth inſertion. MALONE.

I am not ſatisfied with any thing that has been offered on this difficult paſſage. All that Mr. Smith tells us, is a mere *gratis dictum*. I cannot find that *ſalt fiſh* were ever really borne in heraldry. I fancy the latter part of the ſpeech ſhould be given to ſir *Hugh*, who is at croſs purpoſes with the *Juſtice*. *Shallow* had ſaid juſt before, the coat is an old one, and now, that it is the luce, the freſh fiſh.—No, replies the parſon, it cannot be *old* and *freſh* too;—"the *ſalt fiſh* is an *old coat*." I give this with rather the more confidence, as a ſimilar miſtake has happened



Slen. I may quarter, coz.

Shal. You may, by marrying.

Evans. It is marring, indeed, if he quarter it.

Shal. Not a whit.

Evans. Yes, py'r-lady; if he has a quarter of your coat, there is but three ſkirts for yourſelf, in my ſimple conjectures: but that is all one: If ſir John Falſtaff have committed diſparagements unto you, I am of the church, and will be glad to do my benevolence, to make atonements and compromiſes between you.

Shal. The Council ſhall hear it; it is a riot [7].

Evans. It is not meet the Council hear a riot; there is no fear of Got in a riot: the Council, look you, ſhall deſire to hear the fear of Got, and not to hear a riot; take your vizaments in that [8].

happened a little lower in the ſcene—"*Slice*, I ſay!" cries out Corporal *Nym*, "*Pauca, pauca: Slice*, that's my humour." There can be no doubt, but *pauca, pauca* ſhould be ſpoken by *Evans*.

Again, a little before this, the copies give us:

Slender. You'll not confeſs, you'll not confeſs.

Shallow. That he will not—'tis your fault, 'tis your fault:—'t's a good dog.

Surely it ſhould be thus:

Shallow. You'll not confeſs, you'll not confeſs.

Slender. That he will not.

Shallow. 'Tis your fault, 'tis your fault &c. FARMER.

This fugitive ſcrap of latin, *pauca* &c. is uſed in ſeveral old pieces, by characters who have no more of literature about them than *Nym:* In *Every Man in his Humour* it is called the *benchers phraſe.*

The *luce* is a pike or jack. In Ferne's *Blazon of Gentry*, 1586, quarto, the arms of the Lucy family are repreſented as an inſtance, that "ſigns of the coat ſhould ſomething agree with the name. It is the coat of Geffray Lord Lucy. He did bear gules, three *lucies* hariant, argent." STEEVENS.

7 *The Council ſhall hear it; it is a riot.*] By *the Council* is only meant the court of ſtar-chamber, compoſed chiefly of the king's council ſitting in *Camera ſtellata*, which took cognizance of atrocious riots. In the old quarto, "the council ſhall know it," follows immediately after "I'll make a ſtar-chamber matter of it." BLACKSTONE.

So, in Sir John Harrington's *Epigrams*, 1618:

"No marvel, men of ſuch a ſumptuous dyet
"Were brought into the *Star-chamber* for a *ryot.*" MALONE.

See Stat. 13. Henry IV. c. 7. GREY.

8 —*your* vizaments *in that.*] i. e. *Adviſement*; now an obſolete word. STEEVENS.

Shal. Ha! o' my life, if I were young again, the ſword ſhould end it.

Evans. It is petter that friends is the ſword, and end it: and there is alſo another device in my prain, which, peradventure, prings goot diſcretions with it: There is Anne Page, which is daughter to maſter George Page [9], which is pretty virginity.

Slen. Miſtreſs Anne Page? She has brown hair, and ſpeaks ſmall like a woman [1].

Evans. It is that fery perſon for all the 'orld, as juſt as you will deſire; and ſeven hundred pounds of monies, and gold, and ſilver, is her grandſire, upon his death's-bed, (Got deliver to a joyful reſurrections!) give, when ſhe is able to overtake ſeventeen years old: it were a goot motion, if we leave our pribbles and prabbles, and deſire a marriage between maſter Abraham, and miſtreſs Anne Page.

Shal. Did her grandſire leave her ſeven hundred pound [2]?

Evans.

9 — *maſter* George *Page,*] The old copy has—*Thomas* Page. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

1 — *ſpeaks ſmall like a woman.*] Dr. Warburton has found more pleaſantry here than I believe was intended. *Small* was, I think, not uſed, as he ſuppoſes, in an ambiguous ſenſe, for "*little*, as well as *low*," but ſimply for *weak, ſlender, feminine*; and the only pleaſantry of the paſſage ſeems to be, that poor Slender ſhould characteriſe his miſtreſs by a general quality belonging to her whole ſex. In *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, Quince tells Flute, who objects to playing a woman's part, "You ſhall play it in a maſk, and you may ſpeak as *ſmall* as you will." MALONE.

2 Shal. *Did her grandſire leave her ſeven hundred pound?—I know the young gentlewoman*; &c.] Theſe two ſpeeches are by miſtake given to Slender in the firſt folio, the only authentick copy of this play. From the foregoing words it appears that *Shallow* is the perſon here addreſſed; and on a marriage being propoſed for his kinſman, he very naturally inquires concerning the lady's fortune. Slender ſhould ſeem not to know what they are talking about; (except that he juſt hears the name of Anne Page, and breaks out into a fooliſh elogium on her;) for in p. 202, Shallow ſays to him,—"Coz, there is, as it were, a tender, a kind of tender, made a far off by Sir Hugh here; do you underſtand me?" to which Slender replies—"*if* it be ſo," &c. The tender, therefore, we ſee, had been made to Shallow, and not to Slender, the former of which names ſhould be prefixed to the two ſpeeches before us.

In

Evans. Ay, and her father is make her a petter penny.

Shal. I know the young gentlewoman; ſhe has good gifts.

Evans. Seven hundred pounds, and poſſibilities, is good gifts.

Shal. Well, let us ſee honeſt maſter Page: Is Falſtaff there?

Evans. Shall I tell you a lie? I do deſpiſe a liar, as I do deſpiſe one that is falſe; or, as I deſpiſe one that is not true. The knight, ſir John, is there; and, I beſeech you, be ruled by your well-willers. I will peat the door [*knocks.*] for maſter Page. What, hoa! Got pleſs your houſe here!

Enter PAGE.

Page. Who's there?

Evans. Here is Got's pleſſing, and your friend, and juſtice Shallow: and here young maſter Slender; that, peradventures, ſhall tell you another tale, if matters grow to your likings.

Page. I am glad to ſee your worſhips well: I thank you for my veniſon, maſter Shallow.

Shal. Maſter Page, I am glad to ſee you; Much good do it your good heart! I wiſh'd your veniſon better; it was ill kill'd:—How doth good miſtreſs Page?—and I thank you always with my heart, la; with my heart.

Page. Sir, I thank you.

Shal. Sir, I thank you; by yea and no, I do.

Page. I am glad to ſee you, good maſter Slender.

Slen. How does your fallow greyhound, ſir? I heard ſay, he was out-run on Cotſale[3].

Page.

In this play, as exhibited in the firſt folio, many of the ſpeeches are given to characters to whom they do not belong. Printers, to ſave trouble, keep the names of the ſpeakers in each ſcene ready compoſed, and are very liable to miſtakes, when two names begin (as in the preſent inſtance,) with the ſame letter, and are nearly of the ſame length. —The preſent regulation was ſuggeſted by Mr. Capell. MALONE.

[3] *How does your fallow greybound, ſir? I heard ſay, he was out-run on* Cotſale.] He means *Cotſwold*, in *Glouceſterſhire*. In the beginning of the reign of James the Firſt, by permiſſion of the king, one Dover, a public-ſpirited attorney of Barton on the Heath, in Warwickſhire, inſtituted on the hills of *Cotſwold* an annual celebration of games, conſiſting of rural ſports and exerciſes. Theſe he conſtantly conducted in perſon, well mounted, and accoutred in a ſuit of his majeſty's old

And let them be recall'd from their exile:
They are reformed, civil, full of good,
And fit for great employment, worthy lord.

Duke. Thou haſt prevail'd: I pardon them, and thee;
Diſpoſe of them, as thou know'ſt their deſerts.
Come, let us go; we will include all jars [9]
With triumphs, mirth, and rare ſolemnity.

Val. And, as we walk along, I dare be bold
With our diſcourſe to make your grace to ſmile:
What think you of this page, my lord?

Duke. I think the boy hath grace in him; he bluſhes.

Val. I warrant you, my lord; more grace than boy.

Duke. What mean you by that ſaying?

Val. Pleaſe you, I'll tell you as we paſs along,
That you will wonder, what hath fortuned.—
Come, Protheus; 'tis your penance, but to hear
The ſtory of your loves diſcovered:
That done, our day of marriage ſhall be yours;
One feaſt, one houſe, one mutual happineſs [1]. [*Exeunt.*

9 — include *all jars*—] To *include* is to *ſhut up*. So, in *Macbeth*:

" ———and *ſhut up*
" In meaſureleſs content." STEEVENS.

1 In this play there is a ſtrange mixture of knowledge and ignorance, of care and negligence. The verſification is often excellent, the alluſions are learned and juſt; but the author conveys his heroes by ſea from one inland town to another in the ſame country; he places the emperor at Milan, and ſends his young men to attend him, but never mentions him more; he makes Protheus, after an interview with Silvia, ſay he has only ſeen her picture *; and, if we may credit the old copies, he has, by miſtaking places, left his ſcenery inextricable. The reaſon of all this confuſion ſeems to be, that he took his ſtory from a novel, which he ſometimes followed, and ſometimes forſook, ſometimes remembered, and ſometimes forgot.

That this play is rightly attributed to Shakſpeare, I have little doubt. If it be taken from him, to whom ſhall it be given? This queſtion may be aſked of all the diſputed plays, except *Titus Andronicus*; and it will be found more credible, that Shakſpeare might ſometimes ſink below his higheſt flights, than that any other ſhould riſe up to his loweſt.

JOHNSON.

* This is a ſlight miſtake of this moſt judicious critick, founded on a miſapprehenſion of a paſſage in Act II. See p. 137. MALONE.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

tavern, and made me drunk, and afterward pick'd my pocket[9].

Bar. You Banbury cheese[1]!

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Pist. How now, Mephostophilus[2]?

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Nym. Slice, I say! *pauca, pauca*[3]; slice! that's my humour.

Slen. Where's Simple, my man?—can you tell, cousin?

Evans. Peace: I pray you! Now let us understand: There is three umpires in this matter, as I understand: that is—master Page, *fidelicet*, master Page; and there is myself, *fidelicet*, myself; and the three party is, lastly and finally, mine host of the Garter.

Page. We three, to hear it, and end it between them.

Evans. Fery goot: I will make a prief of it in my note-book; and we will afterwards 'ork upon the cause, with as great discreetly as we can.

Fal. Pistol,—

Pist. He hears with ears.

Evans. The tevil and his tam! what phrase is this, *He hears with ear?* Why, it is affectations.

Fal. Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?

Slen. Ay, by these gloves, did he, (or I would I might never come in mine own great chamber again else,) of

9 *They carried me* &c.] These words, which are necessary to introduce what Falstaff says afterwards, ["Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?"] I have restored from the early quarto. Of this circumstance, as the play is exhibited in the folio, Sir John could have no knowledge. MALONE.

1 *You Banbury cheese!*] This is said in allusion to the thin carcase of Slender. STEEVENS.

2 *How now, Mephostophilus?*] This is the name of a spirit or familiar, in the old story book of *Sir John Faustus*, or *John Faust*: to whom our author afterwards alludes. It was a cant phrase of abuse. T. WARTON.

3 *Slice, I say*; pauca, pauca!] Dr. Farmer (see a former note, p. 193, n. 6.) would transfer the Latin words to Evans. But the old copy, I think, is right. Pistol, in *K. Henry V.* uses the same language:

"— I will hold the *quondam* Quickly
For the only she; and *pauca*, there's enough."

In the same scene Nym twice uses the word *solus*. MALONE.

seven

ſeven groats in mill-ſixpences [4], and two Edward ſhovel-boards [5], that coſt me two ſhilling and two pence a-piece of Yead Miller, by theſe gloves.

Fal.

4 — *mill-ſixpences,*] It appears from a paſſage in Sir W. Davenant's *News from Plimouth*, that theſe *mill'd ſixpences* were uſed by way of counters to caſt up money:

" ——A few *mill'd ſixpences*, with which
" My purſer caſts accompt." STEEVENS.

5 — *Edward* Shovel-boards,] He means the broad *ſhillings* of one of our kings, as appears from comparing theſe words with the correſponding paſſage in the old quarto: " Ay by this handkerchief did he;— two faire ſhovel-board *ſhillings*, beſides ſeven groats in mill ſixpences." How twenty *eight* pence could be loſt in mill-*ſixpences*, Slender, however, has not explained to us. MALONE.

Edward Shovel-boards are the broad ſhillings of Edward VI. Taylor, the water poet, makes him complain:

" ——— the unthrift every day
" With my face downwards do at *ſhoave-board* play;
" That had I had a beard, you may ſuppoſe,
" They had worne it off, as they have done my noſe."

And in a note he tells us: " Edw. ſhillings for the moſt part are uſed at *ſhoave-board*." FARMER.

Dr. Farmer's note, and the authority he quotes, might, I think, paſs uncenſured, unleſs better proofs could be produced in oppoſition to them. They have, however, been objected to; and we are poſitively told that Maſter Slender's " Edward Shovel boards have *undoubtedly* been *broad ſhillings of Edward the Third*." I believe the broad ſhillings of that monarch were never before heard of, as he *undoubtedly* did not coin any ſhillings whatever. The following extract, for the notice of which I am indebted to Dr. Farmer, will probably ſhew the ſpecies of coin mentioned in the text. " I muſt here take notice before I entirely quit the ſubject of theſe laſt-mentioned ſhillings [of Edward VI.] that I have alſo ſeen ſome other pieces of good ſilver, greatly reſembling the ſame, and of the ſame date, 1547, that have been ſo much thicker as to weigh about *half an ounce*, together with ſome others that have weighed an ounce." Folkes's *Table of Engliſh ſilver coins*, p. 32. The former of theſe were probably what coſt Maſter Slender two ſhillings and two pence a-piece. As to the point of chronology (to uſe the objector's own words on another occaſion) *it is not worth conſideration*. REED.

That Shakſpeare ſhould here (as in all his other plays) have attributed the cuſtoms and manners of his own age to a preceding century, without any regard to chronology, cannot be a matter of ſurpriſe to any reader who is converſant with his compoſitions; nor is it to be wondered at, that the preſent *unfounded* objection ſhould have been made by one, whoſe arguments in general, like thoſe of our author's Gratiano, " are

Fal. Is this true, Piſtol?

Evans. No; it is falſe, if it is a pick-purſe.

Piſt. Ha, thou mountain-foreigner!—Sir John, and maſter mine,
I combat challenge of this latten bilboe [6]:
Word of denial in thy labras here [7];
Word of denial: froth and ſcum, thou lieſt.

Slen. By theſe gloves, then 'twas he.

Nym. Be avis'd, Sir, and paſs good humours: I will ſay, *marry trap* [8], with you, if you run the nuthook's humour [9] on me; that is the very note of it.

Slen. By this hat, then he in the red face had it: for though I cannot remember what I did when you made me drunk, yet I am not altogether an aſs.

two grains of wheat hid in two buſhels of chaff; you ſhall ſeek all day ere you find them, and, when you have them, they are not worth the ſearch." MALONE.

6 *I combat challenge of this* latten *bilboe:*] Piſtol, ſeeing Slender ſuch a ſlim, puny weight, would intimate, that he is as thin as a plate of that compound metal, which is called *latten:* and which was, as we are told, the old *orichalc.* THEOBALD.

Latten is a mixed metal, made of copper and calamine. MALONE.

The ſarcaſm intended is, that Slender had neither courage nor ſtrength, as a latten ſword hath neither edge nor ſubſtance. HEATH.

I believe Theobald has given the true ſenſe of *latten,* though he is wrong in ſuppoſing, that the alluſion is to Slender's *thinneſs.* It is rather to his *ſoftneſs* or *weakneſs.* TYRWHITT.

7 — *in* thy *labras* here;] I ſuppoſe it ſhould rather be read:
Word of denial in my *labras* hear;
that is, *bear* the word of denial in *my lips. Thou ly'ſt.* JOHNSON.

We often talk of giving the lie in a man's *teeth,* or in his *throat.* Piſtol chooſes to throw the word of denial in the *lips* of his adverſary, and is ſuppoſed to point to them as he ſpeaks. STEEVENS.

There are few words in the old copies more frequently miſprinted than the word *lear.* "*Thy* lips," however, is certainly right, as appears from the old quarto: "I do retort the lie even in *thy* gorge, thy gorge, thy gorge." MALONE.

8 — *marry trap,*—] When a man was caught in his own ſtratagem, I ſuppoſe the exclamation of inſult was *marry, trap!* JOHNSON.

9 — *nuthook's humour*—] *If you run the nuthook's humour on me,* is in plain Engliſh, *If you ſay I am a thief.* Enough is ſaid on the ſubject of *hooking moveables out of windows,* in a note on *K. Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. What ſay you, Scarlet and John [1]?

Bard. Why, ſir, for my part, I ſay, the gentleman had drunk himſelf out of his five ſentences.

Evans. It is his five ſenſes: fye, what the ignorance is!

Bard. And being fap [2], ſir, was, as they ſay, caſhier'd; and ſo concluſions paſs'd the careires [3].

Slen. Ay, you ſpake in Latin then too; but 'tis no matter: I'll ne'er be drunk whilſt I live again, but in honeſt, civil, godly company, for this trick: if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with thoſe that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves.

Evans. So Got 'udge me, that is a virtuous mind.

Fal. You hear all theſe matters deny'd, gentlemen; you hear it.

Enter Miſtreſs Anne Page *with wine*; *Miſtreſs* Ford *and Miſtreſs* Page *following*.

Page. Nay, daughter, carry the wine in; we'll drink within. [*Exit* Anne Page.

Slen. O heaven! this is miſtreſs Anne Page.

Page. How now, miſtreſs Ford?

Fal. Miſtreſs Ford, by my troth, you are very well met: by your leave, good miſtreſs. [*kiſſing her.*

Page. Wife, bid theſe gentlemen welcome:—Come,

[1] — *Scarlet and John?*] The names of two of Robin Hood's companions; but the humour conſiſts in the alluſion to Bardolph's *red face*; concerning which, ſee *Henry IV.* Part II. WARBURTON.

[2] *And being* fap,—] I know not the exact meaning of this cant word, neither have I met with it in any of our old dramatick pieces, which have often proved the beſt comments on Shakſpeare's vulgariſms. —Dr. Farmer, indeed, obſerves, that to *fib* is to be beat; ſo that *fap* may mean being *beaten*, and *caſhier'd*, *turned out of company*. STEEV.

The word *fap* is probably made from *wappa*, a drunken fellow, or a good for nothing fellow, whoſe virtues are all exhaled. Slender in his anſwer ſeems to underſtand that Bardolph had made uſe of a Latin word. S. W.

[3] — *careires.*] I believe this ſtrange word is nothing but the French *cariere*; and the expreſſion means, that *the common bounds of good behaviour were overpaſſed*. JOHNSON.

Cariere is a term of the *manege*. It is, I believe, properly the ring or circle wherein managed horſes move. MALONE.

we

we have a hot veniſon paſty to dinner; come, gentlemen, I hope we ſhall drink down all unkindneſs.

[*Exeunt all but* SHAL. SLENDER, *and* EVANS.

Slen. I had rather than forty ſhillings, I had my book of Songs and Sonnets here[4]:—

Enter SIMPLE.

How now, Simple; where have you been; I muſt wait on myſelf, muſt I? You have not *The Book of Riddles*[5] about you, have you?

Sim. Book of Riddles! why, did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake upon Allhallowmas laſt, a fortnight afore Michaelmas[6]?

Shal. Come, coz; come, coz; we ſtay for you. A word with you, coz: marry, this, coz; There is, as 'twere, a tender, a kind of tender, made afar off by ſir Hugh here;—Do you underſtand me?

Slen. Ay, ſir, you ſhall find me reaſonable; if it be ſo, I ſhall do that that is reaſon.

Shal. Nay, but underſtand me.

Slen. So I do, ſir.

Evans. Give ear to his motions, maſter Slender: I will deſcription the matter to you, if you be capacity of it.

Slen. Nay, I will do as my couſin Shallow ſays: I pray you, pardon me; he's a juſtice of peace in his country, ſimple though I ſtand here.

4 — *my book of* Songs and Sonnets *here:*] It cannot be ſuppoſed that poor Slender was himſelf a poet. He probably means the Poems of Lord Surrey and others, which were very popular in the age of Queen Elizabeth. They were printed in 1567, with this title: "*Songes and Sonnettes*, written by the right honorable Lord Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, and others."

Slender laments that he has not this faſhionable book about him, ſuppoſing it might have aſſiſted him in paying his addreſſes to Anne Page. MALONE.

5 *You have not* The Book of Riddles—] This appears to have been a popular book, and is enumerated with others in *The Engliſh Courtier and Country Gentleman*, Bl. l. quarto, 1586. Sig. H. 4. REED.

6 — *upon Allhallowmas laſt, a fortnight* afore *Michaelmas?*] Allhallowmas being almoſt five weeks *after* Michaelmas, Mr. Theobald reads *Martlemas*; but Shakſpeare (as Dr. Johnſon has obſerved) probably intended a blunder. MALONE.

Evans.

Evans. But that is not the queſtion; the queſtion is concerning your marriage.

Shal. Ay, there's the point, ſir.

Evans. Marry, is it; the very point of it; to miſtreſs Anne Page.

Slen. Why, if it be ſo, I will marry her, upon any reaſonable demands.

Evans. But can you affection the 'oman? Let us command to know that of your mouth, or of your lips; for divers philoſophers hold, that the lips is parcel of the mouth[7];—Therefore, preciſely, can you carry your goodwill to the maid?

Shal. Couſin Abraham Slender, can you love her?

Slen. I hope, ſir,—I will do, as it ſhall become one that would do reaſon.

Evans. Nay, Got's lords and his ladies, you muſt ſpeak poſſitable, if you can carry her your deſires towards her.

Shal. That you muſt: Will you, upon good dowry, marry her?

Slen. I will do a greater thing than that, upon your requeſt, couſin, in any reaſon.

Shal. Nay, conceive me, conceive me, ſweet coz; what I do, is to pleaſure you, coz: Can you love the maid?

Slen. I will marry her, ſir, at your requeſt; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decreaſe it upon better acquaintance, when we are marry'd, and have more occaſion to know one another: I hope, upon familiarity will grow more contempt[8]: but if you ſay, *marry her*, I will marry her, that I am freely diſſolved, and diſſolutely.

Evans. It is a fery diſcretion anſwer; ſave, the faul'

[7] —*the lips is* parcel *of the mouth*;] *Parcel* in our author's time ſignified *part*. It is yet uſed by lawyers in that ſenſe. Mr. Reed, I find, has made the ſame obſervation. MALONE.

[8] *I hope, upon familiarity will grow more* contempt:] The old copy reads—*content*. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

Theobald's conjecture may be ſupported by the ſame intentional blunder in *Love's Labour's Loſt*:

"Sir, the *contempts* thereof are as touching me." STEEVENS.

is in the 'ort diſſolutely: the 'ort is, according to our meaning, reſolutely;—his meaning is good.

Shal. Ay, I think my couſin meant well.

Slen. Ay, orelſe I would I might be hang'd, la.

Re-enter Anne Page.

Shal. Here comes fair miſtreſs Anne:—Would I were young, for your ſake, miſtreſs Anne!

Anne. The dinner is on the table; my father deſires your worſhips' company.

Shal. I will wait on him, fair miſtreſs Anne.

Evans. Od's pleſſed will! I will not be abſence at the grace. [*Exeunt* SHALLOW *and Sir* H. EVANS.

Anne. Will't pleaſe your worſhip to come in, ſir?

Slen. No, I thank you, forſooth, heartily; I am very well.

Anne. The dinner attends you, ſir.

Slen. I am not a-hungry, I thank you, forſooth:—Go, ſirrah, for all you are my man, go, wait upon my couſin Shallow: [*Exit* SIMPLE.] A juſtice of peace ſometime may be beholden to his friend for a man:—I keep but three men and a boy yet, till my mother be dead: But what though? yet I live like a poor gentleman born.

Anne. I may not go in without your worſhip: they will not ſit, till you come.

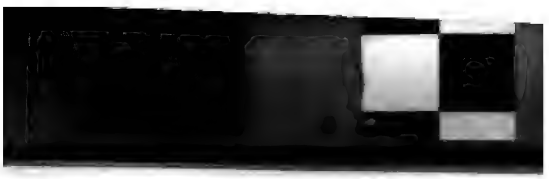
Slen. I'faith, I'll eat nothing; I thank you as much as though I did.

Anne. I pray you, ſir, walk in.

Slen. I had rather walk here, I thank you: I bruis'd my ſhin the other day with playing at ſword and dagger with a maſter of fence[9], three veneys for a diſh of

9 — *a* maſter of fence,] *Maſter of defence*, on this occaſion, does not ſimply mean a profeſſor of the art of fencing, but a perſon who had taken his *maſter's degree* in it. I learn from one of the Sloanian Mſs. (now in the Britiſh Muſeum, N° 2530. XXVI D.) which ſeems to be the fragment of a regiſter formerly belonging to ſome of our ſchools where the "Noble Science of Defence" was taught from the year 1568 to 1583, that in this Art there were three degrees, viz. a *Maſter's*, a Provoſt's, and a Scholar's. For each of theſe a prize was play'd, as exerciſes are kept in Univerſities for ſimilar purpoſes. STEEVENS.

ſtew'd



ſtew'd prunes[1]; and, by my troth, I cannot abide the ſmell of hot meat ſince. Why do your dogs bark ſo? be there bears i' the town?

Anne. I think, there are, ſir; I heard them talk'd of.

Slen. I love the ſport well; but I ſhall as ſoon quarrel at it, as any man in England:—You are afraid, if you ſee the bear looſe, are you not?

Anne. Ay, indeed, ſir.

Slen. That's meat and drink to me now: I have ſeen Sackerſon looſe[2], twenty times; and have taken him by the chain[3]: but, I warrant you, the women have ſo cry'd and ſhriek'd at it, that it paſs'd[4]:—but women, indeed, cannot abide 'em; they are very ill-favour'd rough things.

Re-enter PAGE.

Page. Come, gentle maſter Slender, come; we ſtay for you.

Slen. I'll eat nothing, I thank you, ſir.

Page. By cock and pye[5], you ſhall not chooſe, ſir: come, come.

1 — *three* veneys *for a diſh of ſtew'd prunes*;] i. e. three *venues*, French. Three different ſet-to's, *bouts*, a technical term. So, in our author's *Love's Labour's Loſt*:

" — a quick *venew* of wit." STEEVENS.

2 — *I have ſeen* Sackerſon *looſe*,] *Sackerſon*, or *Sacarſon*, was the name of a bear that was exhibited in our author's time at Paris-Garden in Southwark. See an old collection of *Epigrams* [by Sir John Davies] printed at Middlebourg (without date, but in or before 1598):

" Publius, a ſtudent of the common law,
" To *Paris-garden* doth himſelf withdraw;—
" Leaving old Ployden, Dyer, and Broke, alone,
" To ſee old *Harry Hunkes* and *Sacarſon*."

Sacarſon probably had his name from his keeper. So, in the *Puritan*, a comedy, 1607: " How many dogs do you think I had upon me?——Almoſt as many as *George Stone*, the *bear*; three at once." MALONE.

3 — *and have taken him by the chain*:] You dare as well take a *bear* by the *tooth*—is one of Ray's Proverbial Sentences. MALONE.

4 — *that it paſs'd*:] *It paſs'd*, or *this paſſes*, was a way of ſpeaking cuſtomary heretofore, to ſignify the *exceſs*, or *extraordinary degree* of any thing. The ſentence completed would be, *This paſſes all expreſſion*, or perhaps, *This paſſes all things*. We ſtill uſe *paſſing* well, *paſſing* ſtrange. WARBURTON.

5 *By cock and pye*,] See a note on Act V. ſc i. *K. Henry IV.* P. II. STEEVENS.

Slen.

Slen. Nay, pray you, lead the way.

Page. Come on, ſir.

Slen. Miſtreſs Anne, yourſelf ſhall go firſt.

Anne. Not I, ſir; pray you, keep on.

Slen. Truly, I will not go firſt; truly, la: I will not do you that wrong.

Anne. I pray you, ſir.

Slen. I'll rather be unmannerly, than troubleſome: you do yourſelf wrong, indeed, la. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The ſame.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS *and* SIMPLE.

Evans. Go your ways, and aſk of Doctor Caius' houſe, which is the way: and there dwells one miſtreſs Quickly, which is in the manner of his nurſe, or his dry nurſe, or his cook, or his laundry, his waſher, and his wringer.

Simp. Well, ſir.

Evans. Nay, it is petter yet:—give her this letter; for it is a 'oman that altogether's acquaintance [6] with miſtreſs Anne Page; and the letter is, to deſire and require her to ſolicit your maſter's deſires to miſtreſs Anne Page: I pray you, be gone; I will make an end of my dinner; there's pippins and cheeſe to come. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF, Hoſt, BARDOLPH, NYM, PISTOL, *and* Robin.

Fal. Mine hoſt of the Garter,—

Hoſt. What ſays my bully-rook [7]? Speak ſcholarly, and wiſely.

Fal. Truly, mine hoſt, I muſt turn away ſome of my followers.

Hoſt. Diſcard, bully Hercules; caſhier: let them wag; trot, trot.

Fal. I ſit at ten pounds a week.

[6] — *that* altogether's *acquaintance*] The old copy has—*altogethers* acquaintance. The emendation was made by Mr. Tyrwhitt. MALONE.

[7] — *my bully-rook?*] The latter part of this compound title is taken from the *rooks* at the game of cheſs. STEEVENS.

Hoſt.

Hoſt. Thou'rt an emperor, Cæſar, Keiſar [8], and Pheezar. I will entertain Bardolph; he ſhall draw, he ſhall tap: ſaid I well *, bully Hector?

Fal. Do ſo, good mine hoſt.

Hoſt. I have ſpoke; let him follow: Let me ſee thee froth, and lime [9]: I am at a word; follow. [*Exit* Hoſt.

Fal. Bardolph, follow him; a tapſter is a good trade: An old cloak makes a new jerkin; a withered ſervingman, a freſh tapſter [1]: Go; adieu.

Bard. It is a life that I have deſired: I will thrive. [*Exit* BARDOLPH.

Piſt. O baſe Gongarian wight? wilt thou the ſpigot wield [2]?

[8] —Keiſar,] The preface to Stowe's Chronicle obſerves, that the Germans uſe the K for C, pronouncing *Keyſar* for *Cæſar*, their general word for an emperor. TOLLET.

* —*ſaid I well*—?] Mr. Tyrwhitt obſerves, that a ſimilar phraſe is given to the *hoſt* in the *Pardoneres Prologue*, CANT. TALES, v. 12246, edit. 1775; and ſuppoſes from this, and other circumſtances of general reſemblance, that Shakſpeare, when he drew his *hoſt of the Garter*, had not forgotten his Chaucer. But the paſſage (as he remarked to Mr. Steevens) not being in any of the ancient printed editions, I imagine this phraſe muſt have reached our author in ſome other way; for I ſuſpect he did not devote much time to the peruſal of old Mſs. MALONE.

[9] —*and* lime:] Thus the quarto. The folio has—and *live*. MALONE.

The reading of the old quarto of 1602 and 1619, *Let me ſee thee froth, and* lime, I take to be the true one. The Hoſt calls for an immediate ſpecimen of Bardolph's abilities as a tapſter; and *frothing* beer and *liming* ſack were tricks practiſed in the time of Shakſpeare. The firſt was done by putting ſoap into the bottom of the tankard when they drew the beer; the other, by mixing *lime* with the ſack (i. e. ſherry) to make it ſparkle in the glaſs. Falſtaff himſelf complains of *limed* ſack. STEEVENS.

[1] — *a withered ſervingman, a freſh tapſter:*] This is not improbably a parody on the old proverb—"A broken apothecary, a new doctor." See Ray's Proverbs, 3d edit. p. 2. STEEVENS.

[2] *O baſe Gongarian wight!* &c.] This is a parody on a line taken from one of the old bombaſt plays, beginning:

"O baſe *Gongarian*, wilt thou the diſtaff wield?"

I had marked the paſſage down, but forgot to note the play.—The folio reads *Hungarian*, which is likewiſe a cant term. In the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1626, the merry Hoſt ſays, "I have Knights and Colonels in my houſe, and muſt tend the *Hungarians*." STEEVENS.

The word is *Gongarian* in the firſt edition, and ſhould be continued, the better to fix the alluſion. FARMER.

Nym.

Nym. He was gotten in drink: Is not the humour conceited? His mind is not heroick, and there's the humour of it[3].

Fal. I am glad, I am ſo acquit of this tinderbox; his thefts were too open: his filching was like an unſkilful finger, he kept not time.

Nym. The good humour is, to ſteal at a minute's reſt[4].

Piſt. Convey, the wiſe it call: Steal! foh; a fico for the phraſe!

Fal. Well, ſirs, I am almoſt out at heels.

Piſt. Why then, let kibes enſue.

Fal. There is no remedy; I muſt coney-catch, I muſt ſhift.

Piſt. Young ravens muſt have food[5].

Fal. Which of you know Ford of this town?

Piſt. I ken the wight; he is of ſubſtance good.

Fal. My honeſt lads, I will tell you what I am about.

Piſt. Two yards, and more.

Fal. No quips now, Piſtol; Indeed I am in the waiſt two yards about: but I am now about no waſte[6]; I am about thrift. Briefly, I do mean to make love to Ford's wife; I ſpy entertainment in her; ſhe diſcourſes, ſhe

3 — *humour of it.*] This ſpeech is partly taken from the corrected copy, and partly from the ſlight ſketch in 1602. I mention it, that thoſe who do not find it in either of the common old editions, may not ſuſpect it to be ſpurious. STEEVENS.

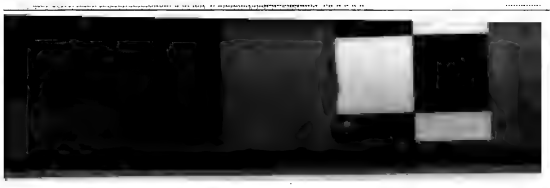
4 *The good humour is, to ſteal at a* minute's *reſt.*] 'Tis true, (ſays Nym) Bardolph did not keep time; did not ſteal at the critical and exact ſeaſon, when he would probably be leaſt obſerved. The true method is, to ſteal juſt at the inſtant when watchfulneſs is off its guard, and *repoſes* but for a *moment.*—Mr. Langton would read—*minim's* reſt, which certainly correſponds more exactly with the preceding ſpeech; but Shakſpeare ſcarcely ever purſues his metaphors far. MALONE.

5 *Young ravens muſt have food.*] An adage. See Ray's *Proverbs.* STEEVENS.

6 — *about no waſte*;] I find the ſame play on words in Heywood's *Epigrams*, 1562:

"Where am I leaſt, huſband? quoth he, in the *waiſt*;
"Which cometh of this, thou art vengeance ſtrait lac'd,
"Where am I biggeſt, wife? in the waſte, quoth ſhe,
"For all is waſte in you, as far as I ſee." STEEVENS.

carves,



carves[7], ſhe gives the leer of invitation: I can conſtrue the action of her familiar ſtyle; and the hardeſt voice of her behaviour, to be Engliſh'd rightly, is, *I am Sir John Falſtaff's.*

Piſt. He hath ſtudy'd her well, and tranſlated her well[8]; out of honeſty into Engliſh.

Nym. The anchor is deep[9]: Will that humour paſs?

Fal. Now, the report goes, ſhe has all the rule of her huſband's purſe; ſhe hath legions of angels.

Piſt. As many devils entertain[1]; and, *To her, boy,* ſay I.

Nym. The humour riſes; it is good: humour me the angels.

7 —*ſhe* carves,] It ſhould be remembered, that anciently the young of both ſexes were inſtructed in *carving*, as a neceſſary accompliſhment. In 1508, Wynkyn de Worde publiſhed "A Boke of *Kervinge*." So in *Love's Labour's Loſt*, Biron ſays of *Boyet*, the French courtier, "He can *carve* too, and liſp." STEEVENS.

8 *He* hath *ſtudied her* well, *and* tranſlated *her* well;] The firſt folio has—*will* in both places. *Well* is the reading of the early quarto. MALONE.

Tranſlation is not uſed in its common acceptation, but means to *explain*, as one language is explained by another. So, in *Hamlet*:

"———theſe profound heaves

"You muſt *tranſlate*; 'tis fit we underſtand them." STEEVENS.

9 *The anchor is deep:*] Dr. *Johnſon* very acutely propoſes "the *author* is deep." He reads with the firſt copy, "he hath ſtudy'd her *well*;" and from this equivocal word, *Nym* catches the idea of *deep-neſs*. But it is almoſt impoſſible to aſcertain the diction of this whimſical character; and I meet with a phraſe in *Fenner's Comptor's Common-wealth*, 1617, which perhaps may ſupport the old reading: "Maſter *Decker's Bellman of London* hath ſet forth the vices of the time ſo lively, that it is impoſſible the *anchor* of any other man's braine could ſound the ſea of a more deepe and dreadful miſcheefe." FARMER.

Nym, I believe, only means to ſay, the ſcheme for debauching Ford's wife is deep;—well laid. MALONE.

"The anchor is deep," may mean his hopes are well founded. In the year 1558, a ballad intituled "Hold the *ancer* faſt," is entered on the books of the Stationers' Company. STEEVENS.

1 *As many devils* entertain;] i. e. do you retain in your *ſervice* as many devils as ſhe has angels. So, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

"Sweet lady, *entertain* him for your *ſervant*."

This is the reading of the folio. MALONE.

The old quarto reads,—As many devils attend her. STEEVENS.

Fal. I have writ me here a letter to her: and here another to Page's wife; who even now gave me good eyes too, examined my parts with moſt judicious eyliads[2]: ſometimes the beam of her view gilded my foot, ſometimes my portly belly[3].

Piſt. Then did the ſun on dung-hill ſhine[4].

Nym. I thank thee for that humour[5].

Fal. O, ſhe did ſo courſe o'er my exteriors with ſuch a greedy intention[6], that the appetite of her eye did ſeem to ſcorch me up like a burning-glaſs! Here's another letter to her: ſhe bears the purſe too; ſhe is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty[7]. I will be cheater to them both, and they ſhall be exchequers to me[8]; they ſhall be my Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and I will trade to them both. Go, bear thou this letter to miſtreſs Page; and

[2] — *eyliads:*] This word is differently ſpelt in all the copies. I ſuppoſe we ſhould write *oëillades*, French. STEEVENS.

[3] — *ſometimes* the beam of her view gilded *my foot, ſometimes my portly belly.*] So, in our authour's 20th Sonnet:

" *An eye* more bright than their's, leſs falſe in rolling,
" *Gilding* the object whereupon it gazeth." MALONE.

[4] *Then did the ſun on dunghill ſhine.*] So, in Lilly's *Euphues*, 1581:
" The ſun ſhineth upon the dunghill." T. H. W.

[5] — *that humour.*] What diſtinguiſhes the language of Nym from that of the other attendants on Falſtaff, is the conſtant repetition of this phraſe. In the time of Shakſpeare ſuch an affectation ſeems to have been ſufficient to mark a character. In *Sir Giles Gooſecap*, a play of which I have no earlier edition than that of 1606, the ſame peculiarity is mentioned in the hero of the piece: "——his only reaſon for every thing is, that *we are all mortal*; then hath he another pretty phraſe too, and that is, he will *tickle the vanity* of every thing." STEEVENS.

[6] — *intention,*] i. e. eagerneſs of deſire. STEEVENS.

[7] — *ſhe is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty.*] After Sir Walter Raleigh's return from Guiana in 1596, a very few years before this play was written, very pompous accounts were publiſhed of the wealth of South America, and extraordinary hopes entertained about its produce. MALONE.

[8] *I will be* cheater *to them both, and they ſhall be* exchequers *to me*;] The ſame joke is intended here, as in *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, act II: " —I will bar no honeſt man my houſe, nor no cheater."—By which is meant *Eſcheatour*, an officer in the Exchequer, in no good repute with the common people. WARBURTON.

thou

thou this to miſtreſs Ford: we will thrive, lads, we will thrive.

Piſt. Shall I ſir Pandarus of Troy become,
And by my ſide wear ſteel? then, Lucifer take all!

Nym. I will run no baſe humour: here, take the humour letter; I will keep the 'haviour of reputation.

Fal. Hold, ſirrah, [*to* Rob.] bear you theſe letters tightly[9];
Sail like my pinnace [1] to theſe golden ſhores.—
Rogues, hence, avaunt! vaniſh like hail-ſtones, go;
Trudge, plod, away, o' the hoof; ſeek ſhelter, pack!
Falſtaff will learn the humour of this age,
French thrift, you rogues; myſelf, and ſkirted page.
[*Exeunt* FALSTAFF *and* Robin.

Piſt. Let vultures gripe thy guts [2]! for gourd, and fullam holds,
And high and low beguile the rich and poor [3]:
Teſter I'll have in pouch, when thou ſhalt lack,

9 — *tightly*;] i. e. cleverly, adroitly. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Antony putting on his armour, ſays,

" —— my queen's a ſquire
" More *tight* at this, than thou." MALONE.

1 — *my* pinnace] A ſmall veſſel with a ſquare ſtern, having ſails and oars, and carrying three maſts; chiefly uſed (ſays Rolt, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*,) as a *ſcout* for intelligence, and for landing of men. It likewiſe ſignifies (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) a man of war's boat. MALONE.

2 *Let vultures gripe thy guts!*] This hemiſtich is a burleſque on a paſſage in *Tamburlaine*, or *The Scythian Shepherd*, 1591, of which play a more particular account is given in one of the notes to *Henry IV.* P. II. Act II. ſc. iv. STEEVENS.

I ſuppoſe the following is the paſſage intended to be ridiculed:

" ——and now doth ghaſtly death
" With greedy tallents [talons] *gripe* my bleeding heart,
" And like a harper [harpy] tyers on my life."

Again, ibid:

" *Griping* our *bowels* with retorted thoughts." MALONE.

3 ——— *for* gourd, *and* fullam *holds*,
And high *and* low *beguile the rich and poor*:] Cant terms for falſe dice.—*Gourds* were probably dice in which a ſecret cavity had been made; *fullams*, thoſe which had been loaded with a ſmall bit of lead. *High men* and *low men*, which were likewiſe cant terms, explain themſelves. *High* numbers on the dice, at hazard, are from five to twelve, incluſive; *low*, from aces to four. MALONE.

Base Phrygian Turk!

Nym. I have operations in my head[4], which be humours of revenge.

Pift. Wilt thou revenge?

Nym. By welkin, and her ſtar!

Pift. With wit, or ſteel?

Nym. With both the humours, I:
I will diſcuſs the humour of this love to Page[5].

Pift. And I to Ford ſhall eke unfold,
How Falſtaff, varlet vile,
His dove will prove, his gold will hold,
And his ſoft couch defile.

Nym. My humour ſhall not cool: I will incenſe Page to deal with poiſon; I will poſſeſs him with yellowneſs[6], for the revolt of mien[7] is dangerous: that is my true humour.

Pift. Thou art the Mars of malecontents: I ſecond thee; troop on. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

A Room in Dr. Caius's *Houſe.*

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY, SIMPLE, *and* RUGBY.

Quick. What; John Rugby!—I pray thee, go to the caſement, and ſee if you can ſee my maſter, maſter Doctor

4 — *in my head,*] Theſe words, which are omitted in the folio, were recovered by Mr. Pope from the early quarto. MALONE.

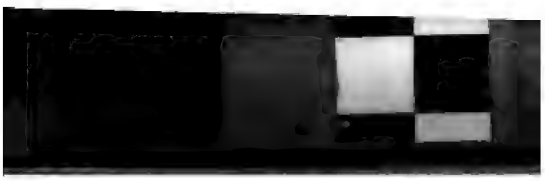
5 *I will diſcuſs the humour of this love to* Page.] The folio reads—to *Ford*; and in the next line— and I to *Page*, &c. But the reverſe of this (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) happens in Act. II. where Nym makes the diſcovery to Page, and Piſtol to Ford. I have therefore corrected the text from the old quarto, where Nym declares he will make the diſcovery to Page; and Piſtol ſays, "And I to *Ford* will likewiſe tell—." MALONE.

6 —*yellowneſs,*] *Yellowneſs* is jealouſy. JOHNSON.

7 —*the revolt of mien*—] is change of countenance; one of the effects he has been juſt aſcribing to jealouſy. STEEVENS.

Nym means, I think, to ſay, *that* kind of *change in the complexion*, which is cauſed by jealouſy, *renders the perſon poſſeſſed by ſuch a paſſion dangerous*; conſequently Ford will be likely to revenge himſelf on Falſtaff, and I ſhall be gratified. I believe our author wrote—*that* revolt &c. though I have not diſturbed the text. y^e and y^t in the Mſs. of his time were eaſily confounded. MALONE.

Caius,



Caius, coming: if he do, i'faith, and find any body in the houſe, here will be an old abuſing of God's patience, and the king's Engliſh.

Rug. I'll go watch. [*Exit* RUGBY.

Quick. Go; and we'll have a poſſet for't ſoon at night, in faith, at the latter end of a ſea-coal fire[8]. An honeſt, willing, kind fellow, as ever ſervant ſhall come in houſe withal; and, I warrant you, no tell-tale, nor no breed-bate[9]: his worſt fault is, that he is given to prayer; he is ſomething peeviſh[1] that way: but nobody but has his fault;—but let that paſs. Peter Simple, you ſay your name is?

Sim. Ay, for fault of a better.

Quick. And maſter Slender's your maſter?

Sim. Ay, forſooth.

Quick. Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring knife[a]?

Sim. No, forſooth: he hath but a little wee face[2], with a little yellow beard; a Cain-colour'd beard[3].

Quick. A ſoftly-ſprighted man, is he not?

[8] —*at the latter end of a ſea-coal fire.*] That is, when my maſter is in bed. JOHNSON.

9 —*no breed*-bate:] *Bate* is an obſolete word, ſignifying ſtrife, contention. STEEVENS.

[1] —*peeviſh*—] *Peeviſh* is fooliſh. So in *Cymbeline*, Act II:

"—he's ſtrange and *peeviſh*." STEEVENS.

I believe, this is one of dame Quickly's blunders, and that ſhe means *preciſe*. MALONE.

[a] —*a great round beard*, &c.] See a note on *K. Henry V.* Act. III. ſc. vi: "And what a beard of the general's cut, &c." MALONE.

[2] —*a little wee face,*] *Wee*, in the northern dialect, ſignifies very little. COLLINS.

On the authority of the quarto, 1619, we might be led to read—*whey* face: "—ſomewhat of a weakly man, and has as it were a *whey* coloured beard." Macbeth calls one of the meſſengers *whey*-face. STEEV.

[3] —*a* Cain-*colour'd beard.*] Cain and Judas, in the tapeſtries and pictures of old, were repreſented with *yellow* beards. THEOBALD.

In an age, when but a ſmall part of the nation could read, ideas were frequently borrowed from repreſentations in painting or tapeſtry. A *cane*-colour'd beard however, [the reading of the quarto,] might ſignify a beard of the colour of *cane*, i. e. a ſickly yellow; for *ſtraw*-coloured beards are mentioned in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*. STEEVENS.

The words of the quarto, —a *whey*-colour'd beard, ſtrongly favour this reading; for *whey* and *cane* are nearly of the ſame colour. MALONE.

Sim. Ay, forſooth: but he is as tall a man of his hands[4], as any is between this and his head; he hath fought with a warrener.

Quick. How ſay you?—O, I ſhould remember him; Does he not hold up his head, as it were? and ſtrut in his gait?

Sim. Yes, indeed, does he.

Quick. Well, heaven ſend Anne Page no worſe fortune! Tell maſter parſon Evans, I will do what I can for your maſter: Anne is a good girl, and I wiſh—

Re-enter RUGBY.

Rug. Out, alas! here comes my maſter.

Quick. We ſhall all be ſhent[5]: Run in here, good young man; go into this cloſet. [*Shuts* Simple *in the cloſet.*] He will not ſtay long.—What, John Rugby! John, what, John, I ſay! —Go, John, go enquire for my maſter; I doubt, he be not well, that he comes not home:—*and down, down, adown-a*[6], &c. [*Sings.*

Enter Doctor CAIUS[7].

Caius. Vat is you ſing? I do not like deſe toys; Pray you,

4 — *as tall a man of his hands,*] Perhaps this is an alluſion to the jocky meaſure, *ſo many hands high*, uſed by grooms when ſpeaking of horſes. *Tall*, in our author's time, ſignified not only height of ſtature, but ſtoutneſs of body. The ambiguity of the phraſe ſeems intended. PERCY.

Whatever may be the origin of this phraſe, it is very ancient, being uſed by Gower. De Confeſſione Amantis, lib. v. fol. 118. b.

" A worthie knight was *of his honde*,
" There was none ſuch in all the londe." STEEVENS.

Dr. Percy's account of the origin of this phraſe can hardly be juſt; for " a *proper* man of his hands" was likewiſe a phraſe of our author's age; and that cannot allude to the meaſure of horſes. MALONE.

5 — we ſhall all be *ſhent:*] i. e. ſcolded, roughly treated. STEEVENS.

6 — *and down, down, adown-a,* &c.] To deceive her maſter, ſhe ſings as if at her work. SIR J. HAWKINS.

This appears to have been the burden of ſome ſong then well known. In *Every woman in her Humour*, 1609, ſign. E. 1. one of the characters ſays, " Hey, good boyes i'faith; now a threemans ſong, or the old *downe adowne*; well, things muſt be as they may; &c." REED.

7 *Enter Doctor* Caius.] Dr. John Caius was a celebrated phyſician in

you, go and vetch me in my cloſet *un boitier verd*[8]; a box, a green-a box; Do intend vat I ſpeak? a green-a box.

Quick. Ay, forſooth, I'll fetch it you. I am glad he went not in himſelf: if he had found the young man, he would have been horn-mad. [*Aſide.*

Caius. Fe, fe, fe, fe! ma foi, il fait fort chaud. Je m'en vais à la Cour,—la grande affaire.

Quick. Is it this, Sir.

Caius. Ouy; mette le au mon pocket; *Depeche,* quickly:—Vere is dat knave Rugby?

Quick. What, John Rugby! John!

Rug. Here, Sir.

Caius. You are John Rugby, and you are Jack Rugby: Come, take-a your rapier, and come after my heel to de court.

Rug. 'Tis ready, Sir, here in the porch.

Caius. By my trot, I tarry too long:—Od's me! *Qu'ai j'oublié?* dere is ſome ſimples in my cloſet, dat I vill not for the varld I ſhall leave behind.

Quick. Ah me! he'll find the young man there, and be mad.

Caius. O diable, diable! vat is in my cloſet?—Villainy! *laron!* [*pulling* Simple *out.*] Rugby, my rapier.

in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and founder of Caius college, in Cambridge. He was born in 1510, and died in 1567: He is ſaid to have written a great part of Grafton's Chronicle. MALONE.

It has been thought ſtrange, that our author ſhould take the name of *Caius* for his Frenchman in this comedy; but Shakſpeare was little acquainted with literary hiſtory; and without doubt, from his unuſual name, ſuppoſed him to have been a foreign quack. Add to this, that the doctor was handed down as a kind of Roſicrucian: Mr. Ames had in Mſ. one of the "*ſecret Writings of Dr. Caius.*" FARMER.

This character of Dr. Caius might have been drawn from the life; as in *Jacke of Dover's Queſt of Enquirie,* 1604, (perhaps a republication) a ſtory called the *Foole of Winſor* begins thus: "Upon a time there was in *Winſor* a certaine ſimple *outlandiſhe doctor* of *phyſicke,* belonging to the deane, &c." STEEVENS.

[8] — *un boitier verd*;] *Boitier* in French ſignifies a caſe of ſurgeons inſtruments. GREY.

I believe it rather means a *box of ſalve,* or caſe to hold *ſimples,* for which Caius profeſſes to ſeek. STEEVENS.

Quick. Good master, be content.

Caius. Wherefore shall I be content-a?

Quick. The young man is an honest man.

Caius. What shall be honest man do in my closet? dere is no honest man dat shall come in my closet.

Quick. I beseech you, be not so hegmatick; hear the truth of it. He came of an errand to me from parson Hugh.

Caius. Vell.

Sim. Ay, forsooth, to desire her to—

Quick. Peace, I pray you.

Caius. Peace-a your tongue:—Speak-a your tale.

Sim. To desire this honest gentlewoman, your maid, to speak a good word to mistress Anne Page for my master in the way of marriage.

Quick. This is all, indeed, la; but I'll ne'er put my finger in the fire, and need not.

Caius. Sir Hugh send-a you?—Rugby, *baillez* me some paper: Tarry you a little-a while. [*writes.*

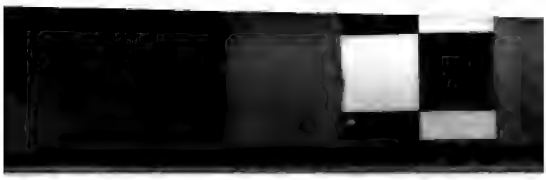
Quick. I am glad he is so quiet: if he had been thoroughly moved, you should have heard him so loud, and so melancholy;—But notwithstanding, man, I'll do your master what good I can: and the very yea and the no is, the French Doctor, my master,—I may call him my master, look you, for I keep his house; and I wash, wring, brew, bake, scour, dress meat and drink[9], make the beds, and do all myself;—

Sim. 'Tis a great charge, to come under one body's hand.

Quick. Are you avis'd o' that? you shall find it a great charge: and to be up early, and down late;—but notwithstanding, (to tell you in your ear; I would have no words of it;) my master himself is in love with mistress Anne Page: but notwithstanding that,—I know Anne's mind,—that's neither here nor there.

Caius. You jack'nape; give-a dis letter to Sir Hugh;

9 — *dress meat and* drink,] Dr. Warburton thought the word *drink* ought to be expunged; but by *drink* Dame Quickly might have intended potage and soup, of which her master may be supposed to have been as fond as the rest of his countrymen. MALONE.



by gar, it is a ſhallenge: I vill cut his troat in de park; and I vill teach a ſcurvy jack-a-nape prieſt to meddle or make:—you may be gone; it is not good you tarry here: by gar, I vill cut all his two ſtones; by gar, he ſhall not have a ſtone to throw at his dog. [*Exit* SIMPLE.

Quick. Alas, he ſpeaks but for his friend.

Caius. It is no matter-a for dat:—do not you tell-a me dat I ſhall have Anne Page for myſelf?—by gar, I vill kill de Jack prieſt*; and I have appointed mine hoſt of *de Jarterre* to meaſure our weapon:—by gar I vill myſelf have Anne Page.

Quick. Sir, the maid loves you, and all ſhall be well: we muſt give folks leave to prate: What, the good-jer[1]!

Caius. Rugby, come to the court vit me;—By gar, if I have not Anne Page, I ſhall turn your head out of my door:—Follow my heels, Rugby.

[*Exeunt* CAIUS *and* RUGBY.

Quick. You ſhall have Ann fool's-head[2] of your own. No, I know Anne's mind for that: never a woman in Windſor knows more of Anne's mind than I do; nor can do more than I do with her, I thank heaven.

Fent. [*within.*] Who's within there, ho?

Quick. Who's there, I trow? Come near the houſe, I pray you.

Enter FENTON.

Fen. How now, good woman; how doſt thou?

* —*de* Jack *prieſt*;] *Jack* in our author's time was a term of contempt: So, ſaucy *Jack*, &c. See *K. Henry IV.* P. I. Act. III. ſc. iii. "The prince is a *Jack*, a ſneak-cup;" and *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. ſc. i. "—do you play the flouting *Jack?*" MALONE.

[1] *What, the* good-jer!] Mrs. Quickly ſcarcely ever pronounces a hard word rightly. *Good-jer* and *Good-year* were in our author's time common corruptions of *goujere*; i. e. *morbus Gallicus*; and in the books of that age the word is as often written one way as the other. MALONE.

[2] You ſhall have *Ann* fool's-head—] Mrs. Quickly, I believe, intends a quibble between *ann*, ſounded broad, and *one*, which was formerly ſometimes pronounced *on*, or with nearly the ſame ſound. In the Scottiſh dialect *one* is written, and I ſuppoſe pronounced, *ane*.—In 1603, was publiſhed "*Ane* verie excellent and delectable Treatiſe, intitulit *Philotus*," &c. MALONE.

[redacted]

ACT II. SCENE I.

Before Page's *House.*

Enter Miſtreſs PAGE, *with a letter.*

Mrs. Page. What, have I 'ſcaped love-letters in the holy-day time of my beauty, and am I now a ſubject for them? Let me ſee: [*reads.*

Aſk me no reaſon why I love you; for though love uſe rea-

[1] —*but I* deteſt,] She means—I *proteſt.* MALONE.

ſon

ſon for his preciſian, he admits him not for his counſellor[1]*: You are not young, no more am I; go to then, there's ſympathy: you are merry, ſo am I; Ha! ha! then there's more ſympathy: you love ſack, and ſo do I; Would you deſire better ſympathy? Let it ſuffice thee, miſtreſs Page, (at the leaſt, if the love of a ſoldier can ſuffice,) that I love thee. I will not ſay, pity me, 'tis not a ſoldier-like phraſe; but I ſay, love me. By me,*

Thine own true knight,
By day or night[2]*,*
Or any kind of light,
With all his might,
For thee to fight, John Falſtaff.

What a Herod of Jewry is this?—O wicked, wicked world!—one that is well-nigh worn to pieces with age, to ſhow himſelf a young gallant! What an unweigh'd behaviour[3] hath this Flemiſh drunkard pick'd (with the devil's name) out of my converſation, that he dares in this manner aſſay me? Why, he hath not been thrice in my company!—What ſhould I ſay to him?—I was then frugal of my mirth:—heaven forgive me!—Why I'll exhibit a bill in the parliament for the putting down of fat

[1] —*though love uſe reaſon for his* preciſian, *he admits him not for his counſellor;*] By *preciſian*, is meant one who pretends to a more than ordinary degree of virtue and ſanctity. On which account they gave this name to the puritans of that time. WARBURTON.

Of this word I do not ſee any meaning that is very appoſite to the preſent intention. Perhaps Falſtaff ſaid, *Though love uſe reaſon for his* phyſician, *he admits him not for his counſellor.* This will be plain ſenſe. Aſk not the *reaſon* of my love; the buſineſs of *reaſon* is not to aſſiſt love, but to *cure* it. There may however be this meaning in the preſent reading. *Though love*, when he would ſubmit to regulation, may *uſe reaſon as his preciſian*, or director in nice caſes, yet when he is only eager to attain his end, he takes not reaſon for *his counſellor.* JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnſon wiſhes to read *phyſician*; and this conjecture becomes almoſt a certainty from a line in our author's 147th ſonnet:

"My reaſon the *phyſician* to my love, &c." FARMER.

[2] *Thine own true knight,*
By day or night] This expreſſion, which is ludicrouſly employed by Falſtaff, anciently meant, *at all times.* STEEVENS.

[3] *What* an *unweigh'd behaviour*—] It has been ſuggeſted to me that we ſhould read—*one.* STEEVENS.

men.

men [4]. How ſhall I be revenged on him? for revenged I will be, as ſure as his guts are made of puddings.

Enter Miſtreſs FORD.

Mrs. Ford. Miſtreſs Page! truſt me, I was going to your houſe.

Mrs. Page. And, truſt me, I was coming to you. You look very ill.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I'll ne'er believe that; I have to ſhow to the contrary.

Mrs. Page. 'Faith, but you do, in my mind.

Mrs. Ford. Well, I do then; yet, I ſay, I could ſhow you to the contrary: O, miſtreſs Page give me ſome counſel!

Mrs. Page. What's the matter, woman?

Mrs. Ford. O woman, if it were not for one trifling reſpect, I could come to ſuch honour!

Mrs. Page. Hang the trifle, woman; take the honour: What is it?—diſpenſe with trifles;—what is it?

Mrs. Ford. If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment, or ſo, I could be knighted.

4 —*for the* putting down *of* fat men.] The word *fat*, which ſeems to have been inadvertently omitted in the folio, was reſtored by Mr. Theobald from the quarto, where the correſponding ſpeech runs thus: "Well, I ſhall truſt *fat* men the worſe, while I live, for his ſake. O God; that I knew how to be revenged of him!"—Dr. Johnſon, however, thinks that the inſertion is unneceſſary, as "Mrs. Page might naturally enough, in the firſt heat of her anger, rail at the ſex for the fault of one." But the authority of the original ſketch in quarto, and Mrs. Page's frequent mention of the ſize of her lover in the play as it now ſtands, in my opinion fully warrant the correction that has been made. Our author well knew that bills are brought into parliament for ſome purpoſe that at leaſt appears *practicable*. Mrs. Page therefore in her paſſion might exhibit a bill for the putting down or deſtroying men of a particular deſcription; but Shakſpeare would never have made her threaten to introduce a bill to effect an *impoſſibility*; viz. the extermination of the whole ſpecies.

There is no error more frequent at the preſs than the omiſſion of words. In a ſheet of this work now before me, there was an *out*, (as it is termed in the printing-houſe,) that is, a paſſage omitted, of no leſs than ten lines. In every ſheet ſome words are at firſt omitted.

The expreſſion, *putting down*, is a common phraſe of our municipal law. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Page. What?—thou lieſt!—Sir Alice Ford!—Theſe knights will hack; and ſo thou ſhould'ſt not alter the article of thy gentry [5].

Mrs. Ford. We burn day-light [6]:—here, read, read; perceive how I might be knighted.—I ſhall think the worſe of fat men, as long as I have an eye to make difference of men's liking: And yet he would not ſwear; prais'd women's modeſty: and gave ſuch orderly and well-behaved reproof to all uncomelineſs, that I would have ſworn his diſpoſition would have gone to the truth of his words: but they do no more adhere, and keep place together, than the hundredth pſalm to the tune of *Green*

5 *What?—thou lieſt! Sir Alice Ford!—Theſe knights, will* hack; *and ſo thou ſhouldſt not alter the article of thy gentry.*] It is not impoſſible that Shakſpeare meant by—*theſe knight will hack*—theſe knights will ſoon become *hackney'd* characters.—So many knights were made about the time this play was amplified (for the paſſage is neither in the copy 1602, nor 1619,) that ſuch a ſtroke of ſatire might not have been unjuſtly thrown in. STEEVENS.

Theſe knights will *hack*, (that is, become cheap and vulgar,) and therefore ſhe adviſes her friend not to ſully her gentry by becoming one. The whole of this diſcourſe about knighthood is added ſince the firſt edition of this play [in 1602]; and therefore I ſuſpect this is an oblique reflection on the prodigality of James I. in beſtowing theſe honours. BLACKSTONE.

Sir W. Blackſtone ſuppoſes that the order of Baronets (created in 1611) was likewiſe alluded to. I have omitted that part of his note, becauſe it appears to me highly probable that our author amplified the play before us at an earlier period. See *An Attempt to aſcertain the order of Shakſpeare's plays*, *ante*, Article, *Merry Wives of Windſor*.

Between the time of King James's arrival at Berwick in April 1603, and the 2d of May, he made two hundred and thirty-ſeven knights; and in the July following between three and four hundred. It is probable that the play before us was enlarged in that or the ſubſequent year, when this ſtroke of ſatire muſt have been highly reliſhed by the audience.

By "theſe knights will hack" may have been meant,—Theſe unworthy knights of the preſent day will be degraded by having their ſpurs *back'd* off; the puniſhment (as Dr. Johnſon has obſerved) of a recreant or undeſerving knight. MALONE.

6 *We burn day-light:*] i. e. we are waſting time in idle talk, when we ought to read the letter; reſembling thoſe, who waſte candles by burning them in the day-time. So, in *Romeo and Juliet* (the quotation is Mr. Steevens's):

"We waſte our lights in vain, like *lamps by day.*" MALONE.

Sleewes.

Piſt. With liver burning hot: Prevent, or go thou,
Like Sir Actæon he, with Ring-wood at thy heels:—
O, odious is the name!

Ford. What name, Sir?

Piſt. The horn, I ſay: Farewel.
Take heed; have open eye; for thieves do foot by night:
Take heed, ere ſummer comes, or cuckoo-birds do ſing.—
Away, ſir corporal Nym.—
Believe it, Page; he ſpeaks ſenſe[7]. [*Exit* PISTOL.

Ford. I will be patient; I will find out this.

Nym. And this is true; [*to* Page.] I like not the humour of lying. He hath wrong'd me in ſome humours: I ſhould have borne the humour'd letter to her; but I have a ſword, and it ſhall bite upon my neceſſity[8]. He loves your wife; there's the ſhort and the long. My name is corporal Nym; I ſpeak, and I avouch. 'Tis true:—my name is Nym, and Falſtaff loves your wife.—Adieu! I love not the humour of bread and cheeſe; and there's the humour of it. Adieu. [*Exit* NYM.

than the other; and therefore I have followed the modern editors in preferring it. MALONE.

5 Ford, *perpend.*] This is perhaps a ridicule on a paſſage in the old comedy of *Cambyſes*:

"My ſapient words, I ſay, *perpend.*"

Again: "My queen, *perpend* what I pronounce."

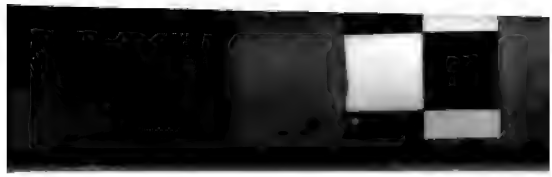
Shakſpeare has put the ſame word into the mouth of Polonius. STEEV.

7 *Believe it, Page*; *he ſpeaks* ſenſe.] Dr. Johnſon thought that the preceding word, "*Nym*", was only a deſignation of the ſpeaker, and that theſe words belonged to him. Mr. Steevens's note ſhews that he was miſtaken. Dr. Farmer would read—Believe it Page, he ſpeaks; i. e. Page, believes what he ſays. MALONE.

Ford and Piſtol, Page and Nym, enter in pairs, each pair in ſeparate converſation; and while Piſtol is informing Ford of Falſtaff's deſign upon his wife, Nym is, during that time, talking *aſide* to Page, and giving information of the like plot againſt *him*.—When Piſtol has finiſhed, he calls out to Nym to come *away*; but ſeeing that he and Page are ſtill in cloſe debate, he goes off alone, firſt aſſuring Page, he may depend on the truth of Nym's ſtory. *Believe it, Page.* Nym then proceeds to tell the remainder of his tale out aloud. *And this is true* &c. STEEV.

8 *I have a ſword, and it ſhall bite upon my neceſſity.*] Nym, to gain credit, ſays, that he is above the mean office of carrying love-letters; he has nobler means of living; *he has a ſword, and upon his neceſſity*, that is, *when his need drives him to unlawful expedients*, his ſword *ſhall bite*. JOHNSON.

Page.



Page. *The humour of it*[9], quoth 'a! here's a fellow frights humour out of his wits.

Ford. I will ſeek out Falſtaff.

Page. I never heard ſuch a drawling, affecting rogue.

Ford. If I do find it, well.

Page. I will not believe ſuch a Cataian[1], though the prieſt o' the town commended him for a true man.

9 *The humour of it,*] The following epigram, taken from an old collection without date, but apparently printed before the year 1600, will beſt account for Nym's frequent repetition of the word *humour*. Epig. 27.

Aſke HUMORS what a feather he doth weare,
It is his *humour* (by the Lord) he'll ſweare;
Or what he doth with ſuch a horſe-taile locke,
Or why upon a whore he ſpends his ſtocke,—
He hath a *humour* doth determine ſo:
Why in the ſtop-throte faſhion he doth goe,
With ſcarfe about his necke, hat without band,—
It is his *humour*. Sweet ſir, underſtand,
What cauſe his purſe is ſo extreame diſtreſt
That oftentimes is ſcarcely penny-bleſt;
Only a *humour*. If you queſtion, why
His tongue is ne'er unfurniſh'd with a lye,—
It is his *humour* too he doth proteſt:
Or why with ſerjeants he is ſo oppreſt,
That like to ghoſts they haunt him ev'rie day;
A raſcal *humour* doth not love to pay.
Object why bootes and ſpurres are ſtill in ſeaſon,
His *humour* anſwers, *humour* is his reaſon.
If you perceive his wits in wetting ſhrunke,
It cometh of a *humour* to be drunke.
When you behold his lookes pale, thin, and poore,
The occaſion is, his *humour* and a whoore:
And every thing that he doth undertake,
It is a veine, for ſenceleſs *humour*'s ſake. STEEVENS.

1 *I will not believe ſuch a* Cataian,] A *Cataian* (from *Cataia* or *Cathay*, the ancient name of China) ſeems to have been a cant term of reproach in our author's time, denoting a *ſharper*. Mr. Theobald thinks it meant a boaſter; Dr. Warburton a liar, "from thoſe who told incredible wonders of this new-diſcovered empire:" Dr. Johnſon's explanation is,—"This fellow hath ſuch an odd appearance, is ſo unlike a man civilized and taught the duties of life, that I cannot credit him on any teſtimony of his veracity.—To be a foreigner (he adds) was always in England, and I ſuppoſe every where elſe, a reaſon of diſlike."—Mr. Steevens, with more probability, ſuppoſes it to mean a thief; "the Chineſe, (anciently called Cataians) being ſaid to be the moſt dextrous of all the nimble-fingered tribe." MALONE.

Ford. 'Twas a good ſenſible fellow[2]: Well.

Page. How now, Meg?

Mrs. Page. Whither go you, George?—Hark you.

Mrs. Ford. How now, ſweet Frank? why art thou melancholy?

Ford. I melancholy! I am not melancholy.—Get you home, go.

Mrs. Ford. 'Faith, thou haſt ſome crotchets in thy head now.—Will you go, miſtreſs Page?

Mrs. Page. Have with you.—You'll come to dinner, George?—Look, who comes yonder: ſhe ſhall be our meſſenger to this paltry knight. [*Aſide to Mrs.* Ford.

Enter Miſtreſs QUICKLY.

Mrs. Ford. Truſt me, I thought on her: ſhe'll fit it.

Mrs. Page. You are come to ſee my daughter Anne?

Quick. Ay, forſooth; And, I pray, how does good miſtreſs Anne?

Mrs. Page. Go in with us, and ſee; we have an hour's talk with you.

[*Exeunt Mrs.* Page, *Mrs.* Ford, *and Mrs.* Quickly.

Page. How now, maſter Ford?

Ford. You heard what this knave told me; did you not?

Page. Yes; And you heard what the other told me?

Ford. Do you think there is truth in them?

Page. Hang 'em, ſlaves! I do not think the knight would offer it: but theſe that accuſe him in his intent towards our wives, are a yoke of his diſcarded men; very rogues, now they be out of ſervice[3].

Ford. Were they his men?

Page. Marry, were they.

Ford. I like it never the better for that. Does he lie at the Garter?

[2] *'Twas a good ſenſible fellow:*] This, and the two preceding ſpeeches of Ford, are ſpoken to himſelf, and have no connection with the ſentiments of Page, who is likewiſe making his comment on what had paſſed, without attention to Ford. STEEVENS.

[3] *Very rogues, now they be out of ſervice.*] A *rogue* is a wanderer or *vagabond*, and, in its conſequential ſignification, a *cheat*. JOHNSON.

Page.

Page. Ay, marry, does he. If he ſhould intend this voyage toward my wife, I would turn her looſe to him; and what he gets more of her than ſharp words, let it lie on my head.

Ford. I do not miſdoubt my wife; but I would be loth to turn them together: A man may be too confident: I would have nothing lie on my head[4]: I cannot be thus ſatisfied.

Page. Look, where my ranting hoſt of the Garter comes: there is either liquor in his pate, or money in his purſe, when he looks ſo merrily.—How, now, mine hoſt?

Enter Hoſt, *and* SHALLOW.

Hoſt. How, now, bully-rook? thou'rt a gentleman: cavalero-juſtice, I ſay.

Shal. I follow, mine hoſt, I follow.—Good even, and twenty, good maſter Page! Maſter Page, will you go with us? we have ſport in hand.

Hoſt. Tell him, cavalero-juſtice; tell him, bully-rook?

Shal. Sir, there is a fray to be fought, between ſir Hugh the Welch prieſt, and Caius the French doctor.

Ford. Good mine hoſt o' the Garter, a word with you.

Hoſt. What ſay'ſt thou, bully-rook? [*They go aſide.*

Shal. Will you [*to Page*] go with us to behold it? My merry hoſt hath had the meaſuring of their weapons; and, I think, hath appointed them contrary places: for, believe me, I hear, the parſon is no jeſter. Hark, I will tell you what our ſport ſhall be.

Hoſt. Haſt thou no ſuit againſt my knight, my gueſt-cavalier?

Ford. None, I proteſt: but I'll give you a pottle of burnt ſack to give me recourſe to him, and tell him, my name is Brook[5]; only for a jeſt.

Hoſt. My hand, bully: thou ſhalt have egreſs and re-

4 *I would have nothing lie on my head:*] Here ſeems to be an alluſion to Shakſpeare's favourite topick, the cuckold's horns. MALONE.

5 —*and tell him, my name is* Brook;] The folio reads—*Broom.* The true name was recovered from the quarto by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

greſt; ſaid I well? and thy name ſhall be Brook: It is a merry knight.—Will you go an-heirs[6]?

Shal. Have with you, mine hoſt.

Page. I have heard, the Frenchman hath good ſkill in his rapier[7].

Shal. Tut, ſir, I could have told you more: In theſe times you ſtand on diſtance, your paſſes, ſtoccados, and I know not what: 'tis the heart, maſter Page; 'tis here, 'tis here. I have ſeen the time, with my long ſword[8], I would

[6] *Will you go an-heirs?*] There can be no doubt that this paſſage is corrupt. Perhaps we ſhould read,—Will you go *and hear us?* So, in the next page—"I had rather *hear them* ſcold than fight." MALONE.

The merry Hoſt has already ſaluted them ſeparately by titles of diſtinction; he therefore probably now addreſſes them collectively by a general one—*Will you go on*, heroes? or, as probably—*Will you go on*, hearts? He calls Dr. Caius *Heart of Elder*; and adds, in a ſubſequent ſcene of this play, *Farewell, my hearts.* STEEVENS.

[7] *—in his rapier.*] In the old quarto here follow theſe words:

Shal. I tell you what, maſter Page; I believe the doctor is no jeſter; he'll lay it one [on]; for though we be juſtices and doctors and churchmen, yet we are the ſons of women, maſter Page.

Page. True, maſter Shallow.

Shal. It will be found ſo, maſter Page.

Page. Maſter Shallow, you yourſelf have been a great fighter, though now a man of peace.

Part of this dialogue is found afterwards in the third ſcene of the preſent act; but it ſeems more proper here, to introduce what Shallow ſays of the proweſs of his youth. MALONE.

[8] *—my long ſword,*] Before the introduction of rapiers, the ſwords in uſe were of an enormous length, and ſometimes raiſed with both hands. Shallow, with an old man's vanity, cenſures the innovation by which lighter weapons were introduced, tells what he could once have done with his *long ſword*, and ridicules the terms and rules of the rapier. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnſon's explanation of the *long ſword* is certainly right; for the early quarto reads—my *two-hand* ſword; ſo that they appear to have been ſynonymous.

Carleton, in his *Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*, 1625, ſpeaking of the treachery of one Rowland York, in betraying the town of Deventer to the Spaniards in 1587, ſays; "he was a Londoner, famous among the *Cutters* in his time, for bringing in a new kind of fight,—to run the point of a *rapier* into a man's body. This manner of fight *he* brought *firſt* into *England*, with great admiration of his audaciouſneſs: when

would have made you four tall fellows [9] ſkip like rats.

Hoſt. Here, boys, here, here! ſhall we wag?

Page. Have with you:—I had rather hear them ſcold than fight. [*Exeunt* Hoſt, SHALLOW, *and* PAGE.

Ford. Though Page be a ſecure fool, and ſtands ſo firmly on his wife's frailty [1], yet I cannot put off my opinion ſo eaſily: She was in his company at Page's houſe; and, what they made there [2], I know not. Well, I will look further into't: and I have a diſguiſe to ſound Falſtaff: If I find her honeſt, I loſe not my labour; if ſhe be otherwiſe, 'tis labour well beſtow'd. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF *and* PISTOL.

Fal. I will not lend thee a penny.

Piſt. Why, then the world's mine oyſter [3], which I with

when in England before that time, the uſe was, with little bucklers, and with *broad ſwords*, to ſtrike, and not to thruſt; and it was accounted unmanly to ſtrike under the girdle."

The Continuator of Stowe's Annals, p. 1024, edit. 1631, ſuppoſes the rapier to have been introduced ſomewhat ſooner, viz. about the 20th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, [1578] at which time, he ſays, Sword and Bucklers began to be diſuſed. Shakſpeare has here been guilty of a great anachroniſm in making Shallow ridicule the terms of the rapier in the time of Henry IV. an hundred and ſeventy years before it was uſed in England. MALONE.

9 — tall *fellows*—] A *tall fellow*, in the time of our author, meant a ſtout, bold, or courageous perſon. The elder quarto reads—*tall fencers*. STEEVENS.

1 — *and ſtands ſo firmly on his wife's frailty*,] i. e. has ſuch perfect confidence in his unchaſte wife. *His wife's frailty* is the ſame as—his frail wife. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, we meet with *death and honour*, for *an honourable death*. MALONE.

To *ſtand on any thing*, ſignifies *to inſiſt on it*. Ford ſuppoſes Page to inſiſt on that virtue as ſteady, which he ſuppoſes to be without foundation. STEEVENS.

2 — *and what they* made *there*,] An obſolete phraſe ſignifying—what they *did* there. MALONE.

3 — *the world's mine oyſter*, &c.] Dr. Grey ſuppoſes Shakſpeare to

with ſword will open.—I will retort the ſum in equipage [4].

Fal. Not a penny. I have been content, ſir, you ſhould lay my countenance to pawn: I have grated upon my good friends for three reprieves for you and your coach-fellow, Nym [5]; or elſe you had look'd through the grate, like a geminy of baboons. I am damn'd in hell, for ſwearing to gentlemen my friends, you were good ſoldiers, and tall fellows [6]: and when miſtreſs Bridget loſt the handle of her fan [7], I took't upon mine honour, thou hadſt it not.

Piſt. Didſt not thou ſhare? hadſt thou not fifteen pence?

Fal. Reaſon, you rogue, reaſon: Think'ſt thou, I'll endanger

allude to an old proverb, "The mayor of Northampton opens *oyſters* with his dagger." i. e. to keep them at a ſufficient diſtance from his noſe, that town being fourſcore miles from the ſea. STEEVENS.

4 — *I will retort the ſum in equipage.*] This is added from the old quarto of 1619, and means, I will pay you again in ſtolen goods. WARB.

I rather believe he means, that he will pay him by waiting on him for nothing. That *equipage* ever meant *ſtolen goods*, I am yet to learn. STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton may be right; for I find *equipage* was one of the cant words of the time. *In Davies' Papers Complaint*, (a poem which has erroneouſly been aſcribed to *Donne*) we have ſeveral of them:

"Embelliſh, blandiſhment, and *equipage*." Which words, he tells us in the margin, *overmuch ſavour of witleſſe affectation*. FARMER.

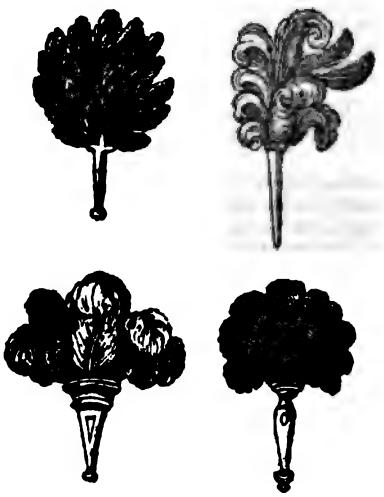
5 — *your* coach-fellow, *Nym*;] i. e. he, who *draws* along with you; who is joined with you in all your knavery. So before, Page, ſpeaking of Nym and Piſtol, calls them a "*yoke* of Falſtaff's diſcarded men." The word (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) is uſed by Chapman in his Tranſlation of the Iliad. MALONE.

6 — *and* tall *fellows:*] See p. 229, n. 9; and p. 214, n. 4. MALONE.

7 — *loſt the handle of her fan,*] It ſhould be remembered, that *fans*, in our author's time, were more coſtly than they are at preſent, as well as of a different conſtruction. They conſiſted of oſtrich feathers, (or others of equal length and flexibility,) which were ſtuck into handles. The richer ſort of theſe were compoſed of gold, ſilver, or ivory of curious workmanſhip. In the frontiſpiece to a play, called *Engliſhmen for my Money*, or *A pleaſant Comedy of a Woman will have her Will*, 1616, is a portrait of a lady with one of theſe fans, which, after all, may prove the beſt commentary on the paſſage. The three other ſpecimens are taken from the *Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo*, publiſhed at

endanger my ſoul *gratis?* At a word, hang no more about me, I am no gibbet for you:—go.—A ſhort knife and a throng [8];—to your manor of Pickt-hatch [9], go.—You'll

at Venice, 1598, from the drawings of *Titian*, and *Ceſare Vecelli*, his brother. This faſhion was perhaps imported from Italy, together with many others, in the reign of king Henry VIII. if not in that of king Richard II.



STEEVENS.

It appears from *Marſton's Satires*, that the ſum of 40l. was ſometimes given for a fan in the time of queen Elizabeth. MALONE.

In the Sidney papers, publiſhed by *Collins*, a fan is preſented to queen Elizabeth for a new year's gift, the handle of which was ſtudded with diamonds. T. WARTON.

[8] *A ſhort knife and a* throng:] So Lear: "—when cut-purſes come not to *throngs*." WARBURTON.

Mr. Dennis reads—*thong*; which has been followed, I think, improperly, by ſome of the modern editors. MALONE.

[9] —*Pickt-hatch*,] *Pict-hatch* was in *Turnbull-ſtreet*.

"—— Your whore doth live
"In Pict-hatch, Turnbull-ſtreet."
Amends for Ladies, a comedy by N. Field, 1639.

You'll not bear a letter for me, you rogue!—you ſtand upon your honour!—Why, thou unconfinable baſeneſs, it is as much as I can do, to keep the terms of my honour preciſe. I, I, I myſelf ſometimes, leaving the fear of heaven on the left hand, and hiding mine honour in my neceſſity, am fain to ſhuffle, to hedge, and to lurch; and yet you, rogue, will enſconce your rags [1], your cat-a-mountain looks, your red-lattice phraſes [2], and your bold-beating oaths, under the ſhelter of your honour! You will not do it, you?

Piſt. I do relent; What would'ſt thou more of man?

Enter ROBIN.

Rob. Sir, here's a woman would ſpeak with you.

Fal. Let her approach.

The derivation of the word may perhaps be diſcovered from the following paſſage in *Cupid's Whirligig*: "Set ſome *pickes* upon your *hatch*, and I pray, profeſs to keep a bawdy-houſe." Perhaps the unſeaſonable and obſtreperous irruptions of the galiants of that age might render ſuch a precaution neceſſary. STEEVENS.

This was a cant name of ſome part of the town noted for bawdy-houſes. Sir T. Hanmer ſays, that this was "a noted harbour for thieves and pickpockets," who certainly were proper companions for a man of Piſtol's profeſſion. But Falſtaff here more immediately means to ridicule another of his friend's vices; and there is ſome humour in calling Piſtol's favourite brothel, his manor of *Picht-hatch*.

T. WARTON.

[1] — *enſconce* your rags, &c.] A *ſconce* is a petty fortification. To *enſconce*, therefore, is to protect as with a fort. The word occurs again in *K. Henry IV.* Part I. STEEVENS.

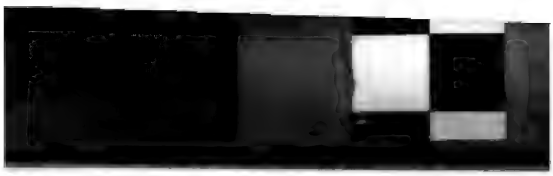
[2] — red-lattice *phraſes*,] Your ale-houſe converſation. JOHNSON.

Red lattice at the doors and windows were formerly the external denotements of an ale-houſe. Hence the preſent *chequers*. Perhaps the reader will expreſs ſome ſurprize, when he is told that ſhops, with the ſign of the *chequers*, were common among the Romans. See a view of the left-hand ſtreet of Pompeii, (No. 9) preſented by Sir William Hamilton (together with ſeveral others, equally curious,) to the *Antiquary Society*. STEEVENS.

The following paſſage in Braithwaite's *Strapado for the Divell*, 1615, confirms Mr. Steevens's obſervation.—"To the true diſcoverer of ſecrets, Monſieur *Bacchus*,—Maſter-gunner of the *pottle-pot* ordnance, —prime-founder of *red lattices* &c."

In *King Henry IV.* P. II. Falſtaff's page, ſpeaking of Bardolph, ſays, "he called me even now, my Lord, through a *red lattice*, and I could ſee no part of his face from the window." MALONE.

Enter



Enter Miſtreſs QUICKLY.

Quick. Give your worſhip good-morrow.

Fal. Good-morrow, good wife.

Quick. Not ſo, an't pleaſe your worſhip.

Fal. Good maid, then.

Quick. I'll be ſworn; as my mother was, the firſt hour I was born.

Fal. I do believe the ſwearer: What with me?

Quick. Shall I vouchſafe your worſhip a word or two?

Fal. Two thouſand, fair woman; and I'll vouchſafe thee the hearing.

Quick. There is one miſtreſs Ford, ſir;—I pray, come a little nearer this ways:—I myſelf dwell with maſter doctor Caius.

Fal. Well, on: Miſtreſs Ford, you ſay,—

Quick. Your worſhip ſays very true: I pray your worſhip, come a little nearer this ways.

Fal. I warrant thee, nobody hears;—mine own people, mine own people.

Quick. Are they ſo? Heaven bleſs them, and make them his ſervants!

Fal. Well: miſtreſs Ford;—what of her?

Quick. Why, ſir, ſhe's a good creature. Lord, lord! your worſhip's a wanton: Well, heaven forgive you, and all of us, I pray!

Fal. Miſtreſs Ford;—come, miſtreſs Ford,—

Quick. Marry, this is the ſhort and the long of it; you have brought her into ſuch a canaries[3], as 'tis wonderful. The beſt courtier of them all, when the court lay at Windſor[4], could never have brought her to ſuch a canary. Yet there has been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches; I warrant you, coach after coach,

3 — *canaries,*] This is the name of a briſk light dance, and is therefore properly enough uſed in low language for any hurry or perturbation. JOHNSON.

It is highly probable, however, that *canaries* is only a miſtake of Mrs. Quickly's for *quandaries*; and yet the Clown, in *As you like it*, ſays, "we that are true lovers run into ſtrange *capers*." STEEVENS.

4 — lay *at Windſor,*] i. e. *reſided* there. MALONE.

letter

letter after letter, gift after gift; ſmelling ſo ſweetly, (all muſk,) and ſo ruſhling, I warrant you, in ſilk and gold; and in ſuch alligant terms; and in ſuch wine and ſugar of the beſt, and the faireſt, that would have won any woman's heart; and, I warrant you, they could never get an eye-wink of her.—I had myſelf twenty angels given me this morning: but I defy all angels, (in any ſuch ſort, as they ſay,) but in the way of honeſty:—and, I warrant you, they could never get her ſo much as ſip on a cup with the proudeſt of them all: and yet there has been earls, nay, which is more, penſioners [5]; but, I warrant you, all is one with her.

Fal. But what ſays ſhe to me? be briefe, my good ſhe Mercury.

Quick. Marry, ſhe hath receiv'd your letter; for the which ſhe thanks you a thouſand times: and ſhe gives you to notify, that her huſband will be abſence from his houſe between ten and eleven.

Fal. Ten and eleven.

Quick. Ay, forſooth; and then you may come and ſee the picture, ſhe ſays, that you wot of [6];—maſter Ford, her huſband, will be from home. Alas! the ſweet wo-

5 — *earls, nay, which is more,* penſioners;] i. e. Gentlemen of the band of Penſioners.—"In the month of December," [1539] ſays Stowe, *Annals*, p. 973, edit. 1605, "were appointed to waite on the king's perſon fifty Gentlemen, called *Penſioners*, or *Speares*, like as they were in the firſt yeare of the king; unto whom was aſſigned the ſumme of fiftie pounds, yerely, for the maintenance of themſelves, and everie man two horſes, or one horſe and a gelding of ſervice." Their dreſs was remarkably ſplendid, and therefore likely to attract the notice of Mrs. Quickly. Hence, in *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, our author has ſelected from all the tribes of flowers the *golden-coated* cowſlips to be *penſioners* to the Fairy Queen:

"The cowſlips tall her *penſioners* be,
"In their *gold coats* ſpots you ſee; &c." MALONE.

—*earls, nay, which is more,* penſioners;] This may be illuſtrated by a paſſage in Gervaſe Holles's *Life of the Firſt Earl of Clare*. *Biog. Brit.* Art. HOLLES. "I have heard the earl of Clare ſay, that when he was *penſioner* to the queen, he did not know a worſe man of the whole band than himſelf; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of 4000l. a year." TYRWHITT.

6 — you *wot of*;] To *wot* is to know. Obſolete. STEEVENS.

man

man leads an ill life with him; he's a very jealouſy man; ſhe leads a very frampold [7] life with him, good heart.

Fal. Ten and eleven: woman, commend me to her; I will not fail her.

Quick. Why you ſay well: But I have another meſſenger to your worſhip: Miſtreſs Page hath her hearty commendations to you too;—and let me tell you in your ear, ſhe's as fartuous a civil modeſt wife, and one (I tell you) that will not miſs you morning or evening prayer, as any is in Windſor, whoe'er be the other: and ſhe bade me tell your worſhip, that her huſband is ſeldom from home; but, ſhe hopes, there will come a time. I never knew a woman ſo dote upon a man; ſurely, I think you have charms, la; yes, in truth.

Fal. Not I, I aſſure thee; ſetting the attraction of my good parts aſide, I have no other charms.

Quick. Bleſſing on your heart for't!

Fal. But, I pray thee, tell me this; has Ford's wife, and Page's wife, acquainted each other how they love me?

Quick. That were a jeſt, indeed;—they have not ſo little grace, I hope:—that were a trick, indeed! But miſtreſs Page would deſire you to ſend her your little page, of all loves [8]; her huſband has a marvellous infection to the little page: and, truly, maſter Page is an honeſt man. Never a wife in Windſor leads a better life than ſhe does; do what ſhe will, ſay what ſhe will, take all, pay all, go to bed when ſhe liſt, riſe when ſhe liſt, all is as ſhe will; and, truly, ſhe deſerves it; for if there be a kind woman in Windſor, ſhe is one. You muſt ſend her your page; no remedy.

7 —*frampold*—] This word I have never ſeen elſewhere, except in Dr. Hacket's *Life of Archbiſhop Williams*, where a *frampul* man ſignifies a peeviſh troubleſome fellow. JOHNSON.

Ray, among his *South* and *Eaſt* country words, ſays, that *frampald*, or *frampard*, ſignifies *fretful, peeviſh, croſs, froward.* As *froward* (he adds) comes from *from*, ſo may *frampard.* STEEVENS.

8 —*to ſend her your little page*, of all loves:] *Of all loves*, is an adjuration only, and ſignifies no more, than if ſhe had ſaid, deſires you to ſend him by *all* means. It is uſed in Decker's *Honeſt Whore*, Part I. 1635:—"conjuring his wife, *of all loves*, to prepare cheer fitting," &c. Again, in Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1164. STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. Why, I will.

Quick. Nay, but do ſo then: and, look you, he may come and go between you both; and, in any caſe, have a nay-word[9], that you may know one another's mind, and the boy never need to underſtand any thing; for 'tis not good that children ſhould know any wickedneſs: old folks, you know, have diſcretion, as they ſay, and know the world.

Fal. Fare thee well: commend me to them both: there's my purſe; I am yet thy debtor.—Boy, go along with this woman.—This news diſtracts me!

[*Exeunt* QUICKLY *and* ROBIN.

Piſt. This punk is one of Cupid's carriers[1]:—
Clap on more ſails; purſue, up with your fights[2];
Give fire; ſhe is my prize, or ocean whelm them all!

[*Exit* PISTOL.

Fal. Say'ſt thou ſo, old Jack? go thy ways; I'll make more of thy old body than I have done. Will they yet look after thee? Wilt thou, after the expence of ſo much money, be now a gainer? Good body, I thank thee: Let them ſay, 'tis groſsly done; ſo it be fairly done, no matter.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir John, there's one maſter Brook below would fain ſpeak with you, and be acquainted with you; and

9 — A *nay-word,*] i. e. a *watch-word.* So, in a ſubſequent ſcene: "We have a *nay-word* to know one another, &c." STEEVENS.

1 *This punk is one of Cupid's carriers:*] Dr. Warburton's emendation, "This *pink* &c." is plauſible. A *pink* is a veſſel whoſe form may be ſuppoſed to bear ſome reſemblance to that of Mrs. Quickly; the bends and ribs compaſſing ſo that its ſides bulge out very much, by which means it is enabled to carry greater burdens. They are often uſed (according to Chambers) as *ſtore-ſhips.* But there is no need of alteration. It is always dangerous to meddle with Piſtol's language. The alluſion to the marine is ſufficiently preſerved by the word *carrier,* which is technical. *This punk is one of thoſe veſſels which Cupid employs in the* carrying *trade. Clap on more ſails,* &c. MALONE.

2 — *up with your* fights;] *Fights,* are *cloaths* hung round the ſhip to conceal the men from the enemy; and *cloſe-fights* are *bulk-heads,* or any other ſhelter that the fabrick of a ſhip affords. JOHNSON.

hath

hath ſent your worſhip a morning's draught of ſack *.

Fal. Brook, is his name?

Bard. Ay, ſir.

Fal. Call him in; [*Exit* BARDOLPH.] Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflow ſuch liquor. Ah! ha! miſtreſs Ford and miſtreſs Page, have I encompaſs'd you? go to; *via*[3]!

Re-enter BARDOLPH, *with* FORD *diſguiſed.*

Ford. Bleſs you, ſir.

Fal. And you, ſir: Would you ſpeak with me?

Ford. I make bold, to preſs with ſo little preparation upon you.

Fal. You're welcome; What's your will? Give us leave, drawer. [*Exit* BARDOLPH.

Ford. Sir, I am a gentleman that have ſpent much; my name is Brook.

Fal. Good maſter Brook, I deſire more acquaintance of you.

Ford. Good ſir John, I ſue for yours: not to charge you[4]; for I muſt let you underſtand, I think myſelf in

* —*one maſter Brook below would fain ſpeak with you, and be* acquainted with you, *and hath* ſent your worſhip a morning's draught of ſack.] It ſeems to have been a common cuſtom at taverns, in our author's time, to ſend preſents of wine from one room to another, either as a memorial of friendſhip, or (as in the preſent inſtance) by way of introduction to acquaintance. Of the exiſtence of this practice the following anecdote of Ben Jonſon and the ingenious Biſhop Corbet furniſhes a proof. "Ben Jonſon was at a tavern, and in comes Biſhop Corbet (but not ſo then) into the next room. Ben Jonſon calls for a quart of *raw* wine, and gives it to the tapſter. 'Sirrah, ſays he, carry this to the gentleman in the next chamber, and tell him, I ſacrifice my ſervice to him.' The fellow did, and in thoſe words. Friend, ſays Dr. Corbet, I thank him for his love; but 'pr'ythee tell him from me that he is miſtaken; for *ſacrifices* are always *burnt*." *Merry Paſſages and Jeaſts*, Mſs. Harl. 6395. MALONE.

3 —*go to*; via!] This cant phraſe of exultation is common in the old plays. STEEVENS.

Markham uſes this word as one of the vocal helps neceſſary for reviving a horſe's ſpirits in galloping large rings, when he grows ſlothful. Hence this cant phraſe (perhaps from the Italian, *via*) may be uſed on other occaſions to quicken or pluck up courage. TOLLET.

4 — *not to charge you*;] That is, not with a purpoſe of putting you to expence, or *being burthenſome*. JOHNSON.

better

better plight for a lender than you are: the which hath ſomething embolden'd me to this unſeaſon'd intruſion; for they ſay, if money go before, all ways do lie open.

Fal. Money is a good ſoldier, ſir, and will on.

Ford. Troth, and I have a bag of money here troubles me: if you will help to bear it, ſir John, take all, or half, for eaſing me of the carriage.

Fal. Sir, I know not how I may deſerve to be your porter.

Ford. I will tell you, ſir, if you will give me the hearing.

Fal. Speak, good maſter Brook; I ſhall be glad to be your ſervant.

Ford. Sir, I hear you are a ſcholar,—I will be brief with you;—and you have been a man long known to me, though I had never ſo good means, as deſire, to make myſelf acquainted with you. I ſhall diſcover a thing to you, wherein I muſt very much lay open mine own imperfection: but, good ſir John, as you have one eye upon my follies, as you hear them unfolded, turn another into the regiſter of your own; that I may paſs with a reproof the eaſier, ſith [5] you yourſelf know, how eaſy it is to be ſuch an offender.

Fal. Very well, ſir; proceed.

Ford. There is a gentlewoman in this town, her huſband's name is Ford.

Fal. Well, ſir.

Ford. I have long loved her, and, I proteſt to you, beſtow'd much on her; follow'd her with a doting obſervance; engroſs'd opportunities to meet her; fee'd every ſlight occaſion, that could but niggardly give me ſight of her; not only bought many preſents to give her, but have given largely to many, to know what ſhe would have given: briefly I have purſued her, as love hath purſued me; which hath been, on the wing of all occaſions. But whatſoever I have merited, either in my mind, or in my means, meed [6], I am ſure, I have received none; unleſs

[5] — *ſith*] i. e. Since. STEEVENS.

[6] — *meed*,] i. e. reward. STEEVENS.

experience

experience be a jewel: that I have purchaſed at an infinite rate; and that hath taught me to ſay this:

Love like a ſhadow flies, when ſubſtance love purſues;
Purſuing that that flies, and flying what purſues.

Fal. Have you receiv'd no promiſe of ſatisfaction at her hands?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Have you importuned her to ſuch a purpoſe?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Of what quality was your love then?

Ford. Like a fair houſe, built upon another man's ground; ſo that I have loſt my edifice, by miſtaking the place where I erected it.

Fal. To what purpoſe have you unfolded this to me?

Ford. When I have told you that, I have told you all. Some ſay, that, though ſhe appear honeſt to me, yet, in other places, ſhe enlargeth her mirth ſo far, that there is ſhrewd conſtruction made of her. Now, ſir John, here is the heart of my purpoſe: You are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable diſcourſe, of great admittance [7], authentick in your place and perſon, generally allow'd [8] for your many war-like, court-like, and learned preparations.

Fal. O, ſir!

Ford. Believe it, for you know it:—There is money; ſpend it, ſpend it; ſpend more; ſpend all I have; only give me ſo much of your time in exchange of it, as to lay an amiable ſiege [9] to the honeſty of this Ford's wife: uſe your art of wooing, win her to conſent to you; if any man may, you may as ſoon as any.

Fal. Would it apply well to the vehemence of your affection,

7 — of *great admittance,*] i. e. admitted into all, or the greateſt companies. STEEVENS.

8 — generally *allowed*—] *Allowed* is *approved*. So, in *K. Lear*;

" ——— if your ſweet ſway
" *Allow* obedience, &c." STEEVENS.

9 *to lay an* amiable *ſiege*—] i. e. a ſiege of love. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

" ——the *ſiege of loving* terms." MALONE.

fection, that I ſhould win what you would enjoy? Methinks, you preſcribe to yourſelf very prepoſterouſly.

Ford. O, underſtand my drift! ſhe dwells ſo ſecurely on the excellency of her honour, that the folly of my ſoul dares not preſent itſelf; ſhe is too bright to be look'd againſt [1]. Now, could I come to her with any detection in my hand, my deſires had inſtance and argument [2] to commend themſelves; I could drive her then from the ward of her purity [3], her reputation, her marriage vow, and a thouſand other her defences, which now are too ſtrongly embattled againſt me: What ſay you to't, ſir John?

Fal. Maſter Brook, I will firſt make bold with your money; next, give me your hand; and laſt, as I am a gentleman, you ſhall, if you will, enjoy Ford's wife.

Ford. O good ſir!

Fal. Maſter Brook, I ſay you ſhall.

Ford. Want no money, ſir John, you ſhall want none.

Fal. Want no miſtreſs Ford, maſter Brook, you ſhall want none. I ſhall be with her (I may tell you) by her own appointment; even as you came in to me, her aſſiſtant, or go-between, parted from me: I ſay, I ſhall be with her between ten and eleven; for at that time the jealous raſcally knave, her huſband, will be forth. Come you to me at night; you ſhall know how I ſpeed.

Ford. I am bleſt in your acquaintance. Do you know Ford, ſir?

Fal. Hang him, poor cuckoldly knave! I know him not:—yet I wrong him, to call him poor; they ſay, the jealous wittoly knave hath maſſes of money; for the which his wife ſeems to me well-favour'd. I will uſe her as the key of the cuckoldly rogue's coffer; and there's my harveſt-home.

Ford. I would you knew Ford, ſir; that you might avoid him, if you ſaw him.

Fal. Hang him, mechanical ſalt-butter rogue! I will ſtare him out of his wits; I will awe him with my cudgel:

[1] —*ſhe is too bright to be look'd againſt.*] Nimium lubricus aſpici. Hor. MALONE.

[2] —inſtance *and argument*—] *Inſtance* is *example.* JOHNSON.

[3] the *ward* of her purity,—] i. e. the *defence* of it. STEEVENS.

it ſhall hang like a meteor o'er the cuckold's horns: maſter Brook, thou ſhalt know, I will predominate over the peaſant, and thou ſhalt lie with his wife.—Come to me ſoon at night:—Ford's a knave, and I will aggravate his ſtile[4]; thou, maſter Brook, ſhalt know him for a knave and cuckold:—come to me ſoon at night. [*Exit.*

Ford. What a damn'd Epicurean raſcal is this!—My heart is ready to crack with impatience.—Who ſays, this is improvident jealouſy? My wife hath ſent to him, the hour is fix'd, the match is made: Would any man have thought this? See the hell of having a falſe woman! my bed ſhall be abuſed, my coffers ranſack'd, my reputation gnawn at; and I ſhall not only receive this villainous wrong, but ſtand under the adoption of abominable terms, and by him that does me this wrong. Terms! names! Amaimon ſounds well; Lucifer, well; Barbaſon[5] well; yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends: but cuckold! wittol-cuckold[*]! the devil himſelf hath not ſuch a name. Page is an aſs, a ſecure aſs; he will truſt his wife, he will not be jealous: I will rather truſt a Fleming with my butter, parſon Hugh the Welchman with my cheeſe, an Iriſhman with my aqua-vitæ bottle[6], or a thief to walk my ambling gelding, than my wife

4 — *and I will aggravate his* ſtile:] *Stile* is a phraſe from the herald's office. Falſtaff means, that *he will add more titles to thoſe he already enjoys.* STEEVENS.

5 —*Amaimon—Barbaſon*—] The reader who is curious to know any particulars concerning theſe dæmons, may find them in Reginald Scott's *Inventarie of the Names, Shapes, Powers, Government, and Effects of Devils and Spirits*, &c. p. 377, &c. From hence it appears that *Amaimon* was *king of the Eaſt*, and *Barbatos* a great *countie or earle.* STEEVENS.

* — wittol-*cuckold!*] One who knows his wife's falſehood, and is contented with it;—from *wittan*, Sax. to know. MALONE.

6 — an *Iriſhman* with my *aqua-vitæ* bottle,] Heywood, in his *Challenge for Beauty*, 1636, mentions the love of *aqua-vitæ* as characteriſtick of the *Iriſh*:

"The Briton he metheglin quaffs,
"The *Iriſh aqua-vitæ.*"

The Iriſh *aqua-vitæ*, I believe, was not brandy, but *uſquebaugh*, for which Ireland has been long celebrated. MALONE.

Dericke, in *The Image of Irelande*, 1581, Sign. F 2, mentions *Uſtebeaghe*, and in a note explains it to mean *aqua vitæ.* REED.

with herſelf: then ſhe plots, then ſhe ruminates, then ſhe devises: and what they think in their hearts they may effect, they will break their hearts but they will effect. Heaven be prais'd for my jealouſy! Eleven o'clock [7] the hour; I will prevent this, detect my wife, be reveng'd on Falſtaff, and laugh at Page: I will about it; better three hours too ſoon, than a minute too late. Fie, fie, fie! cuckold! cuckold! cuckold! [Exit.

SCENE III.

Windſor Park.

Enter CAIUS *and* RUGBY.

Caius. Jack Rugby!

Rug. Sir.

Caius. Vat is de clock, Jack?

Rug. 'Tis paſt the hour, ſir, that ſir Hugh promiſed to meet.

Caius. By gar, he has ſave his ſoul, dat he is no come; he has pray his pible vell, dat he is no come: by gar, Jack Rugby, he is dead already, if he be come.

Rug. He is wiſe, ſir; he knew, your worſhip would kill him, if he came.

Caius. By gar, de herring is no dead, ſo as I vill kill him. Take your rapier, Jack; I vill tell you how I vill kill him.

Rug. Alas, ſir, I cannot fence.

Caius. Villainy, take your rapier.

Rug. Forbear; here's company.

Enter Hoſt, SHALLOW, SLENDER, *and* PAGE.

Hoſt. 'Bleſs thee, bully doctor.

Shal. 'Save you, maſter doctor Caius.

Page. Now, good maſter doctor!

7 *Eleven o'clock*—] Ford ſhould rather have ſaid *ten o'clock*: the time was between ten and eleven; and his impatient ſuſpicion was not likely to ſtay beyond the time. JOHNSON.

It is neceſſary for the buſineſs of the piece that Falſtaff ſhould be at Ford's houſe before his return. Hence our author makes him name the later hour. See p. 251:—"The clock gives me my cue;—there *I ſhall find Falſtaff.*" When he ſays above, "I ſhall prevent *this*," he means, not the meeting, but his wife's effecting her purpoſe. MALONE.

Slen.

Sler. Give you good-morrow, ſir.

Caius. Vat be all you, one, two, tree, four, come for?

Hoſt. To ſee thee fight, to ſee thee foin [8], to ſee thee traverſe, to ſee thee here, to ſee thee there; to ſee thee paſs thy punto, thy ſtock [9], thy reverſe, thy diſtance, thy montant. Is he dead, my Ethiopian? Is he dead, my Franciſco [*]? ha, bully! What ſays my Æſculapius? my Galen? my heart of elder [1]? ha! is he dead, bully Stale [2]? is he dead?

Caius. By gar, he is de coward Jack prieſt of the vorld; he is not ſhew his face.

Hoſt. Thou art a Caſtilian [3] king, Urinal! Hector of Greece, my boy!

Caius. I pray you, bear witneſs that me have ſtay ſix or ſeven, two, tree hours for him, and he is no come.

Shal. He is the wiſer man, maſter doctor: he is a curer of ſouls, and you a curer of bodies; if you ſhould fight, you go againſt the hair [4] of your profeſſions: is it not true, maſter Page?

[8] — *to ſee thee* foin,] To *foin*, I believe, was the ancient term for making a thruſt in fencing, or tilting. STEEVENS.

9 — *thy* ſtock,] *Stock* is a corruption of *ſtocata*, Ital. from which language the technical terms that follow are likewiſe adopted. STEEV.

[*] — *my* Franciſco?] He means, my Frenchman. The quarto reads —my *Francoyes*. MALONE.

[1] — *my heart of elder?*] It ſhould be remember'd, to make this joke reliſh, that the *elder* tree has *no heart*. I ſuppoſe this expreſſion was made uſe of in oppoſition to the common one, *heart of oak*. STEEV.

[2] — bully *Stale?*] The reaſon why Caius is called bully *Stale*, and afterwards *Urinal*, muſt be ſufficiently obvious to every reader. STEEV.

[3] — *Caſtilian*—] *Caſtilian* and *Ethiopian*, like *Cataian*, appear in our author's time to have been cant terms. I have met with them in more than one of the old comedies. I ſuppoſe *Caſtilian* was the cant term for *Spaniard* in general. STEEVENS.

I believe this was a popular ſlur upon the Spaniards, who were held in great *contempt* after the buſineſs of the *Armada*. Thus we have a *Treatiſe Paræneticall, wherein is ſhewed the right way to reſiſt the* Caſtilian king: and a ſonnet, prefixed to Lea's *Anſwer to the Untruths publiſhed in Spain, in glorie of their ſuppoſed Victory atchieved againſt our Engliſh Navie*, begins: "Thou fond *Caſtilian king!*"—and ſo in other places. FARMER.

4 — againſt the *hair* &c.] This phraſe is proverbial, and is taken from ſtroking the *hair* of animals a contrary way to that in which it grows.—We now ſay againſt the *grain*. STEEVENS.

Page. Maſter Shallow, you have yourſelf been a great fighter, though now a man of peace.

Shal. Bodykins, maſter Page, though I now be old, and of the peace, if I ſee a ſword out, my finger itches to make one: though we are juſtices, and doctors, and churchmen, maſter Page, we have ſome ſalt of our youth in us; we are the ſons of women, maſter Page.

Page. 'Tis true, maſter Shallow.

Shal. It will be found ſo, maſter Page. Maſter doctor Caius, I am come to fetch you home. I am ſworn of the peace: you have ſhew'd yourſelf a wiſe phyſician, and Sir Hugh hath ſhewn himſelf a wiſe and patient churchman: you muſt go with me, maſter doctor.

Hoſt. Pardon, gueſt juſtice:—A word, Monſieur Mock-water[5].

Caius. Mock-vater! vat is dat?

Hoſt. Mock-water, in our Engliſh tongue, is valour, bully.

Caius. By gar, then I have as much mock-vater as de

[5] *A word, Monſieur* Mock-water.] The ſecond of theſe words was recovered from the early quarto by Mr. Theobald. Some years ago I ſuſpected that *mock-water*, which appears to me to afford no meaning, was corrupt, and that the author wrote—*Make*-water. I have ſince obſerved that the words *mock* and *make* are often confounded in the old copies, [See Vol. II. pp. 21, 83.] and have therefore now more confidence in my conjecture. It is obſervable that the hoſt, availing himſelf of the Doctor's ignorance of Engliſh, annexes to the terms that he uſes a ſenſe directly oppoſite to their real import. Thus, the poor Frenchman is made to believe, that "he will *clapper-claw* thee tightly," ſignifies, "he will make thee *amends*." Again, when he propoſes to be his *friend*, he tells him, "for this I will be thy *adverſary* toward Anne Page." So alſo, inſtead of "heart of *oak*," he calls him "heart of *elder*." In the ſame way, he informs him that *Make-water* means "*valour*."—In the old play called *the Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, 1602, a female of this name is mentioned.

Dr. Farmer, however, obſerves to me, that *Muck*-water may be the true reading, that term being uſed in ſome counties; ſignifying the oozing of a muck or dung-hill. MALONE.

The hoſt means, I believe, to reflect on the inſpection of urine, which made a conſiderable part of practical phyſick in that time; yet I do not well ſee the meaning of *mock-water*. JOHNSON.

To *mock*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, undoubtedly ſignifies to *play with*. Shakſpeare may therefore chuſe to repreſent Caius as one to whom a *urinal* was a play-thing. STEEVENS.

Engliſhman:

Engliſhman:—Scurvy jack-dog-prieſt! by gar, me vill cut his ears.

Hoſt. He will clapper-claw thee tightly, bully.

Caius. Clapper-de-claw! vat is dat?

Hoſt. That is, he will make thee amends.

Caius. By gar, me do look, he ſhall clapper-de-claw me; for, by gar, me vill have it.

Hoſt. And I will provoke him to't, or let him wag.

Caius. Me tank you for dat.

Hoſt. And moreover, bully,—But firſt, maſter gueſt, and maſter Page, and eke cavalero Slender, go you through the town to Frogmore. [*Aſide to them.*

Page. Sir Hugh is there, is he?

Hoſt. He is there: ſee what humour he is in; and I will bring the doctor about by the fields: will it do well?

Shal. We will do it.

Page, Shal. and *Slen.* Adieu, good maſter doctor.

[*Exeunt* PAGE, SHALLOW, *and* SLENDER.

Caius. By gar, me vill kill de prieſt; for he ſpeak for a jack-an-ape to Anne Page.

Hoſt. Let him die: but, firſt *, ſheath thy impatience; throw cold water on thy choler: go about the fields with me through Frogmore; I will bring thee where miſtreſs Anne Page is, at a farm-houſe a feaſting; and thou ſhalt woo her: cry'd game [6], ſaid I well?

Caius. By gar, me tank you for dat: by gar, I love you; and I ſhall procure-a you de good gueſt, de earl, de knight, de lords, de gentlemen, my patients.

Hoſt. For the which, I will be thy adverſary toward Anne Page; ſaid I well?

* — *but, firſt,*] Theſe words were recovered from the old quarto by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

6 — *cry'd game,*] We yet ſay, in colloquial language, that ſuch a one is—*game,*—or *game to the back. Cry'd game,* might mean, in thoſe days,—a *profeſs'd buck,* one who was as well known by the report of his gallantry, as he could have been by *proclamation.* Thus, in *Troilus and Creſſida:*

" On whoſe bright creſt, fame, with her loud'ſt O-yes,
" *Cries,* this is he."

Again: " Thou art *proclaim'd* a fool, I think."

Again, in *King Lear:* " — A *proclaim'd* prize." STEEVENS.

Caius. By gar, 'tis good; vell ſaid.
Hoſt. Let us wag then.
Caius. Come at my heels, Jack Rugby. [*Exeunt.*

ACT III. SCENE I.

A field near Frogmore.

Enter Sir Hugh Evans *and* Simple.

Evans. I pray you now, good maſter Slender's ſerving-man, and friend Simple by your name, which way have you looked for maſter Caius, that calls himſelf *Doctor of Phyſick?*

Simple. Marry, ſir, the city-ward[1], the park-ward, every way; old Windſor way, and every way but the town way.

Evans. I moſt fehemently deſire you, you will alſo look that way.

Simple. I will, ſir.

Evans. 'Pleſs my ſoul! how full of cholers I am, and trempling of mind!—I ſhall be glad, if he have deceived me:—how melancholies I am!—I will knog his urinals about his knave's coſtard, when I have good opportunities for the 'ork:—'pleſs my ſoul!

To ſhallow rivers[2], *to whoſe falls* [*ſings.*
Melodious birds ſing madrigals;
There will we make our peds of roſes,
And a thouſand fragrant poſies.
To ſhallow—

'Mercy on me! I have a great diſpoſitions to cry.
Melodious

[1] — *the* city-*ward,*] i. e. towards London. So, in *K. Henry VI.* P. I.
" ——— you may perceive,
" Their powers are marching unto Paris-*ward.*"
The firſt folio has—*pity*-ward, which in the ſecond folio was corrupted into—pitty-*wary*. The emendation was ſuggeſted by Mr. Steevens, who likewiſe propoſes *petty*-ward. Malone.

[2] *To ſhallow rivers, &c.*] Theſe lines are part of an old ſong written by Chriſtopher Marlowe, which was firſt publiſhed imperfectly in 1599, and afterwards entire in a Collection of Verſes entitled *England's Heli-con,*

Melodious birds ſing madrigals;—
When as I ſat in Pabylon [3],—
And a thouſand vagram poſies.
To ſhallow—

Simple. Yonder he is coming, this way, ſir Hugh.

Evans. He's welcome:—

To ſhallow rivers, to whoſe falls—

Heaven proſper the right!—What weapons is he?

Simple. No weapons, ſir: There comes my maſter, maſter Shallow, and another gentleman from Frogmore, over the ſtile, this way.

Evans. Pray you, give me my gown; or elſe keep it in your arms.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, *and* SLENDER.

Shal. How now, maſter parſon? Good-morrow, good ſir Hugh. Keep a gameſter from the dice, and a good ſtudent from his book, and it is wonderful.

ton, printed in 1600; beginning thus: "*Come live with me, and be my love*, &c." Evans in his panick miſ-recites the lines, which in the original run thus:

"There will we ſit upon the rocks,
"And ſee the ſhepherds feed their flocks,
"*By* ſhallow rivers, to whoſe falls
"Melodious birds ſing madrigals:
"There will *I* make *thee* beds of roſes
"*With* a thouſand fragrant poſies &c."

In the modern editions the verſes ſung by Sir Hugh have been corrected, I think, improperly. His miſ-recitals were certainly intended.—He *ſings* on the preſent occaſion, to ſhew that he is not afraid. So Bottom, in *A Midſummer Night's Dream*: "I will walk up and down here, and I will *ſing*, that they ſhall hear, I am *not afraid*." MALONE.

[3] *When as I ſat in Pabylon*,—] This line is from the old verſion of the 137th Pſalm:

"*When we did ſit in Babylon*,
"The *rivers* round about,
"Then, in remembrance of Sion,
"The tears for grief burſt out."

The word *rivers* in the ſecond line may be ſuppoſed to have been brought to Sir Hugh's thoughts by the line of Marlowe's madrigal that he has juſt repeated; and in his fright he blends the ſacred and prophane ſong together. The old quarto has—"There lived a man *in Babylon*;" which was the firſt line of an old ſong mentioned in *Twelfth Night*:—but the other line is more in character. MALONE.

Slen. Ah ſweet Anne Page!

Page. Save you, good ſir Hugh!

Evans. 'Pleſs you from his mercy ſake, all of you!

Shal. What! the ſword and the word! do you ſtudy them both, maſter parſon?

Page. And youthful ſtill, in your doublet and hoſe, this raw rheumatick day?

Evans. There is reaſons and cauſes for it.

Page. We are come to you, to do a good office, maſter parſon.

Evans. Fery well: What is it?

Page. Yonder is a moſt reverend gentleman, who belike, having received wrong by ſome perſon, is at moſt odds with his own gravity and patience, that ever you ſaw.

Shal. I have lived fourſcore years, and upward; I never heard a man of his place, gravity, and learning, ſo wide of his own reſpect.

Evans. What is he?

Page. I think you know him; maſter doctor Caius, the renowned French phyſician.

Evans. Got's will, and his paſſion of my heart! I had as lief you would tell me of a meſs of porridge.

Page. Why?

Evans. He has no more knowledge in Hibocrates and Galen,—and he is a knave beſides; a cowardly knave, as you would deſires to be acquainted withal.

Page. I warrant you, he's the man ſhould fight with him.

Slen. O, ſweet Anne Page!

Enter Hoſt, CAIUS, *and* RUGBY.

Shal. It appears ſo, by his weapons:—Keep them aſunder;—here comes doctor Caius.

Page. Nay, good maſter parſon, keep in your weapon.

Shal. So do you, good maſter doctor.

Hoſt. Diſarm them, and let them queſtion; let them keep their limbs whole, and hack our Engliſh.

Caius. I pray you, let-a me ſpeak a word vit your ear. Verefore vill you not meet-a me?

Evans.

Evans. Pray you, uſe your patience: In good time.

Caius. By gar, you are de coward, de Jack dog, John ape.

Evans. Pray you, let us not be laughing-ſtogs to other men's humours; I deſire you in friendſhip, and I will one way or other make you amends:—I will knog your urinals about your knave's cogs-comb, for miſſing your meetings and appointments[4].

Caius. Diable!—Jack Rugby,—mine *Hoſt de Jarterre*, have I not ſtay for him, to kill him? have I not, at de place I did appoint?

Evans. As I am a chriſtians ſoul, now, look you, this is the place appointed; I'll be judgment by mine hoſt of the Garter.

Hoſt. Peace, I ſay, Guallia and Gaul[5], French and Welch; ſoul-curer and body-curer.

Caius. Ay, dat is very good! excellent!

Hoſt. Peace, I ſay; hear mine hoſt of the Garter. Am I politick? am I ſubtle? am I a Machiavel? Shall I loſe my doctor? no; he gives me the potions, and the motions. Shall I loſe my parſon? my prieſt? my ſir Hugh? no; he gives me the pro-verbs and the no-verbs.—Give me thy hand, terreſtial; ſo:—Give me thy hand, celeſtial; ſo.—Boys of art, I have deceived you both; I have directed you to wrong places: your hearts are mighty, your ſkins are whole, and let burnt ſack be the iſſue.—Come, lay their ſwords to pawn:—Follow me, lad of peace; follow, follow, follow.

Shal. Truſt me, a mad hoſt:—Follow, gentlemen, follow.

Slen. O, ſweet Anne Page!

[*Exeunt* SHALLOW, SLENDER, PAGE, *and* Hoſt.

Caius. Ha! do I perceive dat? have you make-a de ſot of us[6]? ha, ha!

4 —*for miſſing your meetings and appointments.*] Theſe words, which are not in the folio, were recovered from the quarto by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

5 Guallia *and Gaul,*] The folio reads—*Gallia* and Gaul; but the reading of the old quarto [Gawle and *Gawlia*] juſtifies the emendation now made, which was ſuggeſted by Dr. Farmer. *Guallia* is *Wallia.* MALONE.

Thus, in *K. Henry VI.* P. II. *Gualtier* for *Walter.* STEEVENS.

6 *make-a de* ſot *of us?*] *Sot* in French ſignifies *a fool.* MALONE.

Evans.

Evans. This is well; he has made us his vlouting-ſtog.—I deſire you, that we may be friends; and let us knog our prains together, to be revenge on this ſame ſcall, ſcurvy [7], cogging companion, the hoſt of the Garter.

Caius. By gar, vit all my heart; he promiſe to bring me vere is Anne Page: by gar, he deceive me too.

Evans. Well, I will ſmite his noddles;—Pray you follow. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The Street in Windſor.

Enter Miſtreſs PAGE *and* Robin.

Mrs. Page. Nay, keep your way, little gallant; you were wont to be a follower, but now you are a leader: Whether had you rather, lead mine eyes, or eye your maſter's heels?

Rob. I had rather, forſooth, go before you like a man, than follow him like a dwarf.

Mrs. Page. O, you are a flattering boy; now, I ſee, you'll be a courtier.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Well met, miſtreſs Page: Whither go you?

Mrs. Page. Truly, ſir, to ſee your wife; Is ſhe at home?

Ford. Ay; and as idle as ſhe may hang together, for want of company: I think, if your huſbands were dead, you two would marry.

Mrs. Page. Be ſure of that,—two other huſbands.

Ford. Where had you this pretty weather-cock?

Mrs. Page. I cannot tell what the dickens his name is my huſband had him of: What do you call your knight's name, ſirrah?

Rob. Sir John Falſtaff.

Ford. Sir John Falſtaff!

Mrs. Page. He, he; I can never hit on's name.—There is ſuch a league between my good man and he!—Is your wife at home, indeed?

[7] — ſcall, *ſcurvy,*] *Scall* was an old word of reproach, as *ſcab* was afterwards. Chaucer imprecates on his *ſcriviner:*

"Under thy longe lockes mayeſt thou have the *ſcalle.*" JOHNSON.

See Leviticus, 13th Ch.—v. 30, 31, and ſeqq. WHALLEY.

Ford.

Ford. Indeed, ſhe is.

Mrs. Page. By your leave, ſir;—I am ſick, till I ſee her. [*Exeunt Mrs.* PAGE *and* ROBIN.

Ford. Has Page any brains? hath he any eyes? hath he any thinking? Sure they ſleep; he hath no uſe of them. Why, this boy will carry a letter twenty miles, as eaſy as a cannon will ſhoot point-blank twelve ſcore. He pieces-out his wife's inclination; he gives her folly motion, and advantage: and now ſhe's going to my wife, and Falſtaff's boy with her. A man may hear this ſhower ſing in the wind!—and Falſtaff's boy with her!—Good plots!—they are laid; and our revolted wives ſhare damnation together. Well; I will take him, then torture my wife, pluck the borrow'd veil of modeſty from the ſo ſeeming miſtreſs Page[8], divulge Page himſelf for a ſecure and wilful Actæon; and to theſe violent proceedings all my neighbours ſhall cry aim[9]. [*Clock ſtrikes.*] The clock gives me my cue, and my aſſurance bids me ſearch; there I ſhall find Falſtaff: I ſhall be rather praiſed for this, than mock'd; for it is as poſitive as the earth is firm *, that Falſtaff is there: I will go.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, SLENDER, Hoſt, *Sir* Hugh EVANS, CAIUS, *and* RUGBY.

Shal. Page, &c. Well met, maſter Ford.

Ford. Truſt me, a good knot: I have good cheer at home; and, I pray you, all go with me.

Shal. I muſt excuſe myſelf, maſter Ford.

8 — ſo *ſeeming* miſtreſs Page,] *ſeeming* is *ſpecious.* So, in *K. Lear:* "If aught within that little *ſeeming* ſubſtance—." STEEVENS.

9 — ſhall *cry aim.*] i. e. ſhall *encourage.* So, in Fenton's *Tragical Diſcourſes*, 1567:—"ſtanding rather in his window to—*cry aime*, than helping any waye to part the fraye."

The phraſe is taken from archery. It ſeems to have been the office of the *aim-crier*, to give notice to the *Archer* when he was within a proper diſtance of his mark, or in a direct line with it; and to point out why he failed to ſtrike it. So, in the *Spaniſh Gipſie*, a com. 1653: —"great bobbers have ſhot at me;—but I myſelf *gave aim* thus:—wide four bows; ſhort three and a half, &c." STEEVENS.

* — *as the earth is firm,*] So, in *Macbeth:*

"——Thou ſure and *firm*-ſet *earth*—." MALONE.

Slen.

Slen. And ſo muſt I, ſir; we have appointed to dine with miſtreſs Anne, and I would not break with her for more money than I'll ſpeak of.

Shal. We have linger'd [1] about a match between Anne Page and my couſin Slender, and this day we ſhall have our anſwer.

Slen. I hope, I have your good will, father Page.

Page. You have, maſter Slender; I ſtand wholly for you:—but my wife, maſter doctor, is for you altogether.

Caius. Ay, by gar; and de maid is love-a me; my nurſh-a Quickly tell me ſo muſh.

Hoſt. What ſay you to young maſter Fenton? he capers, he dances, he has eyes of youth, he writes verſes, he ſpeaks holyday [2], he ſmells April and May [3]: he will

[1] *We have linger'd*—] They have not linger'd very long. The match was propoſed by Sir Hugh but the day before. JOHNSON.

Shallow repreſents the affair as having been *long in hand*, that he may better excuſe himſelf and *Slender* from accepting *Ford*'s invitation on the day when it was to be concluded. STEEVENS.

Perhaps we ſhould read—*linguer'd*, or *languer'd*, which may have been a provincial word for *talked*, from *lingua*, Lat. or *langue*, Fr. "Let thy tongue *langer* with arguments of ſtate." occurs in *Twelfth Night*; but it muſt be owned, there is reaſon to ſuſpect that it is an error of the preſs.—*Un languard* in French is a prattler; and *languayer* ſignifies to talk. *Linguiſt* and *linguacious* are both Engliſh terms, and in Blount's *Gloſſography* we meet with the ſubſtantive *linguer*. MALONE.

[2] — *he writes verſes, he ſpeaks* holyday,] i. e. in an high-flown, fuſtian ſtyle. It was called *a holy-day ſtyle*, from the old cuſtom of acting their farces of the *myſteries* and *moralities*, which were turgid and bombaſt, on holy-days. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*: "I cannot woo in *feſtival terms*." And again, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

"Thou ſpend'ſt ſuch *high-day wit* in praiſing him." WARBUR.

I ſuſpect that Dr. Warburton's ſuppoſition that this phraſe is derived from the ſeaſon of acting the old myſteries, is but an *holyday* hypotheſis; and have preſerved his note only for the ſake of the paſſages he quotes. Fenton is not repreſented as a talker of bombaſt.

He ſpeaks holyday, I believe, means only, his language is more *curious* and *affectedly choſen* than that uſed by ordinary men. MALONE.

— he ſpeaks *holyday*,] So, in *K. Henry IV.* P. I.

"With many *holiday* and lady terms." STEEVENS.

[3] — *he ſmells April and May*:] This was the phraſeology of the time; not "he ſmells *of* April" &c. So, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*:—"he would mouth with a beggar of fifty, though he *ſmelt brown bread and garlick*." MALONE.

carry't,

carry't, he will carry't; 'tis in his buttons[4]; he will carry't.

Page. Not by my conſent, I promiſe you. The gentleman is of no having[5]: he kept company with the wild prince and Poins; he is of too high a region, he knows too much. No, he ſhall not knit a knot in his fortunes with the finger of my ſubſtance: if he take her, let him take her ſimply; the wealth I have waits on my conſent, and my conſent goes not that way.

Ford. I beſeech you, heartily, ſome of you go home with me to dinner: beſides your cheer, you ſhall have ſport; I will ſhew you a monſter.—Maſter doctor, you ſhall go;—ſo ſhall you, maſter Page;—and you Sir Hugh.

Shal. Well, fare you well;—we ſhall have the freer wooing at maſter Page's. [*Exeunt* SHAL. *and* SLEND.

Caius. Go home, John Rugby; I come anon. [*Exit* RUGBY.

Hoſt. Farewell, my hearts: I will to my honeſt knight Falſtaff, and drink canary with him. [*Exit* Hoſt.

Ford. [*Aſide.*] I think, I ſhall drink in pipe-wine firſt with him; I'll make him dance[6]. Will you go, gentles?

All. Have with you, to ſee this monſter. [*Exeunt.*

4 — *'tis in his buttons*;] Alluding to an ancient cuſtom among the country fellows, of trying whether they ſhould ſucceed with their miſtreſſes, by carrying the *batchelor's buttons* (a plant of the *Lychnis* kind, whoſe flowers reſemble a coat button in form) in their pockets. And they judged of their good or bad ſucceſs, by their growing, or their not growing there. SMITH.

5 — *of no* having:] *Having* is the ſame as *eſtate* or *fortune*. JOHNS. So, in *Macbeth*:

"Of noble *having*, and of royal hope." STEEVENS.

6 *I ſhall drink* in pipe *wine firſt with him; I'll make him dance.*] *Pipe* is known to be a veſſel of wine, now containing two hogſheads. *Pipe* wine is therefore wine, not from the *bottle*, but the pipe; and the jeſt conſiſts in the ambiguity of the word, which ſignifies both a caſk of wine, and a muſical inſtrument. JOHNSON.

Canary, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has obſerved, is the name of a dance as well as of a wine. The phraſe—"to drink *in* pipe wine" always ſeemed to me a very ſtrange one, till I met with the following paſſage in King James's firſt ſpeech to his parliament, in 1604; by which it appears that "to drink *in*" was the phraſeology of the time: "—who either, being old, have retained their firſt drunken *in* liquor," &c. MALONE.

SCENE

SCENE III.

A Room in Ford's *Houſe.*

Enter Mrs. FORD, *and Mrs.* PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. What, John! what, Robert!
Mrs. Page. Quickly, quickly: Is the buck-baſket—
Mrs. Ford. I warrant:—What, Robin, I ſay.

Enter Servants with a Baſket.

Mrs. Page. Come, come, come.
Mrs. Ford. Here, ſet it down.
Mrs. Page. Give your men the charge; we muſt be [illegible].
Mrs. Ford. Marry, as I told you before, John, and [illegible] be ready here hard-by in the brew-houſe; and [illegible] ſuddenly call you, come forth, (without [illegible] ſtaggering,) take this baſket on your ſhoul[illegible] that knave will truſt, trudge with it in all haſte, and carry [illegible] to Datchet-lane. Diſpatch, quickly. Down with it, down with it!
Mrs. Page. You will do it?
Mrs. Ford. I have told them over and over; they lack [illegible]: Be gone, and come when you are call'd.
[*Exeunt* Servants.
Mrs. Page. Here comes little Robin.

Enter Robin.

Mrs. Ford. How now, my eyas-muſket[7]? what news [illegible]?
Rob. My maſter ſir John is come in at your back-door, [illegible] and requeſts your company.
Mrs. Page. You little Jack-a-lent[8], have you been [illegible]?
Rob. Ay, I'll be ſworn: My maſter knows not of your

[7] *eyas-muſket*.] *Eyas* is a young unfledg'd hawk; I ſuppoſe [illegible], which originally ſignified any young bird taken [illegible] not a fledg'd, afterwards a young hawk. *Muſket* ſignifies a [illegible] or the ſmalleſt ſpecies of hawks. WARBURTON.
[illegible] the ſame as *infant Lilliputian*. STEEVENS.
[8] *Jack-a-lent*.] A *Jack o' lent* was a puppet thrown at in Lent, [illegible]. STEEVENS.

being

being here; and hath threaten'd to put me into everlaſting liberty, if I tell you of it; for, he ſwears, he'll turn me away.

Mrs. Page. Thou'rt a good boy; this ſecrecy of thine ſhall be a tailor to thee, and ſhall make thee a new doublet and hoſe.—I'll go hide me.

Mrs. Ford. Do ſo:—Go tell thy maſter, I am alone. Miſtreſs Page, remember you your cue. [*Exit* Robin.

Mrs. Page. I warrant thee; if I do not act it, hiſs me. [*Exit Mrs.* PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. Go to then; we'll uſe this unwholeſome humidity, this groſs watry pumpion; we'll teach him to know turtles from jays[9].

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Have I caught thee, *my heavenly jewel*[1]? Why, now let me die, for I have lived long enough[2]; this is the period of my ambition: O this bleſſed hour!

Mrs. Ford. O ſweet ſir John!

Fal. Miſtreſs Ford, I cannot cog, I cannot prate, miſtreſs Ford. Now ſhall I ſin in my wiſh: I would thy huſband were dead; I'll ſpeak it before the beſt lord, I would make thee my lady.

Mrs. Ford. I your lady, ſir John! alas, I ſhould be a pitiful lady.

Fal. Let the court of France ſhew me ſuch another; I ſee how thine eye would emulate the diamond: Thou haſt the right arched bent[3] of the brow, that becomes the

9 — from *jays.*] So, in *Cymbeline*:

" ——— ſome *jay* of Italy,

" Whoſe mother was her painting, &c." STEEVENS.

1 *Have I caught my heavenly jewel?*] is the firſt line of the ſecond ſong in Sidney's *Aſtrophel and Stella*. TOLLET.

2 *Why, now let me die; for I have lived long enough*;] This ſentiment, which is of ſacred origin, is here indecently introduced. It appears again, with ſomewhat leſs of profaneneſs, in the *Winter's Tale*, Act IV. and in *Othello*, Act II. STEEVENS.

3 — arched *bent*—] Thus the quartos 1602, and 1619. The folio reads—arched *beauty*. STEEVENS.

The reading of the quarto is ſupported by a paſſage in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

" Eternity was in our lips and eyes,

" Bliſs in our *brows-bent*." MALONE.

ſhip-tire[4], the tire-valiant[5], or any tire of Venetian admittance[6].

Mrs. Ford. A plain kerchief, ſir John: my brows become nothing elſe; nor that well neither.

Fal. Thou art a traitor[7] to ſay ſo: thou would'ſt make an abſolute courtier; and the firm fixture of thy foot would give an excellent motion to thy gait, in a ſemi-circled farthingale. I ſee what thou wert, if fortune thy foe were not[8]; nature is thy friend[9]: Come, thou canſt not hide it.

4 — *that becomes the ſhip-tire,*] The *ſhip-tire* was an open head-dreſs, with a kind of ſcarf depending from behind. Its name of *ſhip-tire* was, I preſume, from its giving the wearer ſome reſemblance of *a ſhip* (as Shakſpeare ſays) *in all her trim:* with all her pennants out, and flags and ſtreamers flying. WARBURTON.

In the fifth Act Fenton mentions that his miſtreſs is to meet him,

"With ribbons *pendant* flaring 'bout her head."

This probably was what is here called the *ſhip-tire.* MALONE.

5 — *the tire* valiant,] I would read *tire* volant. Stubbs, who deſcribes moſt minutely every article of female dreſs, has mentioned none of theſe terms, but ſpeaks of vails depending from the top of the head, and flying behind in looſe folds. The word *volant* was in uſe before the age of Shakſpeare.—Tire *vellet,* which is the reading of the old quarto, may be printed, as Mr. Tollet obſerves, by miſtake, for tire-*velvet.* We know that *velvet hoods* were worn in the age of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

Among the preſents ſent by the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England, in April 1606, was a *velvet* cap with gold buttons. Catharine's cap in *the Taming of the Shrew* is likewiſe of velvet. MALONE.

6 — *of Venetian admittance.*] i. e. of a faſhion received from Venice. So, in *Weſtward Hoe,* 1606, by Decker and Webſter: "——now ſhe's in that *Italian head-tire* you ſent her." Dr. Farmer propoſes to read—of Venetian *remittance.* STEEVENS.

7 — a *traitor*—] i. e. to thy own merit. STEEVENS.

The folio reads—thou art a *tyrant* &c. but the reading of the quarto appears to me far better. MALONE.

8 — *fortune thy foe*—] "was the beginning of an old ballad, in which were enumerated all the misfortunes that fall upon mankind, through the caprice of fortune." See note on *the Cuſtom of the Country,* Act I. ſc. i. by Mr. Theobald. REED.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Auguſt 1780, p. 371, it is obſerved, that "the tune was the ſame as *Death and the Lady*; and that the lamentations of criminals have been generally ſung to this tune for two hundred years paſt." MALONE.

9 — *nature* is *thy friend:*] *Is,* which is not in the old copy, was introduced by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. Believe me, there's no ſuch thing in me.

Fal. What made me love thee? let that perſuade thee, there's ſomething extraordinary in thee. Come, I cannot cog, and ſay, thou art this and that, like a many of theſe liſping haw-thorn buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and ſmell like Bucklers-bury [1] in ſimple-time; I cannot: but I love thee; none but thee; and thou deſerveſt it.

Mrs. Ford. Do not betray me, ſir; I fear, you love miſtreſs Page.

Fal. Thou might'ſt as well ſay, I love to walk by the Counter-gate; which is as hateful to me as the reek of a lime-kiln.

Mrs. Ford. Well, heaven knows, how I love you; and you ſhall one day find it.

Fal. Keep in that mind; I'll deſerve it.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I muſt tell you, ſo you do; or elſe I could not be in that mind.

Rob. [*within.*] Miſtreſs Ford, miſtreſs Ford! here's miſtreſs Page at the door, ſweating, and blowing, and looking wildly, and would needs ſpeak with you preſently.

Fal. She ſhall not ſee me; I will enſconce me behind the arras.

Mrs. Ford. Pray you, do ſo; ſhe's a very tattling woman.— [FALSTAFF *hides himſelf.*

Enter Miſtreſs PAGE, *and* Robin.

What's the matter? how now?

Mrs. Page. O miſtreſs Ford, what have you done? You're ſhamed, you are overthrown, you are undone for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What's the matter, good miſtreſs Page?

Mrs. Page. O well-a-day, miſtreſs Ford! having an honeſt man to your huſband, to give him ſuch cauſe of ſuſpicion!

Mrs. Ford. What cauſe of ſuſpicion?

[1] — like *Bucklers-bury* &c.] *Bucklers-bury*, in the time of Shakſpeare, was chiefly inhabited by druggiſts, who ſold all kind of herbs, green as well as dry. STEEVENS.

Mrs. Page. What cauſe of ſuſpicion? Out upon you! how am I miſtook in you?

Mrs. Ford. Why, alas! what's the matter?

Mrs. Page. Your huſband's coming hither, woman, with all the officers in Windſor, to ſearch for a gentleman, that, he ſays, is here now in the houſe, by your conſent, to take an ill advantage of his abſence: You are undone.

Mrs. Ford. Speak louder[2]. [*Aſide.*]—'Tis not ſo, I hope.

Mrs. Page. Pray heaven it be not ſo, that you have ſuch a man here; but 'tis moſt certain your huſband's coming with half Windſor at his heels, to ſearch for ſuch a one. I come before to tell you: If you know yourſelf clear, why I am glad of it: but if you have a friend here, convey, convey him out. Be not amazed; call all your ſenſes to you; defend your reputation, or bid farewell to your good life for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What ſhall I do?—There is a gentleman, my dear friend; and I fear not mine own ſhame, ſo much as his peril: I had rather than a thouſand pound, he were out of the houſe.

Mrs. Page. For ſhame, never ſtand *you had rather*, and *you had rather*; your huſband's here at hand, bethink you of ſome conveyance: in the houſe you cannot hide him.—O, how have you deceived me!—Look, here is a baſket; if he be of any reaſonable ſtature, he may creep in here; and throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to bucking: Or, it is whiting-time, ſend him by your two men to Datchet mead.

Mrs. Ford. He's too big to go in there: What ſhall I do?

Re-enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Let me ſee't, let me ſee't! O let me ſee't! I'll in, I'll in;—follow your friend's counſel;—I'll in.

Mrs. Page. What! ſir John Falſtaff! Are theſe your letters, knight?

[2] *Speak louder.*] i. e. that Falſtaff who is retired may hear. This paſſage is only found in the two elder quartos. STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. I love thee, and none but thee[3]; help me away: let me creep in here; I'll never—

[*He goes into the baſket; they cover him with foul linen.*

Mrs. Page. Help to cover your maſter, boy: Call your men, miſtreſs Ford:—You diſſembling knight!

Mrs. Ford. What, John, Robert, John! [*Exit* Robin. *Re-enter Servants.*] Go take up theſe clothes here, quickly; Where's the cowl-ſtaff? look, how you drumble[4]: carry them to the laundreſs in Datchet mead[5]; quickly, come.

Enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, *and Sir* Hugh EVANS.

Ford. Pray you, come near: if I ſuſpect without cauſe, why then make ſport at me, then let me be your jeſt; I deſerve it.—How now? whither bear you this?

Serv. To the laundreſs, forſooth.

Mrs. Ford. Why, what have you to do whither they bear it? You were beſt meddle with buck-waſhing.

Ford. Buck? I would I could waſh myſelf of the buck! Buck, buck, buck? Ay, buck; I warrant you, buck, and of the ſeaſon too; it ſhall appear[6]. [*Exeunt* Servants,

3 — *and none but thee*;] Theſe words, which are characteriſtick, and ſpoken to Mrs. Page aſide, I have reſtored from the early quarto. He had uſed the ſame words before to Mrs. Ford. MALONE.

4 — *how you* drumble:] The reverend Mr. Lambe, the editor of the ancient metrical hiſtory of the *Battle of Floddon*, obſerves, that—*look, how you drumble*, means—*how confuſed you are*; and that in the North, *drumbled* ale is *muddy diſturbed ale*. STEEVENS.

A *drumble*-drone in the weſtern dialect ſignifies a *drone*, or drumble-bee. Mrs. Page therefore may mean—How lazy and ſtupid you are! be more alert. MALONE.

To *drumble*, in Devonſhire, ſignifies to mutter in a ſullen and inarticulate voice. HENLEY.

5 — *carry them to the laundreſs in Datchet mead*;] Mr. Dennis objects, with ſome degree of reaſon, to the probability of the circumſtance of Falſtaff's being carried to Datchet mead, and thrown into the Thames. "It is not likely (he obſerves) that Falſtaff would ſuffer himſelf, to be carried in the baſket as far as Datchet mead, which is half a mile from Windſor, and it is plain that they could not carry him, if he made any reſiſtance." MALONE.

6 — *it ſhall appear.*] Ford ſeems to allude to the cuckhold's horns. So afterwards: "— and ſo buffets himſelf on the forehead, crying, *peer* out, *peer* out." *Of the ſeaſon* is a phraſe of the foreſt. MALONE.

with the baſket.] Gentlemen, I have dream'd to-night; I'll tell you my dream. Here, here, here be my keys: aſcend my chambers, ſearch, ſeek, find out: I'll warrant, we'll unkennel the fox: Let me ſtop this way firſt: So, now uncape[7].

Page. Good maſter Ford, be contented: you wrong yourſelf too much.

Ford. True, maſter Page. Up, gentlemen; you ſhall ſee ſport anon: follow me, gentlemen. [*Exit.*

Evans. This is fery fantaſtical humours, and jealouſies.

Caius. By gar, 'tis no de faſhion of France: it is not jealous in France.

Page. Nay, follow him, gentlemen; ſee the iſſue of his ſearch. [*Exeunt* EVANS, PAGE, *and* CAIUS.

Mrs. Page. Is there not a double excellency in this?

Mrs. Ford. I know not which pleaſes me better, that my huſband is deceived, or Sir John.

Mrs. Page. What a taking was he in, when your huſband aſk'd who was in the baſket!

Mrs. Ford. I am half afraid, he will have need of waſhing; ſo throwing him into the water will do him a benefit.

Mrs. Page. Hang him, diſhoneſt raſcal! I would, all of the ſame ſtrain were in the ſame diſtreſs.

Mrs. Ford. I think, my huſband hath ſome ſpecial ſuſpicion of Falſtaff's being here; for I never ſaw him ſo groſs in his jealouſy till now.

Mrs. Page. I will lay a plot to try that: And we will yet have more tricks with Falſtaff: his diſſolute diſeaſe will ſcarce obey this medicine.

Mrs. Ford. Shall we ſend that fooliſh carrion[8], miſtreſs Quickly, to him, and excuſe his throwing into the water; and give him another hope, to betray him to another puniſhment?

[7] *So, now uncape.*] The alluſion is to the ſtopping every hole at which a fox could enter, before they *uncape* or turn him out of the bag in which he was brought. I ſuppoſe every one has heard of a *bag-fox*. STEEVENS.

[8] —*that* fooliſh *carrion,*] The old copy has—*fooliſhion* carrion. The correction was made by the editor of the ſecond folio. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Page. We'll do it; let him be ſent for to-morrow eight o'clock, to have amends.

Re-enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, *and Sir* Hugh EVANS.

Ford. I cannot find him: may be the knave bragg'd of that he could not compaſs.

Mrs. Page. Heard you that?

Mrs. Ford. Ay, ay, peace[9]:—You uſe me well, maſter Ford, do you?

Ford. Ay, I do ſo.

Mrs. Ford. Heaven make you better than your thoughts!

Ford. Amen.

Mrs. Page. You do yourſelf mighty wrong, maſter Ford.

Ford. Ay, ay; I muſt bear it.

Evans. If there be any pody in the houſe, and in the chambers, and in the coffers, and in the preſſes, heaven forgive my ſins at the day of judgment!

Caius. By gar, nor I too; dere is no bodies.

Page. Fye, fye, maſter Ford! are you not aſhamed? What ſpirit, what devil ſuggeſts this imagination? I would not have your diſtemper in this kind, for the wealth of Windſor Caſtle.

Ford. 'Tis my fault, maſter Page: I ſuffer for it.

Evans. You ſuffer for a pad conſcience: your wife is as honeſt a 'omans, as I will deſires among five thouſand, and five hundred too.

Caius. By gar, I ſee 'tis an honeſt woman.

Ford. Well;—I promiſed you a dinner: Come, come, walk in the park: I pray you, pardon me; I will hereafter make known to you, why I have done this.—Come, wife;—come, miſtreſs Page; I pray you pardon me; pray heartily, pardon me.

Page. Let's go in, gentlemen; but, truſt me, we'll mock him. I do invite you to-morrow morning to my houſe to breakfaſt; after, we'll a birding together; I have a fine hawk for the buſh: Shall it be ſo?

9 *Ay, ay, peace:*] Theſe words were recovered from the early quarto by Mr. Theobald. But in his and the other modern editions, *I*, the old ſpelling of the affirmative particle, has inadvertently been retained. MALONE.

Ford. Any thing.

Evans. If there is one, I ſhall make two in the company.

Caius. If there be one or two, I ſhall make-a de turd.

Evans. In your teeth[1]: for ſhame.

Ford. Pray you go, maſter Page.

Evans. I pray you now, remembrance to-morrow on the louſy knave, mine hoſt.

Caius. Dat is good; by gar, vit all my heart.

Evans. A louſy knave; to have his gibes, and his mockeries. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

A Room in Page's *Houſe.*

Enter FENTON *and Miſtreſs* ANNE PAGE.

Fent. I ſee, I cannot get thy father's love;
Therefore, no more turn me to him, ſweet Nan.

Anne. Alas! how then?

Fent. Why, thou muſt be thyſelf.
He doth object, I am too great of birth;
And that, my ſtate being gall'd with my expence,
I ſeek to heal it only by his wealth:
Beſides theſe, other bars he lays before me,—
My riots paſt, my wild ſocieties;
And tells me, tis a thing impoſſible
I ſhould love thee, but as a property.

Anne. May be, he tells you true.

Fent. No, heaven ſo ſpeed me in my time to come!
Albeit, I will confeſs, thy father's wealth[2]

[1] *In your teeth:*] This dirty reſtoration was made by Mr. Theobald. Evans's application of the doctor's words is not in the folio. STEEV.

[2] — *father's wealth*] Some light may be given to thoſe who ſhall endeavour to calculate the increaſe of Engliſh wealth, by obſerving, that Latymer, in the time of Edward VI. mentions it as a proof of his father's proſperity, *That though but a yeoman, he gave his daughters five pounds each for her portion.* At the latter end of Elizabeth, ſeven hundred pounds were ſuch a temptation to courtſhip, as made all other motives ſuſpected. Congreve makes twelve thouſand pounds more than a counterbalance to the affectation of Belinda. No poet would now fly his favourite character at leſs than fifty thouſand. JOHNSON.

Was

Was the firſt motive that I woo'd thee, Anne:
Yet, wooing thee, I found thee of more value
Than ſtamps in gold, or ſums in ſealed bags;
And 'tis the very riches of thyſelf
That now I aim at.

Anne. Gentle maſter Fenton,
Yet ſeek my father's love; ſtill ſeek it, ſir:
If opportunity and humbleſt ſuit
Cannot attain it, why then,—Hark you hither.
[*They converſe apart.*

Enter SHALLOW, SLENDER, *and Mrs.* QUICKLY.

Shal. Break their talk, miſtreſs Quickly; my kinſman ſhall ſpeak for himſelf.

Slen. I'll make a ſhaft or a bolt on't[3]: 'ſlid, 'tis but venturing.

Shal. Be not diſmay'd.

Slen. No, ſhe ſhall not diſmay me: I care not for that,—but that I am afeard.

Quick. Hark ye; maſter Slender would ſpeak a word with you.

Anne. I come to him.—This is my father's choice.
O, what a world of vile ill-favour'd faults
Looks handſome in three hundred pounds a year! [*Aſide.*

Quick. And how does good maſter Fenton? Pray you, a word with you.

Shal. She's coming; to her, coz. O boy, thou hadſt a father!

Slen. I had a father, miſtreſs Anne;—my uncle can tell you good jeſts of him:—Pray you, uncle, tell miſtreſs Anne the jeſt, how my father ſtole two geeſe out of a pen, good uncle.

Shal. Miſtreſs Anne, my couſin loves you.

Slen. Ay, that I do; as well as I love any woman in Gloceſterſhire.

3 *I'll make a ſhaft or a bolt on't:*] This is enumerated by Ray, amongſt others, in his Collection of proverbial phraſes. REED.
The *ſhaft* was ſuch an arrow as ſkilful archers employed. The *bolt* in this proverb means, I think, the *fool's* bolt. MALONE.

Fent. He will maintain you like a gentlewoman.

Slen. Ay, that I will, come cut and long-tail [4], under the degree of a 'squire.

Fent. He will make you a hundred and fifty pounds jointure.

Anne. Good master Shallow, let him woo for himself.

Shal. Marry, I thank you for it; I thank you for that good comfort. She calls you, coz: I'll leave you.

Anne. Now, master Slender.

Slen. Now, good mistress Anne.

Anne. What is your will?

Slen. My will? od's heartlings, that's a pretty jest, indeed! I ne'er made my will yet, I thank heaven; I am not such a sickly creature, I give heaven praise.

Anne. I mean, master Slender, what would you with me?

Slen. Truly, for mine own part, I would little or nothing with you: Your father, and my uncle, have made motions: if it be my luck, so; if not, happy man be his dole [5]! They can tell you how things go, better than I can: You may ask your father; here he comes.

Enter PAGE, *and Mistress* PAGE.

Page. Now, master Slender:—Love him, daughter Anne.—
Why, how now! what does master Fenton here?

4 — *come* cut and long tail,—] i. e. let who will come as a suitor, of *whatever degree* he may be, under the degree of a squire. The phrase of *cut and long tail* had its origin from the practice of sometimes cutting the tails of dogs and horses, and leaving others in their natural state; so that (as Mr. Reed has observed) under the description of *cut and long tail* the whole species of those animals is included. *Cut*, in consequence of this practice, was in our author's time a common name of a horse, as both *cut* and *curtail* were designations of a dog, of whose tail a part had been cut off. MALONE.

So, in *The First Part of the Eighth liberal Science, &c. by Ulpian Fulwel*, 1576:—"yea, even their very *dogs*, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, *cut and long-taile*, they shall be welcome." STEEVENS.

5 — *happy man be his dole!*] A proverbial expression. See Ray's collection, p. 116. edit. 1737. STEEVENS.

You

You wrong me, ſir, thus ſtill to haunt my houſe.
I told you, ſir, my daughter is diſpos'd of.

Fent. Nay, maſter Page, be not impatient.

Mrs. Page. Good maſter Fenton, come not to my child.

Page. She is no match for you.

Fent. Sir, will you hear me?

Page. No, good maſter Fenton.
Come, maſter Shallow; come, ſon Slender; in:—
Knowing my mind, you wrong me, maſter Fenton.

[*Exeunt* PAGE, SHALLOW, *and* SLENDER.

Quick. Speak to miſtreſs Page.

Fent. Good miſtreſs Page, for that I love your daughter
In ſuch a righteous faſhion as I do,
Perforce, againſt all checks, rebukes, and manners,
I muſt advance the colours of my love,
And not retire: Let me have your good will.

Anne. Good mother, do not marry me to yond' fool.

Mrs. Page. I mean it not; I ſeek you a better huſband.

Quick. That's my maſter, maſter doctor.

Anne. Alas, I had rather be ſet quick i' the earth,
And bowl'd to death with turnips[6].

Mrs. Page. Come, trouble not yourſelf: Good maſter Fenton,
I will not be your friend, nor enemy:
My daughter will I queſtion how ſhe loves you,
And as I find her, ſo am I affected;
Till then, farewell, ſir:—She muſt needs go in;
Her father will be angry.

Fent. Farewell, gentle miſtreſs; farewell, Nan[7].

[*Exeunt Mrs.* PAGE *and* ANNE.

Quick. This is my doing now;—Nay, ſaid I, will you

[6] Anne. *Alas, I had rather be ſet quick i' the earth,*
And bowl'd to death with turnips.] This is a common proverb in the ſouthern counties. I find almoſt the ſame expreſſion in Ben Jonſon's *Bartholomew Fair*: "Would I had been *ſet in the ground*, all but the head of me, and had *my brains bowl'd at*." COLLINS.

[7] *Farewell, gentle* miſtreſs; *farewell, Nan.*] *Miſtreſs* is here uſed as a triſyllable. MALONE.

caſt

caſt away your child on a fool, and a phyſician[8]? Look on, Maſter Fenton:—this is my doing.

Fent. I thank thee; and I pray thee, once to-night[9] Give my ſweet Nan this ring: There's for thy pains. [*Exit.*

Quick. Now heaven ſend thee good fortune! A kind heart he hath: a woman would run through fire and water for ſuch a kind heart. But yet, I would my maſter had miſtreſs Anne; or I would maſter Slender had her; or, in ſooth, I would maſter Fenton had her: I will do what I can for them all three; for ſo I have promiſed, and I'll be as good as my word; but ſpeciouſly[1] for maſter Fenton. Well, I muſt of another errand to Sir John Falſtaff from my two miſtreſſes; What a beaſt am I to ſlack it? [*Exit.*

SCENE V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF *and* BARDOLPH.

Fal. Bardolph, I ſay,—

Bard. Here, ſir.

Fal. Go fetch me a quart of ſack; put a toaſt in't. [*Exit* BARD.] Have I lived to be carried in a baſket, like

[8] —*fool, and a phyſician?*] I ſhould read *fool* or a *phyſician*, meaning Slender and Caius. JOHNSON.

Sir Tho. Hanmer reads according to Dr. Johnſon's conjecture. This may be right.—Or my dame Quickly may allude to the proverb, a man of *forty* is either a *fool* or a *phyſician*; but ſhe aſſerts her maſter to be both. FARMER.

I believe the old copy is right, and that Mrs. Quickly means to inſinuate that ſhe had addreſſed *at the ſame time* both Mr. and Mrs. Page on the ſubject of their daughter's marriage, one of whom favoured Slender, and the other Caius. "—on a fool *or* a phyſician," would be more accurate, but *and* is ſufficiently ſuitable to dame Quickly, *referendo ſingula ſingulis.* MALONE.

Mr. Dennis, of iraſcible memory, who altered this play, and brought it on the ſtage, in the year 1702, under the title of *The Comical Gallant*, (when, thanks to the alterer, it was fairly damn'd,) has introduced the proverb at which Mrs. Quickly's alluſion appears to be pointed. STEEV.

[9] —*once* to-night—] i. e. *ſometime* to-night. So, in a letter from the ſixth earl of Northumberland; (quoted in the notes on the Houſehold book of the fifth earl of that name:) "—notwithſtanding I truſt to be able *ons* to ſet up a chapell off myne owne." STEEVENS.

[1] —*ſpeciouſly*—] She means to ſay *ſpecially*. STEEVENS.

a barrow

a barrow of butcher's offal; and to be thrown into the Thames? Well; if I be ſerved ſuch another trick, I'll have my brains ta'en out, and butter'd, and give them to a dog for a new year's gift. The rogues ſlighted me into the river with as little remorſe as they would have drown'd a bitch's blind puppies[2], fifteen i' the litter: and you may know by my ſize, that I have a kind of alacrity in ſinking; if the bottom were as deep as hell, I ſhould down. I had been drown'd, but that the ſhore was ſhelvy and ſhallow; a death that I abhor; for the water ſwells a man; and what a thing ſhould I have been, when I had been ſwell'd! I ſhould have been a mountain of mummy.

Re-enter BARDOLPH, *with the wine.*

Bar. Here's Miſtreſs Quickly, Sir, to ſpeak with you.

Fal. Come, let me pour in ſome ſack to the Thames water; for my belly's as cold, as if I had ſwallow'd ſnow-balls for pills to cool the reins. Call her in.

Bard. Come in, woman.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY.

Quick. By your leave; I cry you mercy: Give your worſhip good morrow.

Fal. Take away theſe chalices: Go brew me a pott'le of ſack finely.

Bard. With eggs, ſir?

Fal. Simple of itſelf; I'll no pullet-ſperm in my brewage. [*Exit* BARD.] How now?

Quick. Marry, ſir, I come to your worſhip from miſtreſs Ford.

Fal. Miſtreſs Ford! I have had ford enough: I was thrown into the ford; I have my belly full of ford.

Quick. Alas the day! good heart, that was not her fault: ſhe does ſo take on with her men; they miſtook their erection.

[2] — *a bitch's blind puppies,*] The old copy reads—*a blind bitch's* puppies. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

The tranſpoſition may be juſtified from the following paſſage in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*: "—one that I ſaved from drowning, when three or four of his *blind* brothers and ſiſters went to it." STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. So did I mine, to build upon a fooliſh woman's promiſe.

Quick. Well, ſhe laments, ſir, for it, that it would yern your heart to ſee it. Her huſband goes this morning a birding; ſhe deſires you once more to come to her between eight and nine: I muſt carry her word quickly: ſhe'll make you amends, I warrant you.

Fal. Well, I will viſit her: Tell her ſo; and bid her think, what a man is: let her conſider his frailty, and then judge of my merit.

Quick. I will tell her.

Fal. Do ſo. Between nine and ten, ſay'ſt thou?

Quick. Eight and nine, ſir.

Fal. Well, be gone: I will not miſs her.

Quick. Peace be with you, ſir! [*Exit.*

Fal. I marvel, I hear not of maſter Brook; he ſent me word to ſtay within: I like his money well. O, here he comes.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Bleſs you, ſir!

Fal. Now, maſter Brook? you come to know what hath paſs'd between me and Ford's wife?

Ford. That, indeed, ſir John, is my buſineſs.

Fal. Maſter Brook, I will not lie to you; I was at her houſe the hour ſhe appointed me.

Ford. And how ſped you, ſir*?

Fal. Very ill-favour'dly, maſter Brook.

Ford. How, ſir? Did ſhe change her determination?

Fal. No, maſter Brook: but the peaking cornuto her huſband, maſter Brook, dwelling in a continual 'larum of jealouſy, comes me in the inſtant of our encounter, after we had embraced, kiſs'd, proteſted, and, as it were, ſpoke the prologue of our comedy; and at his heels a rabble of his companions, thither provoked and inſtigated by his diſtemper, and forſooth, to ſearch his houſe for his wife's love.

Ford. What, while you were there?

Fal. While I was there.

* — how *ſped you, Sir?*] The word *bow* I have reſtored from the old quarto. MALONE.

Ford.

Ford. And did he ſearch for you, and could not find you?

Fal. You ſhall hear. As good luck would have it, comes in one miſtreſs Page; gives intelligence of Ford's approach; and, by her invention, and Ford's wife's diſtraction, they convey'd me into a buck-baſket.

Ford. A buck-baſket!

Fal. By the Lord, a buck-baſket: ramm'd me in with foul ſhirts and ſmocks, ſocks, foul ſtockings, greaſy napkins; that, maſter Brook, there was the rankeſt compound of villainous ſmell, that ever offended noſtril.

Ford. And how long lay you there?

Fal. Nay, you ſhall hear, maſter Brook, what I have ſuffer'd to bring this woman to evil for your good. Being thus cramm'd in the baſket, a couple of Ford's knaves, his hinds, wert call'd forth by their miſtreſs, to carry me in the name of foul cloaths to Datchet-lane: they took me on their ſhoulders; met the jealous knave their maſter in the door; who aſk'd them once or twice, what they had in their baſket *: I quaked for fear, leaſt the lunatick knave would have ſearch'd it; but fate, ordaining he ſhould be a cuckold, held his hand. Well; on went he for a ſearch, and away went I for foul cloaths. But mark the ſequel, maſter Brook: I ſuffer'd the pangs of three ſeveral deaths [3]: firſt, an intolerable fright, to be detected with [4] a jealous rotten bell-weather: next, to be compaſs'd, like a good bilbo [5], in the circumference of a peck †, hilt to point, heel

* — *what they had in their baſket:*] So, in p. 260: "What a taking was he in, when your huſband aſk'd who was in the baſket!" But Ford had aſked no ſuch queſtion. See p. 259. Our author ſeems ſeldom to have reviſed his plays. MALONE.

3 — ſeveral *deaths:*] Thus the folio and the moſt correct of the quartos. The firſt quarto reads—*egregious* deaths. STEEVENS.

4 — *detected* with—] Thus the old copies. *With* was ſometimes uſed for *of*. So, a little after:

"I rather will ſuſpect the ſun *with* cold."

Detected *of* a jealous &c. would have been the common grammar of the times. The modern editors read *by*. STEEVENS.

5 — *bilbo,*] A *bilbo* is a Spaniſh blade, of which the excellence is flexibleneſs and elaſticity. JOHNSON.

—*bilbo,* from *Bilboa,* a city of Biſcay, where the beſt blades are made. STEEVENS.

† — *of a* peck,] Thus the folio. The old quarto reads—of a *pack*; and perhaps rightly. Pedlar's packs are ſometimes of ſuch a ſize as to admit

heel to head: and then, to be ſtopp'd in, like a ſtrong diſtillation, with ſtinking cloaths that fretted in their own greaſe: think of that,—a man of my kidney [6],—think of that; that am as ſubject to heat, as butter; a man of continual diſſolution and thaw; it was a miracle, to 'ſcape ſuffocation. And in the height of this bath, when I was more than half ſtew'd in greaſe, like a Dutch diſh, to be thrown into the Thames, and cool'd, glowing hot, in that ſurge, like a horſe-ſhoe; think of that,—hiſſing hot,—think of that, maſter Brook.

Ford. In good ſadneſs, ſir, I am ſorry that for my ſake you have ſuffer'd all this. My ſuit then is deſperate; you'll undertake her no more?

Fal. Maſter Brook, I will be thrown into Ætna, as I have been into Thames, ere I will leave her thus. Her huſband is this morning gone a birding: I have received from her another embaſſy of meeting; 'twixt eight and nine is the hour, maſter Brook.

Ford. 'Tis paſt eight already, ſir.

Fal. Is it? I will then addreſs me [7] to my appointment. Come to me at your convenient leiſure, and you ſhall know how I ſpeed; and the concluſion ſhall be crown'd with your enjoying her: Adieu. You ſhall have her, maſter Brook; maſter Brook, you ſhall cuckold Ford. [*Exit.*

Ford. Humph! ha! is this a viſion? is this a dream? do I ſleep? Maſter Ford, awake; awake, maſter Ford; there's a hole made in your beſt coat, maſter Ford. This 'tis to be married! this 'tis to have linen, and buck-baſkets!—Well, I will proclaim myſelf what I am: I will now take the lecher; he is at my houſe: he cannot 'ſcape me; 'tis impoſſible he ſhould; he cannot creep into a half-penny purſe, nor into a pepper-box: but, leſt the devil that guides him ſhould aid him, I will ſearch

admit of Falſtaff's deſcription; but who but a Lilliputian could be "compaſſed in a *peck?*" MALONE.

[6] — *kidney*;] *Kidney* in this phraſe now ſignifies *kind* or *qualities*, but Falſtaff means, *a man whoſe kidnies are as fat as mine.* JOHNSON.

[7] — *addreſs me*—] i. e. make myſelf ready. So, in *K. Henry V*:

"To-morrow for our march we are *addreſt*." STEEVENS.

impoſſible places. Though what I am I cannot avoid, yet to be what I would not, ſhall not make me tame: if I have horns to make one mad, let the proverb go with me, I'll be horn-mad [s]. [*Exit.*

ACT IV. SCENE I [t].

The Street.

Enter Mrs. PAGE, *Mrs.* QUICKLY, *and* WILLIAM.

Mrs. Page. Is he at maſter Ford's already, think'ſt thou?

Quick. Sure, he is by this; or will be preſently: but truly, he is very courageous mad, about his throwing into the water. Miſtreſs Ford deſires you to come ſuddenly.

Mrs. Page. I'll be with her by and by; I'll but bring my young man here to ſchool: Look, where his maſter comes; 'tis a playing-day, I ſee.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS.

How now, ſir Hugh? no ſchool to-day?

Evans. No; maſter Slender is let the boys leave to play.

Quick. Bleſſing of his heart!

Mrs. Page. Sir Hugh, my huſband ſays, my ſon profits nothing in the world at his book; I pray you, aſk him ſome queſtions in his accidence.

[s] — *I'll be horn-mad.*] There is no image which our author appears ſo fond of, as that of cuckolds' horns. Scarcely a light character is introduced that does not endeavour to produce merriment by ſome alluſion to horned huſbands. As he wrote his plays for the ſtage rather than the preſs, he perhaps reviewed them ſeldom, and did not obſerve this repetition; or finding the jeſt, however frequent, ſtill ſucceſsful, did not think correction neceſſary. JOHNSON.

[t] This is a very trifling ſcene, of no uſe to the plot, and I ſhould think of no great delight to the audience; but Shakſpeare beſt knew what would pleaſe. JOHNSON.

We may ſuppoſe this ſcene to have been a very entertaining one to the audience for which it was written. Many of the old plays exhibit pedants inſtructing their ſcholars. STEEVENS.

Evans.

Evans. Come hither, William; hold up your head; come.

Mrs. Page. Come on, ſirrah; hold up your head; anſwer your maſter, be not afraid.

Evans. William, how many numbers is in nouns?

Will. Two.

Quick. Truly I thought there had been one number more; becauſe they ſay, od's nouns.

Evans. Peace your tatlings. What is *fair*, William?

Will. Pulcher.

Quick. Poulcats! there are fairer things than poulcats, ſure.

Evans. You are a very ſimplicity 'oman; I pray you, peace. What is *Lapis*, William?

Will. A ſtone.

Evans. And what is a ſtone, William?

Will. A pebble.

Evans. No, it is *Lapis*; I pray you, remember in your prain.

Will. Lapis.

Evans. That is a good William. What is he, William, that does lend articles?

Will. Articles are borrow'd of the pronoun; and be thus declined, *Singulariter, nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc.*

Evans. Nominativo, hig, hag, hog;—pray you, mark: *genitivo, hujus*: Well, what is your *accuſative caſe?*

Will. Accuſativo, hinc.

Evans. I pray you, have your remembrance, child; *Accuſativo, hing, hang, hog.*

Quick. Hang hog is Latin for bacon, I warrant you.

Evans. Leave your prabbles, 'oman. What is the focative caſe, William?

Will. O—*vocativo*, O.

Evans. Remember, William; focative is, *caret.*

Quick. And that's a good root.

Evans. 'Oman, forbear.

Mrs. Page. Peace.

Evans. What is your *genitive caſe plural*, William?

Will. Genitive caſe?

Evans. Ay.

Will.

Will. Genitive,—*horum, harum, horum*[2].

Quick. 'Vengeance of *Jenny's* caſe? fie on her!—never name her, child, if ſhe be a whore.

Evans. For ſhame, 'oman.

Quick. You do ill to teach the child ſuch words: he teaches him to hick and to hack[3], which they'll do faſt enough of themſelves; and to call, horum:—fie upon you!

Evans. 'Oman, art thou lunaticks? haſt thou no underſtandings for thy caſes, and the numbers of the genders? Thou art a fooliſh chriſtian creatures, as I would deſires.

Mrs. Page. Pr'ythee, hold thy peace.

Evans. Shew me now, William, ſome declenſions of your pronouns.

Will. Forſooth, I have forgot.

Evans. It is *ki, kæ, cod*; if you forget your *kies*, your *kæs*[4], and your *cods*, you muſt be preeches[5]. Go your ways, and play, go.

Mrs. Page. He is a better ſcholar, than I thought he was.

Evans. He is a good ſprag[6] memory. Farewell, miſtreſs Page.

Mrs. Page. Adieu, good ſir Hugh. Get you home, boy.—Come, we ſtay too long. [*Exeunt.*

[2] —*horum, harum, horum.*] Taylor, the water-poet, has borrowed this jeſt, ſuch as it is, in his character of a ſtrumpet:

"And come to *horum, harum, whorum*, then

"She proves a great proficient among men." STEEVENS.

[3] —*to* hick and to hack,] Sir William Blackſtone thought that this, "in Dame Quickly's language, ſignifies to *ſtammer* or *heſitate*, as boys do in ſaying their leſſons;" but Mr. Steevens, with more probability, ſuppoſes it ſignifies, in her language,—*to do miſchief*. MALONE.

[4] —*your* kies, *your* kæs &c.] All this ribaldry is likewiſe found in Taylor, the water-poet. See fol. edit. p. 106. STEEVENS.

[5] —*you muſt be* preeches.] Sir Hugh means to ſay—you muſt be *breech'd*: i. e flogg'd. To *breech* is to *flog*. So, in the *Taming of the Shrew*:

"I am no *breeching* ſcholar in the ſchools." STEEVENS.

[6] —*ſprag*—] I am told that this word is ſtill uſed by the common people in the neighbourhood of Bath, where it ſignifies *ready, alert, ſprightly*, and is pronounced as if it was written—*ſprack*. STEEVENS.

A *ſprackt* lad or wench, ſays Ray, is *apt to learn, ingenious*. REED.

SCENE II.

A Room in Ford's *Houſe.*

Enter FALSTAFF, *and Mrs.* FORD.

Fal. Miſtreſs Ford, your ſorrow hath eaten up my ſufferance: I ſee, you are obſequious in your love, and I profeſs requital to a hair's breadth; not only, miſtreſs Ford, in the ſimple office of love, but in all the accoutrement, complement, and ceremony of it. But are you ſure of your huſband now?

Mrs. Ford. He's a birding, ſweet ſir John.

Mrs. Page. [*within.*] What hoa, goſſip Ford! what hoa!

Mrs. Ford. Step into the chamber, ſir John. [*Exit* FALSTAFF.

Enter Miſtreſs PAGE.

Mrs. Page. How now, ſweetheart? who's at home beſides yourſelf?

Mrs. Ford. Why, none but mine own people.

Mrs. Page. Indeed?

Mrs. Ford. No, certainly:—Speak louder. [*Aſide.*

Mrs. Page. Truly, I am ſo glad you have nobody here.

Mrs. Ford. Why?

Mrs. Page. Why, woman, your huſband is in his old lunes [7] again: he ſo takes on [8] yonder with my huſband; ſo rails againſt all married mankind; ſo curſes all Eve's daughters, of what complexion ſoever; and ſo buffets himſelf on the forehead, crying, *Peer-out, peer-out* [9]! that

7 — *lunes*—] i. e. lunacy, frenzy. See a note on the *Winter's Tale*, Act II. ſc. ii. The folio reads *lines*, inſtead of *lunes*. The elder quartos —his old *vaine* again. STEEVENS.

The correction was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

8 — *he ſo* takes on—] *To take on*, which is now uſed for *to grieve*, ſeems to be uſed by our author for *to rage*. JOHNSON.

It is uſed by Naſh in *Pierce Pennileſs his Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, in the ſame ſenſe: "Some will *take on* like a madman, if they ſee a pig come to table." MALONE.

9 — *peer-out*,] That is, *appear horns*. Shakſpeare is at his old lunes. JOHNSON.

Shakſpeare

that any madneſs, I ever yet beheld, ſeem'd but tameneſs, civility, and patience, to this his diſtemper he is in now: I am glad the fat knight is not here.

Mrs. Ford. Why, does he talk of him?

Mrs. Page. Of none but him; and ſwears, he was carried out, the laſt time he ſearch'd for him, in a baſket: proteſts to my huſband, he is now here; and hath drawn him and the reſt of their company from their ſport, to make another experiment of his ſuſpicion: but I am glad the knight is not here; now he ſhall ſee his own foolery.

Mrs. Ford. How near is he, miſtreſs Page.

Mrs. Page. Hard by; at ſtreet end; he will be here anon.

Mrs. Ford. I am undone!—the knight is here.

Mrs. Page. Why, then you are utterly ſhamed, and he's but a dead man. What a woman are you?—Away with him, away with him; better ſhame than murther.

Mrs. Ford. Which way ſhould he go? how ſhould I beſtow him? Shall I put him into the baſket again?

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. No, I'll come no more i' the baſket: May I not go out, ere he come?

Mrs. Page. Alas, three of maſter Ford's brothers watch the door with piſtols, that none ſhall iſſue out; otherwiſe you might ſlip away ere he came. But what make you here[1]?

Fal. What ſhall I do?—I'll creep up into the chimney.

Mrs. Ford. There they always uſe to diſcharge their birding-pieces: Creep into the kiln-hole*.

Fal. Where is it?

Mrs. Ford. He will ſeek there on my word. Neither preſs, coffer, cheſt, trunk, well, vault, but he hath an

Shakſpeare here refers to the practice of children, when they call on a ſnail to puſh forth his horns:

Peer out, peer out, peer out of your hole,
Or elſe I'll beat you black as a coal. HENLEY.

[1] *But what make you here?*] i. e. What do you here? MALONE.

* *Creep into the kiln-hole.*] I ſuſpect, theſe words belong to Mrs. Page. See Mrs. Ford's next ſpeech. That, however, may be a ſecond thought; a correction of her former propoſal: but the other ſuppoſition is more probable. MALONE.

abſtract [2] for the remembrance of ſuch places, and goes to them by his note: There is no hiding you in the houſe.

Fal. I'll go out then.

Mrs. Page. If you go * out in your own ſemblance, you die, ſir John. Unleſs you go out diſguis'd,—

Mrs. Ford. How might we diſguiſe him?

Mrs. Page. Alas the day, I know not. There is no woman's gown big enough for him; otherwiſe, he might put on a hat, a muffler, and a kerchief, and ſo eſcape.

Fal. Good hearts, deviſe ſomething: any extremity, rather than a miſchief.

Mrs. Ford. My maid's aunt, the fat woman of Brentford, has a gown above.

Mrs. Page. On my word, it will ſerve him; ſhe's as big as he is: and there's her thrum'd hat, and her muffler too [3]: Run up, ſir John.

Mrs. Ford. Go, go, ſweet ſir John: miſtreſs Page, and I, will look ſome linen for your head.

Mrs. Page. Quick, quick; we'll come dreſs you ſtraight: put on the gown the while. [*Exit* FALSTAFF.

Mrs. Ford. I would, my huſband would meet him in this ſhape: he cannot abide the old woman of Brentford; he ſwears, ſhe's a witch; forbade her my houſe, and hath threaten'd to beat her.

Mrs. Page. Heaven guide him to thy huſband's cudgel; and the devil guide his cudgel afterwards!

Mrs. Ford. But is my huſband coming?

Mrs. Page. Ay, in good ſadneſs, is he; and talks of the baſket too, howſoever he hath had intelligence.

Mrs. Ford. We'll try that; for I'll appoint my men to carry

[2] — *an* abſtract] i. e. a ſhort note or deſcription. So, in *Hamlet*:— "the *abſtract* and brief chronicle of the times." MALONE.

* *Mrs.* Page. *If you go* &c.] In the firſt folio, by the miſtake of the compoſitor, the name of Mrs. *Ford* is prefixed to this ſpeech and the next. For the correction now made the preſent editor is anſwerable. The editor of the ſecond folio put the two ſpeeches together, and gave them both to Mrs. Ford. The threat of danger from *without* aſcertains the firſt to belong to Mrs. Page. See her ſpeech on her entrance. MALONE.

[3] — *her* thrum'd *hat, and her* muffler *too*:] The *thrum* is the end of a weaver's warp, and we may ſuppoſe, was uſed for the purpoſe of making coarſe hats. A *muffler* was ſome part of dreſs that covered the face. STEEVENS.

A *thrum'd*

carry the baſket again, to meet him at the door with it, as they did laſt time.

Mrs. Page. Nay, but he'll be here preſently: let's go dreſs him like the witch of Brentford.

Mrs. Ford. I'll firſt direct my men, what they ſhall do with the baſket. Go up, I'll bring linen for him ſtraight. [*Exit.*

Mrs. Page. Hang him, diſhoneſt varlet! we cannot miſuſe him enough[4].
We'll leave a proof, by that which we will do,
Wives may be merry, and yet honeſt too:
We do not act, that often jeſt and laugh;
'Tis old but true, *Still ſwine eat all the draugh*[5]. [*Exit.*

Re-enter Mrs. FORD, *with two Servants.*

Mrs. Ford. Go, ſirs, take the baſket again on your ſhoulders; your maſter is hard at door; if he bid you ſet it down, obey him: quickly, diſpatch. [*Exit.*

1. *Serv.* Come, come, take it up.

2. *Serv.* Pray heaven, it be not full of knight[6] again.

1. *Serv.* I hope not; I had as lief bear ſo much lead.

Enter FORD, PAGE, SHALLOW, CAIUS, *and Sir* Hugh EVANS.

Ford. Ay, but if it prove true, maſter Page, have you any way then to unfool me again?—Set down the baſket, villain:—Somebody call my wife:—You youth in a baſket, come out here[7]!—O, you panderly raſcals! there's a knot, a gang[8], a pack, a conſpiracy, againſt me: Now

A *thrum'd* hat was made of very coarſe woollen cloth. See Minſheu's DICT. 1617, in v. *Thrum'd* is, *formed of thrums.* MALONE.

4 — *miſuſe* him *enough.*] *Him* which was accidentally omitted in the firſt folio, was inſerted by the editor of the ſecond. MALONE.

5 *Still ſwine* &c.] This is a proverbial ſentence. See Ray's Collection. MALONE.

6 — *of knight*] Thus the only authentick copy, the firſt folio. The editor of the ſecond reads—*of the* knight; I think, unneceſſarily. We have juſt had—"hard *at door.*" MALONE.

7 You *youth in a baſket* come out here!] This reading I have adopted from the early quarto. The folio has only—"Youth in a baſket!" MALONE.

8 — *a* gang,] Old Copy—*gin.* Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

ſhall the devil be ſhamed. What! wife, I ſay! come, come forth; behold what honeſt clothes you ſend forth to bleaching.

Page. Why, this paſſes[9]! Maſter Ford, you are not to go looſe any longer; you muſt be pinion'd.

Evans. Why, this is lunatics! this is mad as a mad dog!

Shal. Indeed, maſter Ford, this is not well; indeed.

Enter Mrs. FORD.

Ford. So ſay I too, ſir.—Come hither, miſtreſs Ford; miſtreſs Ford, the honeſt woman, the modeſt wife, the virtuous creature, that hath the jealous fool to her huſband!—I ſuſpect without cauſe, miſtreſs, do I?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven be my witneſs, you do, if you ſuſpect me in any diſhoneſty.

Ford. Well ſaid, brazen-face; hold it out.—Come forth, ſirrah. [*Pulls the clothes out of the baſket.*

Page. This paſſes.

Mrs. Ford. Are you not aſhamed? let the clothes alone.

Ford. I ſhall find you anon.

Evans. 'Tis unreaſonable! Will you take up your wife's clothes? Come away.

Ford. Empty the baſket, I ſay.

Mrs. Ford. Why, man, why,—

Ford. Maſter Page, as I am a man, there was one conveyed out of my houſe yeſterday in this baſket; Why may not he be there again? In my houſe I am ſure he is: my intelligence is true; my jealouſy is reaſonable: Pluck me out all the linen.

Mrs. Ford. If you find a man there, he ſhall die a flea's death.

Page. Here's no man.

Shal. By my fidelity, this is not well, maſter Ford; this wrongs you[1].

Evans. Maſter Ford, you muſt pray, and not follow the imaginations of your own heart: this is jealouſies.

[9] — *this* paſſes!] See p. 205, note 4. MALONE.

[1] — *this wrongs you.*] This is below your character, unworthy of your underſtanding, injurious to your honour. So, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Bianca, being ill treated by her rugged ſiſter, ſays,

"You *wrong* me much, indeed you *wrong* yourſelf." JOHNSON.

Ford,

Ford. Well, he's not here I ſeek for.

Page. No, nor no where elſe but in your brain.

Ford. Help to ſearch my houſe this one time: if I find not what I ſeek, ſhew no colour for my extremity, let me for ever be your table-ſport; let them ſay of me, As jealous as Ford, that ſearch'd a hollow walnut for his wife's leman [2]. Satisfy me once more; once more ſearch with me.

Mrs. Ford. What hoa, miſtreſs Page! come you, and the old woman down; my huſband will come into the chamber.

Ford. Old woman! What old woman's that?

Mrs. Ford. Why, it is my maid's aunt of Brentford.

Ford. A witch, a quean, an old cozening quean! Have I not forbid her my houſe? She comes of errands, does ſhe? We are ſimple men; we do not know what's brought to paſs under the profeſſion of fortune-telling. She works by charms [3], by ſpells, by the figure, and ſuch daubery [4] as this is; beyond our element: we know nothing.—Come down, you witch, you hag you; come down, I ſay.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, good, ſweet huſband;—good gentlemen, let him not ſtrike the old woman [5].

Enter FALSTAFF *in women's clothes, led by Mrs.* PAGE.

Mrs. Page. Come, mother Prat, come, give me your hand.

2 — his wife's *leman*] *Leman*, i. e. *lover*, is derived from *leef*, Dutch, *beloved*, and *man*. STEEVENS.

3 *She works by charms*, &c.] Concerning ſome *old woman of Brentford*, there are ſeveral ballads. *Julian of Brentford's laſt Will and Teſtament* was entered on the Stationers' books in March, 1599. STEEVENS.

This without doubt was the perſon here alluded to; for in the early quarto Mrs. Ford ſays—"my maid's aunt, *Gillian* of *Brentford*, hath a gown above." So alſo, in *Weſtward Hoe*, a com. 1607: "I doubt that old hag, *Gillian of Braineford*, has *bewitch'd* me." MALONE.

4 — ſuch *daubery*—] *Dauberies* are *diſguiſes*. So, in *K. Lear*, Edgar ſays, "I cannot *daub* it further." STEEVENS.

Perhaps rather—ſuch *groſs falſhood*, and *impoſition*. In our author's time a *dauber* and a *plaſterer* were ſynonymous. See Minſheu's DICT. in v. "To lay it on with a *trowel*" was a phraſe of that time, applied to one who uttered a groſs lie. MALONE.

5 — *let him* not *ſtrike the old woman.*] *Not*, which was inadvertently omitted in the firſt folio, was ſupplied by the ſecond. MALONE.

Ford. I'll *prat* her:—Out of my door, you witch! [*beats him.*] you rag[6], you baggage, you poulcat, you ronyon[7]! out! out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you. [*Exit* FALSTAFF.

Mrs. Page. Are you not aſhamed? I think, you have kill'd the poor woman.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, he will do it:—'Tis a goodly credit for you.

Ford. Hang her, witch!

Evans. By yea and no, I think, the 'oman is a witch indeed: I like not when a 'oman has a great peard; I ſpy a great peard under his muffler[8].

Ford. Will you follow, gentlemen? I beſeech you follow; ſee but the iſſue of my jealouſy: if I cry out thus upon no trail[9], never truſt me when I open again.

Page. Let's obey his humour a little further: Come, gentlemen. [*Exeunt* PAGE, FORD, SHAL. *and* EVANS.

Mrs. Page. Truſt me, he beat him moſt pitifully.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, by the maſs that he did not; he beat him moſt unpitifully, methought.

Mrs. Page. I'll have the cudgel hallow'd, and hung o'er the altar; it hath done meritorious ſervice.

6 — *you* rag,] This opprobrious term is again uſed in *Timon of Athens*: "—thy father, that poor *rag*—." Mr. Rowe unneceſſarily diſmiſſed this word, and introduced *bag* in its place. MALONE.

7 — *ronyon!*] *Ronyon*, applied to a woman, means, as far as can be traced, much the ſame with *ſcall* or *ſcab* ſpoken of a man. JOHNSON.

From *Rogneux*, Fr. So, in *Macbeth*:

"Aroint thee, witch, the rump-fed *ronyon* cries." STEEVENS.

8 *I ſpy a great peard under* his *muffler.*] One of the marks of a ſuppoſed witch was a *beard*. See *Macbeth*. STEEVENS.

Should we not read—*under her* muffler? MALONE.

As the ſecond ſtratagem, by which Falſtaff eſcapes, is much the groſſer of the two, I wiſh it had been practiſed firſt. It is very unlikely that Ford, having been ſo deceived before, and knowing that he had been deceived, would ſuffer him to eſcape in ſo ſlight a diſguiſe. JOHNSON.

9 — *cry out thus upon no trail,*] The expreſſion is taken from the hunters. *Trail* is the ſcent left by the paſſage of the game. *To cry out*, is to *open* or *bark*. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

"How chearfully on the falſe *trail* they *cry*:
"Oh! this is counter, ye falſe Daniſh *dogs!*" STEEVENS.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. What think you? May we, with the warrant of woman-hood, and the witneſs of a good conſcience, purſue him with any further revenge?

Mrs. Page. The ſpirit of wantonneſs is, ſure, ſcared out of him; if the devil have him not in fee-ſimple, with fine and recovery, he will never, I think, in the way of waſte, attempt us again[1].

Mrs. Ford. Shall we tell our huſbands how we have ſerved him?

Mrs. Page. Yes, by all means; if it be but to ſcrape the figures out of your huſband's brains. If they can find in their hearts, the poor unvirtuous fat knight ſhall be any further afflicted, we two will ſtill be the miniſters.

Mrs. Ford. I'll warrant, they'll have him publickly ſhamed: and, methinks, there would be no period[2] to the jeſt, ſhould he not be publickly ſhamed.

Mrs. Page. Come, to the forge with it then, ſhape it: I would not have things cool. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Hoſt *and* BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir, the Germans deſire to have three of your horſes: the duke himſelf will be to-morrow at court, and they are going to meet him.

Hoſt. What duke ſhould that be, comes ſo ſecretly? I hear not of him in the court: Let me ſpeak with the gentlemen; they ſpeak Engliſh?

Bard. Ay, ſir; I'll call them to you[3].

[1] — *in the way of waſte, attempt us again.*] i. e. he will not make further attempts to ruin us, by corrupting our virtue, and deſtroying our reputation. STEEVENS.

[2] — *no period*—] Shakſpeare ſeems by *no period*, to mean, *no proper cataſtrophe.* STEEVENS.

Our author often uſes *period*, for *end* or *concluſion.* So, in *King Richard III*:

"O, let me make the *period to* my curſe. MALONE.

[3] —*I'll call* them *to you.*] Old Copy—I'll call *him.* Corrected in the third folio. MALONE.

Hoſt.

Hoſt. They ſhall have my horſes; but I'll make them pay, I'll ſauce them: they have had my houſes a week at command: I have turn'd away my other gueſts: they muſt come off[4]; I'll ſauce them: Come. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

A Room in Ford's *Houſe.*

Enter PAGE, FORD, *Mrs.* PAGE, *Mrs.* FORD, *and Sir* Hugh EVANS.

Evans. 'Tis one of the beſt diſcretions of a 'oman as ever I did look upon.

Page. And did he ſend you both theſe letters at an inſtant?

Mrs. Page. Within a quarter of an hour.

Ford. Pardon me, wife: Henceforth do what thou wilt;
I rather will ſuſpect the ſun with cold[5],
Than thee with wantonneſs: now doth thy honour ſtand,
In him that was of late an heretick,
As firm as faith.

Page. 'Tis well, 'tis well; no more.
Be not as extreme in ſubmiſſion,
As in offence;
But let our plot go forward: let our wives
Yet once again, to make us publick ſport,
Appoint a meeting with this old fat fellow,
Where we may take him, and diſgrace him for it.

Ford. There is no better way than that they ſpoke of.

Page. How! to ſend him word they'll meet him in the park at midnight! Fie, fie; he'll never come.

4 — *they muſt* come off;] *To come off*, is, *to pay*. In this ſenſe it is uſed by Decker, Heywood, Middleton, Maſſinger, and other comick writers. STEEVENS.

In John Heywood's play of *the Four P's*, the pedlar ſays,

" ——— if you be willing to buy,
" Lay down money; *come off* quickly." FARMER.

The phraſe is uſed by Chaucer, *Friar's Tale*, 338, edit. Urry. TYRWITT.

5 — *with* cold,] The old copy reads—*gold*. The emendation is Mr. Rowe's. MALONE.

Evans.

Evans. You ſay, he has been thrown in the rivers; and has been grievouſly peaten, as an old 'oman: methinks, there ſhould be terrors in him, that he ſhould not come; methinks, his fleſh is puniſh'd, he ſhall have no deſires.

Page. So think I too.

Mrs. Ford. Deviſe but how you'll uſe him when he comes,
And let us two deviſe to bring him thither.

Mrs. Page. There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windſor foreſt,
Doth all the winter time, at ſtill midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;
And there he blaſts the tree, and takes the cattle [6];
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and ſhakes a chain
In a moſt hideous and dreadful manner:
You have heard of ſuch a ſpirit; and well you know,
The ſuperſtitious idle-headed eld [7]
Receiv'd, and did deliver to our age,
This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.

Page. Why, yet there want not many, that do fear
In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak:
But what of this?

Mrs. Ford. Marry, this is our device;
That Falſtaff at that oak ſhould meet with us,
Diſguis'd like Herne, with huge horns on his head [8].

Page.

[6] — *and* takes *the cattle*;] To *take*, in Shakſpeare, ſignifies to ſeize or ſtrike with a diſeaſe, to blaſt. So, in *Lear*:

" —— Strike her young bones,
" Ye *taking* airs, with lameneſs." JOHNSON.

[7] — idle-headed *eld*] *Eld* ſeems to be uſed here, for what our poet calls in *Macbeth*—the *olden time*. It is employed in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, to expreſs *age* and *decrepitude*:

" ——— doth beg the alms
" Of palſied *eld*." STEEVENS.

I rather imagine it is uſed here for *old perſons*. MALONE.

[8] *Diſguis'd like Herne, with huge horns on his head.*] This line, which is not in the folio, was properly reſtored from the old quarto by Mr. Theobald. He at the ſame time introduced another,—" We'll ſend him word to meet us in the field,"—which is clearly unneceſſary, and

Page. Well, let it not be doubted but he'll come,
And in this ſhape: When you have brought him thither,
What ſhall be done with him? what is your plot?

Mrs. Page. That likewiſe have we thought upon, and thus:
Nan Page my daughter, and my little ſon,
And three or four more of their growth, we'll dreſs
Like urchins, ouphes[9], and fairies, green and white,
With rounds of waxen tapers on their heads,
And rattles in their hands; upon a ſudden,
As Falſtaff, ſhe, and I, are newly met,
Let them from forth a ſaw-pit ruſh at once
With ſome diffuſed ſong[1]; upon their ſight,
We two in great amazedneſs will fly:
Then let them all encircle him about,
And, fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean knight[2];
And aſk him, why, that hour of fairy revel,
In their ſo ſacred paths he dares to tread
In ſhape prophane.

and indeed improper; for the word *field* relates to two preceding lines of the quarto, which have not been introduced:

" Now, for that Falſtaff has been ſo deceiv'd,
" As that he dares not venture to the *houſe*,
" We'll ſend him word to meet us in the *field*." MALONE.

9 — *urchins, ouphes,*—] The primitive ſignification of *urchin* is a hedge-hog. Hence it comes to ſignify any thing little and dwarfiſh. *Ouph* is the Teutonic word for a *fairy* or *goblin*. STEEVENS.

1 *With ſome* diffuſed *ſong*;] i. e. wild, irregular, diſcordant. That this was the meaning of the word, I have ſhewn in a note on another play by a paſſage from one of Greene's pamphlets, in which he calls a dreſs of which the different parts were made after the faſhions of different countries, " a *diffuſed* attire." MALONE.

2 *And, fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean knight*;] This uſe of *to* in compoſition with verbs, is very common in Gower and Chaucer, but muſt have been rather antiquated in the time of Shakſpeare. See Gower, *De Confeſſione Amantis*, B. iv. fol. 7.

" All *to-tore* is myn araie."

And Chaucer, *Reeve's Tale*, 1169:

" ——— mouth and noſe *to-broke*." TYRWHITT.

This uſe of the prepoſition *to* was not entirely antiquated in our author's time. See Spenſer, B. IV. c. 7. B. V. c. 8. STEEVENS.

So Milton, in his Maſque:

" Were all *to*-ruffled, and ſometimes impair'd. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. And till he tell the truth,
Let the ſuppoſed fairies pinch him ſound [3],
And burn him with their tapers.

Mrs. Page. The truth being known,
We'll all preſent ourſelves; diſ-horn the ſpirit,
And mock him home to Windſor.

Ford. The children muſt
Be practis'd well to this, or they'll ne'er do't.

Evans. I will teach the children their behaviours; and I will be like a jack-an-apes alſo, to burn the knight with my taber.

Ford. That will be excellent. I'll go buy them vizards.

Mrs. Page. My Nan ſhall be the queen of all the fairies, Finely attired in a robe of white.

Page. That ſilk will I go buy;—and in that time [4]
Shall maſter Slender ſteal my Nan away, [*Aſide.*
And marry her at Eton.—Go, ſend to Falſtaff ſtraight.

Ford. Nay, I'll to him again in name of Brook:
He'll tell me all his purpoſe: Sure he'll come.

Mrs. Page. Fear not you that: Go get us properties [5]
And tricking for our fairies [6].

Evans. Let us about it: It is admirable pleaſures, and fery honeſt knaveries.

[*Exeunt* PAGE, FORD, *and* EVANS.

Mrs. Page. Go, miſtreſs Ford,
Send Quickly to Sir John, to know his mind.

[*Exit Mrs.* FORD.

I'll to the doctor; he hath my good will,
And none but he, to marry with Nan Page.
That Slender, though well landed, is an ideot;
And he my huſband beſt of all affects:
The doctor is well money'd, and his friends

[3] — *pinch him* ſound,] i. e. *ſoundly*. The adjective uſed as an adverb. STEEVENS.

[4] — *and, in* that time] *That time* relates to the time of the maſk with which Falſtaff was to be entertained. WARBURTON.

[5] — *properties*—] *Properties* are little incidental neceſſaries to a theatre, excluſive of ſcenes and dreſſes. STEEVENS.

[6] — tricking *for our fairies.*] To *trick*, is to dreſs out. STEEVENS.

Potent

Potent at court; he, none but he, ſhall have her,
Though twenty thouſand worthier come to crave her.
[*Exit.*

SCENE V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Hoſt *and* SIMPLE.

Hoſt. What would'ſt thou have, boor? what, thick-ſkin[7]? ſpeak, breathe, diſcuſs; brief, ſhort, quick, ſnap.

Simp. Marry, ſir, I come to ſpeak with ſir John Falſtaff from Maſter Slender.

Hoſt. There's his chamber, his houſe, his caſtle, his ſtanding-bed, and truckle-bed[8]; 'tis painted about with the ſtory of the prodigal, freſh and new: Go, knock and call; he'll ſpeak like an *Anthropophaginian*[9] unto thee: Knock, I ſay.

Simp. There's an old woman, a fat woman gone up into his chamber; I'll be ſo bold as ſtay, ſir, till ſhe come down: I come to ſpeak with her, indeed.

Hoſt. Ha! a fat woman! the knight may be robb'd: I'll call.—Bully knight! Bully ſir John! ſpeak from thy lungs military: Art thou there? it is thine hoſt, thine Epheſian*, calls.

Fal. [*above.*] How now, mine hoſt?

Hoſt. Here's a Bohemian-Tartar[1] tarries the coming down

7 — what, *thick-ſkin?*] I meet with this term of abuſe in Warner's *Albions England*, 1602, book vi. chap. 30:

" That he ſo foul a *thick-ſkin* ſhould ſo fair a lady catch." STEEV.

8 — *ſtanding bed, and truckle-bed*;] The uſual furniture of chambers in that time was a ſtanding-bed, under which was a *trochel, truckle*, or *running-bed*. In the ſtanding-bed lay the maſter, and in the truckle-bed the ſervant. So, in Hall's *Account of a ſervile tutor*:

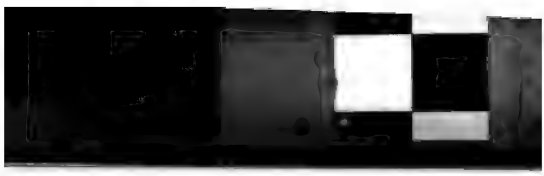
" He lieth in the *truckle-bed*,
" While his young maſter lieth o'er his head." JOHNSON.

9 — *Anthropophaginian*—] i. e. a cannibal. See *Othello*, Act I. ſc. iii. It is here uſed as a ſounding word to aſtoniſh *Simple*. STEEVENS.

* — *thine* Epheſian,] This was a cant term of the time. So, in *K. Henry IV.* P. II. Act II. ſc. ii. " *P. Henry.* What company? *Page. Epheſians*, my lord, of the old church." See the note there. MALONE.

1 — *Bohemian-Tartar*—] The French call a *Bohemian* what we call a *Gypſey*; but I believe the Hoſt means nothing more than, by a wild appellation, to inſinuate that Simple makes a ſtrange appearance. JOHNS.

In



down of thy fat woman: Let her deſcend, bully, Let her deſcend; my chambers are honourable: Fie! privacy? fie!

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. There was, mine hoſt, an old fat woman even now with me; but ſhe's gone.

Simp. Pray you, ſir, was't not the wiſe woman of Brentford[2]?

Fal. Ay, marry was it, muſſel-ſhell[3]; What would you with her?

Simp. My maſter, ſir, my maſter Slender, ſent to her, ſeeing her go thorough the ſtreets, to know, ſir, whether one Nym, ſir, that beguiled him of a chain, had the chain, or no.

Fal. I ſpake with the old woman about it.

Simp. And what ſays ſhe, I pray, ſir?

Fal. Marry, ſhe ſays, that the very ſame man, that beguiled maſter Slender of his chain, cozen'd him of it.

Simp. I would, I could have ſpoken with the woman herſelf; I had other things to have ſpoken with her too, from him.

Fal. What are they? let us know.

Hoſt. Ay, come; quick.

Simp. I may not conceal them, ſir*.

Hoſt. Conceal them, or thou dieſt.

Simp. Why, ſir, they were nothing but about miſtreſs Anne Page; to know, if it were my maſter's fortune to have her, or no.

---

a In Germany, there were ſeveral companies of vagabonds, &c. called *Tartars* and Zigens. "Theſe are the ſame in my opinion," ſays Mezeray. "as thoſe the French call *Bohemians*, and the Engliſh Gypſies." Bulteel's *Tranſlation of Mezeray's Hiſt. of France*, ad. an. 1417. TOLLET.

2 — *the* wiſe woman *of Brentford?*] In our author's time female dealers in palmiſtry and fortune-telling were uſually denominated *wiſe women*. So the perſon from whom Heywood's play of *The wiſe woman of Hogſdon*, 1638, takes its title, is employed in anſwering many ſuch queſtions as are the object of Simple's enquiry. REED.

3 — *muſſel-ſhell*;] He calls poor Simple *muſſel-ſhell*, becauſe he ſtands with his mouth open. JOHNSON.

* Simp. *I may* &c.] In the old copy this ſpeech is given to Falſtaff. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. I mention this error, becauſe it juſtifies other ſimilar corrections that have been made. See pp. 194, 276. MALONE.

Fal.

Fal. 'Tis, 'tis his fortune.

Simp. What, ſir?

Fal. To have her,—or no: Go; ſay, the woman told me ſo.

Simp. May I be ſo bold to ſay ſo, ſir?

Fal. Ay, ſir Tike; who more bold[4]?

Simp. I thank your worſhip: I ſhall make my maſter glad with theſe tidings. [*Exit* SIMPLE.

Hoſt. Thou art clerkly[5], thou art clerkly, ſir John: Was there a wiſe woman with thee?

Fal. Ay, that there was, mine hoſt; one, that hath taught me more wit than ever I learn'd before in my life: and I paid nothing for it neither, but was paid[6] for my learning.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Out, alas, ſir! cozenage! meer cozenage!

Hoſt. Where be my horſes? ſpeak well of them, varletto.

Bard. Run away with the cozeners: for ſo ſoon as I came beyond Eton, they threw me off, from behind one of them, in a ſlough of mire; and ſet ſpurs, and away, like three German devils, three Doctor Fauſtus's[7].

Hoſt. They are gone but to meet the duke, villain: do not ſay, they be fled; Germans are honeſt men.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS.

Evans. Where is mine hoſt?

Hoſt. What is the matter, ſir?

Evans. Have a care of your entertainments: there is a

4 *Ay, Sir* Tike; *who more bold?*] The folio reads—Ay, Sir, *Like &c.* The emendation, which is ſupported by the old quarto, (where we find Ay, *Tike*, &c.) was ſuggeſted by Dr. Farmer. MALONE.

5 —*clerkly*,—] i. e. ſcholar-like. STEEVENS.

6 *I* paid *nothing for it neither, but was* paid—] He alludes to the beating which he had juſt received. The ſame play on words occurs in *Cymbeline*, Act V. "—ſorry you have *paid* too much, and ſorry that you are *paid* too much." STEEVENS.

To *pay* in our author's time often ſignified to *beat*. So, in *K. Henry IV.*, P. I. "—ſeven of the eleven I *paid*." See Vol. II. p. 183. MALONE.

7 —three *German* devils, three *Doctor Fauſtus's.*] *John Fauſt*, commonly called *Doctor Fauſtus*, was a *German*. STEEVENS.

friend of mine come to town, tells me, there is three couzin germans, that has cozen'd all the hoſts of Readings, of Maidenhead, of Colebrook, of horſes and money. I tell you for good will, look you: you are wiſe, and full of gibes and vlouting-ſtogs; and 'tis not convenient you ſhould be cozen'd: Fare you well. [*Exit.*

Enter CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is mine *Hoſt de Jarterre?*

Hoſt. Here, maſter doctor, in perplexity, and doubtful dilemma.

Caius. I cannot tell vat is dat: But it is tell-a me, dat you make grand preparation for a duke *de Jarmany:* by my trot, dere is no duke, dat the court is know to come: I tell you for good vill: adieu. [*Exit.*

Hoſt. Hue and cry, villain, go:—aſſiſt me, knight; I am undone:—fly, run, hue and cry, villain! I am undone! [*Exeunt* Hoſt, *and* BARDOLPH.

Fal. I would, all the world might be cozen'd; for I have been cozen'd, and beaten too. If it ſhould come to the ear of the court, how I have been transform'd, and how my transformation hath been waſh'd and cudgel'd, they would melt me out of my fat, drop by drop, and liquor fiſhermen's boots with me; I warrant, they would whip me with their fine wits, till I were as creſt-fall'n as a dry'd pear. I never proſper'd ſince I foreſwore myſelf at *Primero*[8]. Well, if my wind were but long enough to ſay my prayers[9], I would repent.—

Enter

[8] —*at* Primero.] A game at cards. JOHNSON.

Primero was in Shakſpeare's time the faſhionable game. In the Earl of Northumberland's letters about the powder plot, Joſc. Percy was playing at *Primero* on a Sunday, when his uncle the conſpirator called on him at Eſſex Houſe. This game is again mentioned in our author's *Henry VIII.* PERCY.

"*Primero* and *Primaviſta*, two games of cardes. *Primum et primum viſum*, that is, firſt, and firſt ſeene, becauſe he that can ſhew ſuch an order of cardes, wins the game." See Minſheu's DICT. 1617.—In the *Sydney Papers*, Vol. II. p. 83, is the following account of an altercation that happened between our poet's generous patron, and one Willoughby, at this game: "The quarrel of my Lord Southampton to

Enter Miſtreſs QUICKLY.

Now! whence come you?

Quick. From the two parties, forſooth.

Fal. The devil take one party, and his dam the other, and ſo they ſhall be both beſtow'd! I have ſuffer'd more for their ſakes, more, than the villainous inconſtancy of man's diſpoſition is able to bear.

Quick. And have not they ſuffer'd? Yes, I warrant; ſpecioufly one of them; miſtreſs Ford, good heart, is beaten black and blue, that you cannot ſee a white ſpot about her.

Fal. What tell'ſt thou me of black and blue? I was beaten myſelf into all the colours of the rainbow; and I was like to be apprehended for the witch of Brentford; but that my admirable dexterity of wit, my counterfeiting the action of an old woman[1], deliver'd me, the knave conſtable had ſet me i'the ſtocks, i'the common ſtocks, for a witch.

Quick. Sir, let me ſpeak with you in your chamber: you ſhall hear how things go; and I warrant, to your con-

Ambroſe Willoughby grew upon this: That he, with Sir Walter Rawley and Mr. Parker, being at *Primero* in the preſence-chamber, the queen was gone to bed; and he being there, as ſquire of the body, deſired them to give over. Soon after he ſpoke to them againe, that if they would not leave, he would call in the guard to pull down the bord; which Sir Walter Rawley ſeeing, put up his money, and went his wayes; but my lotd Southampton took exceptions at hym, and told hym, he would remember yt: and ſo finding hym between the Tennis-Court wall and the garden, ſtrooke him; and Willoughby pull'd of ſome of his lockes." This happened in the beginning of 1598. MALONE.

9 —*to ſay my prayers,*] Theſe words were reſtored from the early quarto by Mr. Pope. They were probably omitted in the folio on account of the Stat. 3. Jac. I. ch. 21. MALONE.

[1] —*action of an* old *woman,*] Mr. Theobald reads *weld*-woman, i. e. frantick, crazy; but the reading of the old copy is fully ſupported by what Falſtaff ſays afterwards to Ford: "I went to her, Maſter Brook, as you ſee, like a poor old man; but I came from her, Maſter Brook, like a poor *old* woman." MALONE.

Falſtaff by counterfeiting ſuch weakneſs and infirmity, as would naturally be pitied in an old woman, averted the puniſhment to which he would otherwiſe have been ſubjected, on the ſuppoſition that he was a witch. STEEVENS.

tent.

tent. Here is a letter will ſay ſomewhat. Good hearts, what ado here is to bring you together! Sure, one of you does not ſerve heaven well[2], that you are ſo croſs'd.

Fal. Come up into my chamber. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VI.

Another Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FENTON *and* Hoſt.

Hoſt. Maſter Fenton, talk not to me; my mind is heavy, I will give over all.

Fent. Yet hear me ſpeak: Aſſiſt me in my purpoſe,
And, as I am a gentleman, I'll give thee
A hundred pound in gold, more than your loſs.

Hoſt. I will hear you, maſter Fenton; and I will, at the leaſt, keep your counſel.

Fent. From time to time I have acquainted you
With the dear love I bear to fair Anne Page;
Who, mutually, hath anſwered my affection
(So far forth as herſelf might be her chooſer,)
Even to my wiſh: I have a letter from her
Of ſuch contents as you will wonder at;
The mirth whereof's * ſo larded with my matter,
That neither, ſingly, can be manifeſted,
Without the ſhew of both;—wherein fat Falſtaff[3]

[2] *Sure, one of you does not ſerve heaven well,* &c.] The great fault of this play is the frequency of expreſſions ſo profane, that no neceſſity of preſerving character can juſtify them. There are laws of higher authority than thoſe of criticiſm. JOHNSON.

* *The mirth whereof's*—] Old Copy—*whereof.* The correction is Mr. Pope's. I am not ſure that it is neceſſary. *Whereof* might have been uſed as we ſhould now uſe *thereof.* "The mirth thereof *being* ſo larded," &c. MALONE.

[3] ——wherein *fat Falſtaff* &c.
Hath a great ſcene:] The firſt folio reads:
Without the ſhew of both: fat Falſtaff &c.
I have ſupplied the word that was probably omitted at the preſs, from the early quarto, where, in the correſponding place, we find—
Wherein fat Falſtaff hath a mighty ſcare [*ſcene*].
The editor of the ſecond folio, to ſupply the metre, arbitrarily reads,
Without the ſhew of both:—fat *Sir John* Falſtaff—. MALONE.

Hath a great ſcene: the image of the jeſt [4]
[*Shewing the letter.*
I'll ſhew you here at large. Hark, good mine hoſt:
To-night at Herne's oak, juſt 'twixt twelve and one,
Muſt my ſweet Nan preſent the fairy queen;
The purpoſe why, is here[5]; in which diſguiſe,
While other jeſts are ſomething rank on foot[6],
Her father hath commanded her to ſlip
Away with Slender, and with him at Eton
Immediately to marry: ſhe hath conſented:
Now, Sir,
Her mother, even ſtrong againſt that match[7],
And firm for Doctor Caius, hath appointed
That he ſhall likewiſe ſhuffle her away,
While other ſports are taſking of their minds[8],
And at the deanery, where a prieſt attends,
Straight marry her: to this her mother's plot
She, ſeemingly obedient, likewiſe hath
Made promiſe to the doctor:—Now, thus it reſts:
Her father means ſhe ſhall be all in white;
And in that habit, when Slender ſees his time
To take her by the hand, and bid her go,
She ſhall go with him:—her mother hath intended,
The better to denote [9] her to the doctor,

(For

4 — *the* image *of the jeſt*] *Image* is *repreſentation*. So, in *K. Richard III*:

" And liv'd by looking on his *images*." STEEVENS.

Theſe words allude to a cuſtom ſtill in uſe, of hanging out painted repreſentations of ſhows. HENLEY.

5 — *is* here;] i. e. in the letter. STEEVENS.

6 *While other jeſts are ſomething rank on foot,*] i. e. while they are hotly purſuing other merriment of their own. STEEVENS.

7 — even *ſtrong againſt that match,*] *Even* ſtrong, is *as ſtrong, with a ſimilar degree of ſtrength*. So, in *Hamlet*, " *even* chriſtian" is *fellow* chriſtian. STEEVENS.

8 — taſking *of their minds,*] So, in another play of our author:

" ——— ſome things of weight,

" That *taſk* our thoughts concerning us and France." STEEV.

9 — *to* denote—] In the Mſs. of our author's age *n* and *u* were formed ſo very much alike, that they are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable. Hence it was, that in the old copies of theſe plays one of theſe letters is frequently

(For they muſt all be maſk'd and vizarded,)
That, quaint in green [1], ſhe ſhall be looſe enrobed,
With ribbands pendant, flaring 'bout her head;
And when the doctor ſpies his vantage ripe,
To pinch her by the hand, and, on that token,
The maid hath given conſent to go with him.

Hoſt. Which means ſhe to deceive? father or mother?

Fent. Both, my good hoſt, to go along with me:
And here it reſts,—that you'll procure the vicar
To ſtay for me at church, 'twixt twelve and one,
And, in the lawful name of marrying,
To give our hearts united ceremony.

Hoſt. Well, huſband your device; I'll to the vicar:
Bring you the maid, you ſhall not lack a prieſt.

Fent. So ſhall I evermore be bound to thee;
Beſides, I'll make a preſent recompence. [*Exeunt.*

ly put for the other. From the cauſe aſſigned, or from an accidental inverſion of the letter *n* at the preſs, the firſt folio in the preſent inſtance reads—*deuote*, u being conſtantly employed in that copy inſtead of *v*. The ſame miſtake has happened in ſeveral other places. Thus, in *Much ado about Nothing*, 1623, we find, "he is *turu'd* orthographer," inſtead of *turn'd*. Again, in *Otbello*:—"to the contemplation, mark, and *deuotement* of her parts," inſtead of *denotement*. Again, in *King John*: This *expeditious* charge, inſtead of *expedition's*. Again, ibid: *involuerable* for *invulnerable*. Again, in *Hamlet*, 1605, we meet with this very word put by an error of the preſs for *denote*:

"Together with all forms, modes, ſhapes of grief,
"That can *deuote* me truly."

The preſent emendation, which was ſuggeſted by Mr. Steevens, is fully ſupported by a ſubſequent paſſage quoted by him:—"the white will *decipher* her well enough." MALONE.

[1] — quaint *in green*,] may mean fantaſtically dreſt in green. So, in Milton's *Maſque at Ludlow Caſtle*:

"——— left the place,
"And this *quaint* habit, breed aſtoniſhment."

In the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act III. ſc. i. *quaintly* is uſed for *ingeniouſly*:

"——— a ladder *quaintly* made of cords." STEEVENS.

In Daniel's SONNETS, 1594, it is uſed for *fantaſtick*:

"Prayers prevail not with a *quaint* diſdain." MALONE.

ACT V. SCENE I.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF *and Mrs.* QUICKLY.

Fal. Pr'ythee, no more prattling;—go.—I'll hold: This is the third time; I hope, good luck lies in odd numbers. Away, go; they ſay, there is divinity in odd numbers, either in nativity, chance, or death.—Away.

Quick. I'll provide you a chain; and I'll do what I can to get you a pair of horns.

Fal. Away, I ſay; time wears: hold up your head, and mince[1]. [*Exit Mrs.* QUICKLY.

Enter FORD.

How now, maſter Brook? Maſter Brook, the matter will be known to-night, or never. Be you in the Park about midnight, at Herne's oak, and you ſhall ſee wonders.

Ford. Went you not to her yeſterday, ſir, as you told me you had appointed?

Fal. I went to her, maſter Brook, as you ſee, like a poor old man: but I came from her, maſter Brook, like a poor old woman. That ſame knave, Ford her huſband, hath the fineſt mad devil of jealouſy in him, maſter Brook, that ever govern'd frenzy. I will tell you.—He beat me grievouſly, in the ſhape of a woman; for in the ſhape of man, maſter Brook, I fear not Goliah with a weaver's beam; becauſe I know alſo, life is a ſhuttle. I am in haſte; go along with me; I'll tell you all, maſter Brook. Since I pluck'd geeſe, play'd truant, and whipp'd top, I knew not what 'twas to be beaten, till lately. Follow me: I'll tell you ſtrange things of this knave Ford; on whom to-night I will be revenged, and I will deliver his wife into your hand.—Follow: Strange things in hand, maſter Brook! follow. *Exeunt.*

[1] —— *and of your head, and* mince.] To *mince* is to walk with affectation. So, in the *Merchant of Venice*:

"—— turn two *mincing* ſteps
"Into a manly ſtride." STEEVENS.

SCENE

SCENE II.

Windſor Park.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, *and* SLENDER.

Page. Come, come; we'll couch i' the caſtle-ditch, till we ſee the light of our fairies.—Remember, ſon Slender, my daughter[2].

Slen. Ay, forſooth; I have ſpoke with her, and we have a nay-word[3], how to know one another. I come to her in white, and cry, *mum*; ſhe cries, *budget*; and by that we know one another.

Shal. That's good too; But what needs either your *mum*, or her *budget*? the white will decipher her well enough.—It hath ſtruck ten o'clock.

Page. The night is dark; light and ſpirits will become it well. Heaven proſper our ſport! No man means evil but the devil[4], and we ſhall know him by his horns. Let's away; follow me. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

The Street in Windſor.

Enter Miſtreſs PAGE, *Mrs.* FORD, *and Dr.* CAIUS.

Mrs. Page. Maſter doctor, my daughter is in green: when you ſee your time, take her by the hand, away with her to the deanery, and diſpatch it quickly: Go before into the park; we two muſt go together.

Caius. I know vat I have to do; Adieu.

Mrs. Page. Fare you well, ſir. [*Exit* CAIUS.] My

[2] — *my* daughter.] The word *daughter* was inadvertently omitted in the firſt folio. The emendation was made by the editor of the ſecond. MALONE.

[3] — a *nay-word*,—] i. e. a watch-word. Mrs. Quickly has already uſed it in this ſenſe. STEEVENS.

4 *No* man *means evil but the devil*,] In the ancient interludes and moralities, the beings of ſupreme power, excellence, or depravity, are occaſionally ſtyled *men*. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Dogberry ſays, "God's a good *man*." Again, in *Jeronimo, or the Firſt Part of the Spaniſh Tragedy*, 1605:

"You're the laſt *man* I thought on, ſave the *devil*." STEEVENS.

husband will not rejoice ſo much at the abuſe of Falſtaff, as he will chuſe at the doctor's marrying my daughter; but 'tis no matter; better a little chiding, than a great deal of heart-break.

Mrs. Ford. Where is Nan now, and her troop of fairies? and the Welch devil, Hugh[5]?

Mrs. Page. They are all couch'd in a pit hard by Herne's oak[6], with obſcured lights; which, at the very inſtant of Falſtaff's and our meeting, they will at once diſplay to the night.

Mrs. Ford. That cannot chuſe but amaze him.

Mrs. Page. If he be not amazed, he will be mock'd; if he be amazed, he will every way be mock'd.

Mrs. Ford. We'll betray him finely.

Mrs. Page. Againſt ſuch lewdſters, and their lechery, Thoſe that betray them do no treachery.

Mrs. Ford. The hour draws on; To the oak, to the oak! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

Windſor Park.

Enter Sir Hugh Evans, *and Fairies.*

Evans. Trib, trib, fairies; come; and remember your parts: be pold, I pray you; follow me into the pit; and when I give the watch-'ords, do as I pid you; Come, come; trib, trib. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

Another part of the Park.

Enter Falstaff *diſguis'd, with a buck's head on.*

Fal. The Windſor bell hath ſtruck twelve; the minute

[5] — *and the Welch devil,* Hugh?] So afterwards: "Well ſaid, fairy *Hugh.*" The old copy reads—and the Welch devil *Herne.* Theobald ſaw the error, and ſubſtituted *Evans.* Malone.

I ſuppoſe only the letter *H.* was ſet down in the Mſ; and therefore, inſtead of *Hugh* (which ſeems to be the true reading,) the editors ſubſtituted *Herne.* Steevens.

[6] — *in a* pit *hard by* Herne's oak,] An *oak,* which may be that alluded to by Shakſpeare, is ſtill ſtanding cloſe to a *pit* in Windſor Foreſt. It is yet ſhewn as the *oak of Herne.* Steevens.

draws

draws on: Now, the hot-blooded gods aſſiſt me!—Remember, Jove, thou waſt a bull for thy Europa; love ſet on thy horns.—O powerful love! that, in ſome reſpects, makes a beaſt a man; in ſome other, a man a beaſt.—You were alſo, Jupiter, a ſwan, for the love of Leda;—O omnipotent love! how near the god drew to the complexion of a gooſe?—A fault done firſt in the form of a beaſt;—O Jove, a beaſtly fault! and then another fault in the ſemblance of a fowl; think on't, Jove; a foul fault.—When gods have hot backs, what ſhall poor men do[7]? For me, I am here a Windſor ſtag; and the fatteſt, I think, i' the foreſt: Send me a cool rut-time, Jove, or who can blame me to piſs my tallow[8]? Who comes here? my doe?

Enter Miſtreſs FORD *and Miſtreſs* PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John? art thou there, my deer? my male deer?

Fal. My doe with the black ſcut?—Let the ſky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of *Green Sleeves*; hail kiſſing-comfits, and ſnow eringoes; let there come a tempeſt of provocation[9], I will ſhelter me here.

[*embracing her.*

Mrs.

7 *When gods have hot backs, what ſhall poor men do?*] Shakſpeare had perhaps in his thoughts the argument which Cherea employed in a ſimilar ſituation. TER. *Eun.* Act III: ſc. v:

" ——— Quia conſimilem luſerat

" Jam olim ille ludum, impendio magis animus gaudebat mihi

" Deum ſeſe in hominem convertiſſe, atque per alienas tegulas

" Veniſſe clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum mulieri.

" At quem deum? qui templa cœli ſumma ſonitu concutit.

" *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem?* Ego vero illud ita feci, ac lubens."

A tranſlation of Terence was publiſhed in 1598. MALONE.

8 *Send me a cool rut-time, Jove; or who can blame me to* piſs my tallow?] This, I find, is technical. In Tuberville's *Booke of Hunting*, 1575: " During the time of their rut, the harts live with ſmall ſuſtenance.—The red muſhroome helpeth well to make them *pyſſe their greace*, they are then in ſo vehement heate, &c." FARMER.

In Ray's *Collection of Proverbs*, the phraſe is yet further explained: " *He has piſs'd his tallow.* This is ſpoken of bucks who grow lean after rutting-time, and may be applied to men." STEEVENS.

9 *Let the ſky rain* potatoes;—*hail* kiſſing comfits, *and ſnow eringoes; let there come a tempeſt of provocation,*—] Potatoes, when they were firſt introduced

Mrs. Ford. Miſtreſs Page is come with me, ſweetheart.

Fal. Divide me like a bribe-buck[1], each a haunch: I will keep my ſides to myſelf, my ſhoulders for the fellow of this walk[2], and my horns I bequeath your huſbands. Am I a woodman[3]? ha! Speak I like Herne the hunter? Why, now is Cupid a child of conſcience; he makes reſtitution. As I am a true ſpirit, welcome! [*Noiſe within.*

Mrs. Page. Alas! what noiſe?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven forgive our ſins!

Fal. What ſhall this be?

Mrs. Ford. } Away, away. [*They run off.*
Mrs. Page. }

Fal. I think the devil will not have me damn'd, leſt the oil that is in me ſhould ſet hell on fire; he would never elſe croſs me thus.

introduced into England, were ſuppoſed to be ſtrong provocatives. See Mr. Collins's note on a paſſage in *Troilus and Creſſida*, Act V. ſc. ii. *Kiſſing-comfits* were ſugar plums, perfumed to make the breath ſweet.

Holinſhed informs us, that in the year 1583, for the entertainment of prince Alaſco was performed "a verie ſtatelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the queen's banket (with Æneas' narration of the deſtruction of Troie,) was livelie deſcribed in a marchpaine patterne,—*the tempeſt wherein it hailed ſmall confects, rained roſe-water, and ſnew an artificial kind of ſnow*, all ſtrange, marvellous, and abundant." On this circumſtance very probably Shakſpeare was thinking, when he put the words quoted above into the mouth of Falſtaff. STEEVENS.

[1] — *like a* brib'd buck,] Thus all the old copies, miſtakingly: it muſt be *bribe-buck*; i. e. a buck ſent for a bribe. THEOBALD.

[2] — *my* ſhoulders *to the fellow of this* walk,] A *walk* is that diſtrict in a foreſt, to which the juriſdiction of a particular keeper extends. So, in Lodge's *Roſalynde*, 1592: "Tell me, foreſter, under whom maintaineſt thou thy *walke*?" MALONE.

To the keeper the *ſhoulders* and *humbles* belong as a perquiſite. GREY.

So in Holinſhed, 1586, Vol. I. p. 202: "The keeper by a cuſtom —hath the ſkin, head, *umbles*, chine, and *ſhoulders*." STEEVENS.

[3] *Am I a* woodman?] A *woodman* in its original ſignification meant an archer; but in our author's time it was ſometimes uſed in a wanton ſenſe. So Lucio ſays of the Duke, in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, "He's a better *woodman* than thou takeſt him for." It ſeems in the paſſage before us to have both ſenſes. MALONE.

Enter

Enter Sir Hugh Evans, *like a ſatyr*; Mrs. Quickly, *and* Pistol; Anne Page, *as the Fairy Queen, attended by her brother and others, dreſſed like fairies, with waxen tapers on their heads* [4].

Quick. Fairies, black, grey, green, and white,
You moon-ſhine revellers, and ſhades of night,
You orphan-heirs of fixed deſtiny [5],
Attend your office, and your quality [*].—
Crier Hobgoblin, make the fairy o-yes.

Piſt. Elves, liſt your names; ſilence, you airy toys [6]. *Cricket,*

4 This ſtage-direction I have formed on that of the old quarto, corrected by ſuch circumſtances as the poet introduced when he new-modeled his play. In the folio there is no direction whatſoever. Mrs. Quickly and Piſtol ſeem to have been but ill ſuited to the delivery of the ſpeeches here attributed to them; nor are either of thoſe perſonages named by Ford in a former ſcene, where the intended plot againſt Falſtaff is mentioned. It is highly probable, (as a modern editor has obſerved,) that the performer who had repreſented Piſtol, was afterwards, from neceſſity, employed among the fairies; and that his name thus crept into the copies. He here repreſents *Puck*, a part which in the old quarto is given to Sir Hugh. The introduction of Mrs. Quickly, however, cannot be accounted for in the ſame manner; for in the firſt ſketch in quarto, ſhe is particularly deſcribed as *the Queen of the Fairies*; a part which our author afterwards allotted to Anne Page. Malone.

5 *You* orphan-*heirs of fixed deſtiny*,] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *ouphen*; and not without plauſibility, as the word *ouphes* occurs both before and afterwards. But, I fancy, in acquieſcence to the vulgar doctrine, the addreſs in this line is to a part of the *troop*, as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* in reſpect of their real parents, and now only dependent on *deſtiny* herſelf. A few lines from Spenſer, B. iii. C. 3. ſt. 26. edit. 1590, will ſufficiently illuſtrate this paſſage:

" The man whom *heavens* have *ordaynd* to bee
" The ſpouſe of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall*.
" He wonneth in the land of *Fayeree*,
" Yet is no *Fary* borne, ne ſib at all
" To elfes, but ſprong of ſeed terreſtriall,
" And whilome by falſe *Fairies* ſtolen away,
" Whiles yet in infant cradle he did crall, &c." Farmer.

Dr. Warburton objects to their being *heirs* to Deſtiny, who was ſtill in being. But Shakſpeare, I believe, uſes *heirs*, with his uſual laxity, for *children*. So, to *inherit* is uſed in the ſenſe of to *poſſeſs*. Malone.

* — *and your* quality.] See p. 16, n. 3. and p. 162, n. 6. Malone.

6 *Crier Hobgoblin, make the fairy o-yes.*

Elves, liſt your names; *ſilence, you airy toys.*] Theſe two lines were certainly intended to rhime together, as the preceding and ſubſequent couplets

Crickets, to Windſor chimneys ſhalt thou leap:
Where fires thou find'ſt unrak'd, and hearths unſwept,
There pinch the maids as blue as bilberry [7]:
Our radiant queen hates ſluts, and ſluttery.

Fal. They are fairies; he, that ſpeaks to them, ſhall die:
I'll wink and couch; No man their works muſt eye.
[*Lies down upon his face.*

Evans. Where's *Pede*? Go you, and where you find a maid,
That, ere ſhe ſleep, has thrice her prayers ſaid,
Raiſe up the organs of her fantaſy,
Sleep ſhe as ſound as careleſs infancy;
But thoſe, as ſleep, and think not on their ſins,
Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, ſhoulders, ſides, and ſhins [8].

Quick, About, about;
Search Windſor caſtle, elves, within and out:
Strew good luck, ouphes, on every ſacred room [*];
That it may ſtand till the perpetual doom,

couplets do: and accordingly, in the old editions, the final words of each line are printed, *eyes* and *toyes*. This therefore is a ſtriking inſtance of the inconvenience which has ariſen from modernizing the orthography of Shakſpeare. TYRWHITT.

7 — *as* bilberry:] The *bilberry* is the *whortleberry*. Fairies were always ſuppoſed to have a ſtrong averſion to ſluttery. Thus, in the old ſong of *Robin Good Fellow*. See Dr. Percy's *Reliques*, &c. Vol. III:

"When houſe or hearth doth ſluttiſh lye,
"I pinch the maidens black and blue, &c." STEEVENS.

8 — *Go you, and where you find a maid,*
That, ere ſhe ſleep, hath thrice her prayers ſaid,
Raiſe up the organs of her fantaſy,
Sleep ſhe as ſound as careleſs infancy;
But thoſe, as ſleep, and think not on their ſins,
Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, ſhoulders, ſides, and ſhins.] i. e. Go you, and wherever you find a maid aſleep, that hath thrice prayed to the deity, *though*, in conſequence, of her innocence ſhe ſleep as ſoundly as an infant, elevate her fancy, and amuſe her tranquil mind with ſome delightful viſion; but thoſe whom you find aſleep, without having previouſly thought on their ſins, and prayed to heaven for forgiveneſs, pinch &c. It ſhould be remembered, that thoſe perſons who ſleep very ſoundly, ſeldom dream. Hence the injunction "to raiſe up the organs of her fantaſy," "Sleep ſhe &c." i. e. *though* ſhe ſleep as ſound &c.

Dr. Warburton, who appears to me to have totally miſunderſtood this paſſage, reads—*Rein* up &c. in which he has been followed, in my opinion too haſtily, by the ſubſequent editors. MALONE.

* — *on every ſacred room*;] See Chaucer's *Cant. Tales*, v. 3482, edit. Tyrwhitt. "On foure halves of the hous aboute," &c. MALONE.

In

In ſtate as wholeſome [9], as in ſtate 'tis fit;
Worthy the owner, and the owner it.
The ſeveral chairs of order look you ſcour
With juice of balm, and every precious flower [1]:
Each fair inſtalment coat, and ſeveral creſt,
With loyal blazon, evermore be bleſt!
And nightly, meadow-fairies, look, you ſing,
Like to the Garter's compaſs, in a ring:
The expreſſure that it bears, green let it be,
More fertile-freſh than all the field to ſee;
And, *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Penſe*, write,
In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white;
Like ſaphire, pearl, and rich embroidery,
Buckled below fair knight-hood's bending knee:
Fairies uſe flowers for their charactery [2].
Away; diſperſe: But, till 'tis one o'clock,
Our dance of cuſtom, round about the oak
Of Herne the hunter, let us not forget.

Evans. Pray you, lock hand in hand; yourſelves in order ſet:
And twenty glow-worms ſhall our lanthorns be,
To guide our meaſure round about the tree.
But, ſtay; I ſmell a man of middle earth [3].

9 — *as wholeſome,*] *Wholeſom* here ſignifies *integer.* He wiſhes the caſtle may ſtand in its preſent ſtate of perfection. WARBURTON.

1 *The ſeveral chairs of order look you ſcour*
With juice of balm, &c.] It was an article of our ancient luxury, to rub tables, &c. with aromatick herbs. Pliny informs us, that the Romans did the ſame, to drive away evil ſpirits. STEEVENS.

2 — *for their* charactery.] For the matter with which they make letters. JOHNSON.

3 *of middle earth.*] Spirits are ſuppoſed to inhabit the ethereal regions, and fairies to dwell under ground; men therefore are in a middle ſtation. JOHNSON.

So, in the ancient metrical romance of *Syr Guy of Warwick*, bl. l. no date:

"Thou mayſt them flea with dint of ſwearde,
"And win the fayreſt mayde *of middle erde.*"

Again, in Gower, *De Confeſſione Amantis*, fol. 26:

"Adam, for pride, loſt his price
"In *myddell erth.*" STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. Heavens defend me from that Welch fairy! leſt he tranſform me to a piece of cheeſe!

Piſt. Vile worm, thou waſt o'er-look'd even in thy birth[4].

Quick. With trial-fire touch me his finger-end:
If he be chaſte, the flame will back deſcend,
And turn him to no pain; but if he ſtart,
It is the fleſh of a corrupted heart.

Piſt. A trial, come.

Evans. Come, will this wood take fire?

[*They burn him with their tapers.*

Fal. Oh, oh, oh!

Quick. Corrupt, corrupt, and tainted in deſire!
About him, fairies; ſing a ſcornful rhime:
And, as you trip, ſtill pinch him to your time.

SONG. *Fie on ſinful phantaſy!*
Fie on luſt and luxury[5]*!*
Luſt is but a bloody fire[6],
Kindled with unchaſte deſire,
Fed in heart; whoſe flames aſpire,
As thoughts do blow them, higher and higher.
Pinch him, fairies, mutually;
Pinch him for his villainy;

4 Vile *worm, thou waſt o'er-look'd even in thy birth.*] The old copy reads—*vild.* That *vild*, which ſo often occurs in theſe plays, was not an error of the preſs, but the old ſpelling and the pronunciation of the time, appears from theſe lines of Heywood, in his *Pleaſant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637:

"EARTH. What goddeſs, or how *ſtyl'd?*
"AGE. *Age* am I call'd.
"EARTH. Hence, falſe virago *vild!*"

However, as the ſpelling of the original copy of our author's plays has not been adhered to in the modern editions, there is no reaſon why this in particular ſhould be preſerved. In a paſſage in the *Tempeſt*, I have inadvertently retained the old ſpelling of this word. MALONE.

5 — *and* luxury!] *Luxury* is here uſed for *incontinence.* So, in *K. Lear*: "To't *luxury*, pell-mell, for I lack ſoldiers." STEEVENS.

6 *Luſt is but a* bloody *fire,*] A *bloody fire*, means *a fire in the blood.* In *K. Henry IV.* P. II. Act IV. the ſame expreſſion occurs:

"Led on by *bloody* youth," &c.

i. e. ſanguine youth. STEEVENS.

So alſo, in *the Tempeſt*:

"— the ſtrongeſt oaths are ſtraw
"To *the fire i' the blood.*" MALONE.

Pinch

Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
Till candles, and ſtar-light, and moon-ſhine be out.

During this ſong, the fairies pinch Falſtaff[7]. *Doctor* Caius *comes one way, and ſteals away a fairy in green*; Slender *another way, and takes off a fairy in white*; *and* Fenton *comes, and ſteals away* Mrs. Anne Page. *A noiſe of hunting is made within. All the fairies run away.* Falſtaff *pulls off his buck's head, and riſes.*

Enter PAGE, FORD, *Mrs.* PAGE, *and Mrs.* FORD. *They lay hold on him.*

Page. Nay, do not fly: I think, we have watch'd you now;
Will none but Herne the hunter ſerve your turn?

Mrs. Page. I pray you, come; hold up the jeſt no higher:—
Now, good ſir John, how like you Windſor wives?
See you theſe, huſband? do not theſe fair yokes
Become the foreſt better than the town[8]?

Ford. Now, ſir, who's a cuckold now?—Maſter Brook, Falſtaff's a knave, a cuckoldly knave; here are his horns, maſter Brook: And, maſter Brook, he hath enjoyed nothing of Ford's but his buck-baſket, his cudgel, and twenty pounds of money; which muſt be paid to maſter Brook[9]; his horſes are arreſted for it, maſter Brook.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John, we have had ill luck; we could

[7] — *the* fairies pinch *Falſtaff.*] So, in Lilly's *Endymion*, 1591: "The fairies dance, and with a ſong pinch him." STEEVENS.

[8] *See you theſe, huſband? do not theſe fair* yokes *Become the foreſt better than the town?*] Mrs. Page's meaning is this. Seeing the horns (the types of cuckholdom) in Falſtaff's hand, ſhe aſks her huſband, whether thoſe yokes are not more proper in the *foreſt* than in *the town*; i. e. than in his own family. THEOBALD.

The editor of the ſecond folio changed *yokes* to—*oaks*. MALONE.

[9] — *to maſter* Brook;] We ought rather to read with the old quarto, —"which muſt be paid to maſter *Ford*;" for as Ford, to mortify Falſtaff, addreſſes him throughout this ſpeech by the name of *Brook*, the deſcribing himſelf by the ſame name creates a confuſion. A modern editor plauſibly enough reads—"which muſt be paid *too*, Maſter Brook;" but the firſt ſketch ſhews that *to* is right; for the ſentence, as it ſtands in the quarto, will not admit *too*. MALONE.

never meet. I will never take you for my love again, but I will always count you my deer.

Fal. I do begin to perceive, that I am made an aſs.

Ford. Ay, and an ox too; both the proofs are extant.

Fal. And theſe are not fairies? I was three or four times in the thought, they were not fairies: and yet the guiltineſs of my mind, the ſudden ſurprize of my powers, drove the groſſneſs of the foppery into a receiv'd belief, in deſpight of the teeth of all rhime and reaſon, that they were fairies. See now, how wit may be made a Jack-a-lent[1], when 'tis upon ill employment!

Evans. Sir John Falſtaff, ſerve Got, and leave your deſires, and fairies will not pinſe you.

Ford. Well ſaid, fairy Hugh.

Evans. And leave your jealouſies too, I pray you.

Ford. I will never miſtruſt my wife again, till thou art able to woo her in good Engliſh.

Fal. Have I lay'd my brain in the ſun, and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent ſo groſs o'er-reaching as this? Am I ridden with a Welch goat too? Shall I have a coxcomb of frize[2]? 'tis time I were choak'd with a piece of toaſted cheeſe.

Evans. Seeſe is not good to give putter; your pelly is all putter.

Fal. Seeſe and putter! Have I lived to ſtand at the taunt of one that makes fritters of Engliſh? This is enough to be the decay of luſt and late-walking, through the realm.

Mrs. Page. Why, ſir John, do you think, though we would have thruſt virtue out of our hearts by the head and ſhoulders, and have given ourſelves without ſcruple to hell, that ever the devil could have made you our delight?

Ford. What, a hodge-pudding? a bag of flax?

Mrs. Page. A puff'd man?

Page. Old, cold, wither'd, and of intolerable entrails?

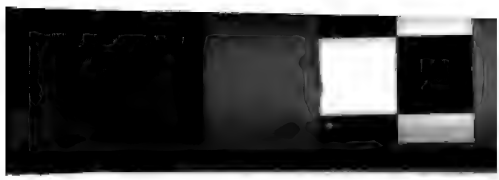
Ford. And one that is as ſlanderous as Satan?

Page. And as poor as Job?

1 — *how wit may be made a* Jack-a-lent,] See p. 254, n. 8. MALONE.

2 — *a coxcomb of frize?*] i. e. a fool's cap made out of Welch materials. Wales was famous for this cloth. STEEVENS.

Ford.



Ford. And as wicked as his wife?

Evans. And given to fornications, and to taverns, and ſack, and wine, and metheglins, and to drinkings, and ſwearings, and ſtarings, pribbles and prabbles.

Fal. Well, I am your theme; you have the ſtart of me; I am dejected; I am not able to anſwer the Welch flannel[3]; ignorance itſelf is a plummet o'er me[4]: uſe me as you will.

Ford. Marry, ſir, we'll bring you to windſor, to one maſter Brook, that you have cozen'd of money, to whom you ſhould have been a pandar: over and above that you have ſuffered, I think, to repay that money will be a biting affliction.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, huſband[5], let that go to make amends: Forgive that ſum, and ſo we'll all be friends.

Ford. Well, here's my hand; all's forgiven at laſt.

Page. Yet be cheerful, knight: thou ſhalt eat a poſſet to-night at my houſe; where I will deſire thee to laugh

3 — *the Welch* flannel;] The very word is derived from a *Welch* one, ſo that it is almoſt unneceſſary to add that *flannel* was originally the manufacture of Wales. STEEVENS.

It probably might make part of Sir Hugh's dreſs. EDWARDS.

4 *Ignorance itſelf is a plummet o'er me:*] The meaning may be, I am ſo enfeebled, that *ignorance itſelf* weighs me down and oppreſſes me. JOHNSON.

Perhaps Falſtaff's meaning may be this: "Ignorance itſelf is a plummet *o'er me:* i. e. *above me*;" ignorance itſelf is not ſo low as I am, by the length of a *plummet-line*. TYRWHITT.

Dr. Johnſon, for *plummet*, propoſes to read *plume*; Dr. Farmer ſuggeſts —*planet*. The latter conjecture (ſays Mr. Steevens) derives ſome ſupport from a paſſage in *K. Henry VI.* where Queen Margaret ſays, that Suffolk's face

"——— rul'd like a wand'ring *planet over* me."

I am ſatisfied with the old reading. MALONE.

5 Mrs. Ford. *Nay, huſband,* &c.] This and the following little ſpeech I have inſerted from the old quartos. The retrenchment, I preſume, was by the players. Sir John Falſtaff is ſufficiently puniſhed, in being diſappointed and expoſed. The expectation of his being proſecuted for the twenty pounds, gives the concluſion too tragical a turn. Beſides, it is *poetical juſtice* that Ford ſhould ſuſtain this loſs, as a fine for his unreaſonable jealouſy. THEOBALD.

at my wife[6], that now laughs at thee: Tell her, maſter Slender hath married her daughter.

Mrs. Page. Doctors doubt that; if Anne Page be my daughter, ſhe is, by this, doctor Caius wife. [*Aſide.*

Enter SLENDER.

Slen. Whoo, ho! ho! father Page!

Page. Son! how now? how now, ſon? have you diſpatch'd?

Slen. Diſpatch'd! I'll make the beſt in Glouceſterſhire know on't; would I were hang'd, la, elſe.

Page. Of what, ſon?

Slen. I came yonder at Eton to marry miſtreſs Anne Page, and ſhe's a great lubberly boy: If it had not been i'the church, I would have ſwinged him, or he ſhould have ſwinged me. If I did not think it had been Anne Page, would I might never ſtir, and 'tis a poſt-maſter's boy.

Page. Upon my life then you took the wrong.

Slen. What need you tell me that? I think ſo, when I took a boy for a girl: If I had been married to him, for all he was in woman's apparel, I would not have had him.

Page. Why, this is your own folly; Did not I tell you, how you ſhould know my daughter by her garments?

Slen. I went to her in white[7], and cry'd, *mum*, and ſhe cry'd *budget*, as Anne and I had appointed; and yet it was not Anne, but a poſt-maſter's boy.

Evans. Jeſhu! Maſter Slender, cannot you ſee but marry boys[8]?

6 — *laugh at my wife,*] The two plots are excellently connected, and the tranſition very artfully made in this ſpeech. JOHNSON.

7 — *in* white,] The old copy, by the inadvertence of either the author or tranſcriber, reads—in *green*; and in the two ſubſequent ſpeeches of Mrs. Page, inſtead of *green* we find *white*. The corrections, which are fully juſtified by what has preceded, (ſee p. 292,) were made by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

8 — *marry boys?*] This and the next ſpeech are likewiſe reſtorations from the old quarto. STEEVENS.

Page.

Page. O, I am vex'd at heart: What ſhall I do?

Mrs. Page. Good George, be not angry: I knew of your purpoſe; turn'd my daughter into green; and, indeed, ſhe is now with the doctor at the deanery, and there married.

Enter CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is miſtreſs Page? By gar, I am cozened; I ha' married *un garçon*, a boy; *un paiſan*, by gar, a boy; it is not Anne Page: by gar, I am cozened.

Mrs. Page. Why, did you take her in green?

Caius. Ay, be gar, and 'tis a boy: be gar, I'll raiſe all Windſor. [*Exit* CAIUS.

Ford. This is ſtrange: Who hath got the right Anne?

Page. My heart miſgives me: Here comes maſter Fenton.

Enter FENTON, *and* ANNE PAGE.

How now, maſter Fenton?

Anne. Pardon, good father! good my mother, pardon!

Page. Now, miſtreſs? how chance you went not with maſter Slender?

Mrs. Page. Why went you not with maſter doctor, maid?

Fent. You do amaze her; Hear the truth of it.
You would have married her moſt ſhamefully,
Where there was no proportion held in love.
The truth is, She and I, long ſince contracted,
Are now ſo ſure, that nothing can diſſolve us.
The offence is holy, that ſhe hath committed:
And this deceit loſes the name of craft,
Of diſobedience, or unduteous title;
Since therein ſhe doth evitate and ſhun
A thouſand irreligious curſed hours,
Which forced marriage would have brought upon her.

Ford. Stand not amaz'd: here is no remedy:—
In love, the heavens themſelves do guide the ſtate;
Money buys lands, and wives are ſold by fate.

Fal. I am glad, though you have ta'en a ſpecial ſtand to ſtrike at me, that your arrow hath glanced.

Page. Well, what remedy[1]? Fenton, heaven give thee joy!
What cannot be eschew'd, muſt be embrac'd.
Fal. When night-dogs run, all ſorts of deer are chas'd[1].
Evans. I will dance and eat plums at your wedding[2].
Mrs. Page. Well, I will muſe no further:—Maſter Fenton,
Heaven give you many, many merry days!—
Good husband, let us every one go home,
And laugh this ſport o'er by a country fire;
Sir John and all.
Ford. Let it be ſo:—Sir John,
To maſter Brook you yet ſhall hold your word;
For he, to-night, ſhall lie with miſtreſs Ford[3]. [*Exeunt.*

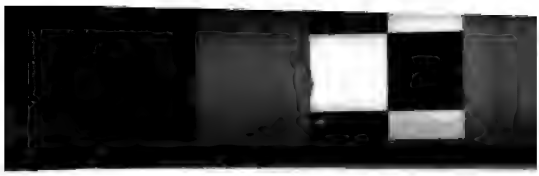
[1] *Page. Well, what remedy?*—] In the firſt ſketch of this play, which, as Mr. Pope obſerves, is much inferior to the latter performance, the only ſentiment of which I regret the omiſſion, occurs at this critical time. When Fenton brings in his wife, there is this dialogue.

Mrs. Ford. *Come, miſtreſs Page, I muſt be bold with you,*
'Tis pity to part love that is ſo true.
Mrs. Page. [*Aſide.*] *Although that I have wiſh'd in my intent,*
Yet I am glad my huſband's match is croſs'd.
—Here Fenton, take her—
Evans. *Come, maſter Page, you muſt needs agree.*
Ford. *In faith, ſir, come, you ſee your wife is pleas'd.*
Page. *I cannot tell, and yet my heart is eas'd;*
And yet it doth me good the doctor miſs'd.
Come hither, Fenton, and come hither, daughter. JOHNSON.

[1] *—all ſorts of deer are chas'd.*] Young and old, does as well as bucks. He alludes to Fenton's having juſt *run down* Anne Page. MALONE.

[2] *I will dance* &c.] This ſpeech was reſtored from the firſt quarto by Mr. Pope; but inſerted improperly before that of Falſtaff, which ſeems to have been intended to rhime with the preceding line. MALONE.

[3] Of this play there is a tradition preſerved by Mr. Rowe, that it was written at the command of queen Elizabeth, who was ſo delighted with the character of Falſtaff, that ſhe wiſhed it to be diffuſed through more plays; but ſuſpecting that it might pall by continued uniformity, directed the poet to diverſify his manner, by ſhewing him in love. No taſk is harder than that of writing to the ideas of another. Shakſpeare knew what the queen, if the ſtory be true, ſeems not to have known, that by any real paſſion of tenderneſs, the ſelfiſh craft, the careleſs jollity, and the lazy luxury of Falſtaff muſt have ſuffered ſo much abatement,



ment, that little of his former caſt would have remained. Falſtaff could not love, but by ceaſing to be Falſtaff. He could only counterfeit love, and his profeſſions could be prompted, not by the hope of pleaſure, but of money. Thus the poet approached as near as he could to the work enjoined him; yet having perhaps in the former plays completed his own idea, ſeems not to have been able to give Falſtaff all his former power of entertainment.

This comedy is remarkable for the variety and number of the perſonages, who exhibit more characters appropriated and diſcriminated, than perhaps can be found in any other play.

Whether Shakſpeare was the firſt that produced upon the Engliſh ſtage the effect of language diſtorted and depraved by provincial or foreign pronunciation, I cannot certainly decide *. This mode of forming ridiculous characters can confer praiſe only on him, who originally diſcovered it, for it requires not much of either wit or judgment: its ſucceſs muſt be derived almoſt wholly from the player, but its power in a ſkilful mouth, even he that deſpiſes it, is unable to reſiſt.

The conduct of this drama is deficient; the action begins and ends often before the concluſion, and the different parts might change places without inconvenience; but its general power, that power by which all works of genius ſhall finally be tried, is ſuch, that perhaps it never yet had reader or ſpectator, who did not think it too ſoon at an end. JOHNSON.

The ſtory of *The two Lovers of Piſa*, from which (as Dr. Farmer has obſerved) Falſtaff's adventures in this play ſeem to have been taken, is thus related in *Tarleton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, bl. let. no date. [Entered in the Stationers' Books, June 16, 1590.]

"In Piſa, a famous cittie of Italye, there liued a gentleman of good linage and landes, feared as well for his wealth, as honoured for his vertue; but indeed well thought on for both: yet the better for his riches. This gentleman had one onelye daughter called Margaret, who for her beauty was liked of all, and deſired of many: but neither might their ſutes, nor her owne preuaile about her fathers reſolution, who was determyned not to marrye her, but to ſuch a man as ſhould be able in abundance to maintain the excellency of her beauty. Diuers young gentlemen proffered large feoffments, but in vaine: a maide ſhee muſt bee ſtill: till at laſt an olde doctor in the towne, that profeſſed phiſicke, became a ſutor to her; who was a welcome man to her father, in that he was one of the welthieſt men in all Piſa. A tall ſtrippling he was, and a proper youth, his age about foureſcore; his head as white as milke, wherein for offence ſake there was left neuer a tooth: but it is no mat-

* In the *Three Ladies of London*, 1584, is the character of an *Italian* merchant, very ſtrongly marked by foreign pronunciation. Dr. *Dodypoll*, in the comedy which bears his name, is, like *Caius*, a French phyſician. This piece appeared at leaſt a year before the *Merry Wiues of Windſor*. The hero of it ſpeaks ſuch another jargon as the antagoniſt of Sir Hugh, and like him is cheated of his miſtreſs. In ſeveral other pieces, more ancient than the earlieſt of Shakſpeare's, provincial characters are introduced. STEEVENS.

ter;

ter; what he wanted in perſon he had in the purſe; which the poore gentlewoman little regarded, wiſhing rather to tie her ſelf to one that might fit her content, though they liued meanely, then to him with all the wealth in Italye. But ſhee was yong and forceſt to follow her fathers direction, who vpon large couenants was content his daughter ſhould marry with the doctor, and whether ſhe like him or no, the match was made vp, and in ſhort time ſhe was married. The poore wench was bound to the ſtake, and had not onely an old impotent man, but one that was ſo jealous, as none might enter into his houſe without ſuſpicion, nor ſhe doo any thing without blame: the leaſt glance, the ſmalleſt countenance, any ſmile, was a manifeſt inſtance to him, that ſhee thought of others better than himſelfe; thvs he himſelfe liued in a hell, and tormented his wife in as ill perplexitie. At laſt it chaunced, that a young gentleman of the citie comming by her houſe, and ſeeing her looke out at her window, noting her rare and excellent proportion, fell in loue with her, and that ſo extreamelye, as his paſſions had no means till her fauour might mittigate his heartſicke diſcontent. The young man that was ignorant in amorous matters, and had neuer beene vſed to courte anye gentlewoman, thought to reueale his paſſions to ſome one freend, that might giue him counſaile for the winning of her loue; and thinking experience was the fureſt maiſter, on a daye ſeeing the olde doctor walking in the churche, (that was Margarets huſband,) little knowing who he was, he thought this the fitteſt man to whom he might diſcouer his paſſions, for that hee was olde and knewe much, and was a phiſition that with his drugges might helpe him forward in his purpoſes: ſo that ſeeing the old man walke ſolitary, he ioinde vnto him, and after a curteous ſalute, tolde him he was to impart a matter of great import vnto him; wherein if hee would not onely be ſecrete, but indeuour to pleaſure him, his pains ſhould bee euery way to the full conſidered. You muſt imagine, gentleman, quoth Mutio, for ſo was the doctors name, that men of our profeſſion are no blabs, but hold their ſecrets in their hearts' bottome; and therefore reueale what you pleaſe, it ſhall not onely be concealed, but cured; if either my art or counſaile may do it. Upon this Lionello, (ſo was the young gentleman called) told and diſcourſt vnto him from point to point how he was falne in loue with a gentlewoman that was maried to one of his profeſſion; diſcouered her dwelling and the houſe; and for that he was vnacquainted with the woman, and a man little experienced in loue matters, he required his fauour to further him with his aduiſe. Mutio at this motion was ſtung to the hart, knowing it was his wife hee was fallen in loue withal: yet to conceale the matter, and to experience his wiue's chaſtity, and that if ſhe plaide falſe, he might be reuengde on them both, he diſſembled the matter, and anſwered, that he knewe the woman very well, and commended her highly; but ſaide, ſhe had a churle to her huſband, and therefore he thought ſhee would bee the more tractable: trie her man, quoth hee; fainte hart neuer woonne fair lady; and if ſhee will not be brought to the bent of your bowe, I will provide ſuch a potion as ſhall diſpatch all to your owne content; and

so

to giue you further inſtructions for opportunitie, knowe that her huſband is foorth euery afternoone from three till ſixe. Thus farre I haue aduiſed you, becauſe I pitty your paſſions as my ſelfe being once a louer: but now I charge thee, reueale it to none whomſoeuer, leaſt it doo diſparage my credit, to meddle in amorous matters. The young gentleman not onely promiſed all carefull ſecrecy, but gaue him harty thanks for his good counſell, promiſing to meete him there the next day, and tell him what newes. Then hee left the old man, who was almoſt mad for feare his wife any way ſhould play falſe. He ſaw by experience, braue men came to beſiege the caſtle, and ſeeing it was in a womans cuſtodie, and had ſo weake a gouernor as himſelfe, he doubted it would in time be deliuered up: which feare made him almoſt franticke, yet he driude of the time in great torment, till he might heare from his riual. Lionello, he haſtes him home, and ſutes him in his brauerye, and goes downe towards the houſe of Mutio, where he ſees her at her windowe, whom he courted with a paſſionate looke, with ſuch an humble ſalute, as ſhee might perceiue how the gentleman was affectionate. Margaretta looking earneſtlye upon him, and noting the perfection of his proportion, accounted him in her eye the flower of all Piſa; thinkte her ſelfe fortunate if ſhe might haue him for her freend, to ſupply thoſe defaultes that ſhe found in Mutio. Sundry times that afternoone he paſt by her window, and he caſt not vp more louing lookes, then he receiued gratious fauours: which did ſo incourage him, that the next daye betweene three aud ſixe hee went to her houſe, and knocking at the doore, defired to ſpeake with the miſtris of the houſe, who hearing by her maids deſcription what he was, commaunded him to come in, where ſhe interteined him with all curteſie.

"The youth that neuer before had giuen the attempt to couet a ladye, began his exordium with a bluſhe; and yet went forward ſo well, that hee diſcourſt vnto her howe hee loued her, and that if it might pleaſe her ſo to accept of his ſeruice, as of a freende euer vowde in all duetye to bee at her commaunde, the care of her honour ſhould bee deerer to him then his life, and hee would bee ready to priſe her diſcontent with his bloud at all times.

"The gentlewoman was a little coye, but before they part they concluded that the next day at foure of the clock hee ſhould come thither and eate a pound of cherries, which was reſolued on with a ſuccado des labres; and ſo with a loath to depart they tooke their leaues. Lionello, as ioyfull a man as might be, hyed him to the church to meete his olde doctor, where hee found him in his olde walke. What newes, ſyr, quoth Mutio? How haue you ſped? Even as I can wiſhe, quoth Lionello; for I haue been with my miſtreſſe, and haue found her ſo tractable, that I hope to make the olde peaſant her huſband looke broadheadded by a paire of brow-antlers. How deepe this ſtrooke into Mutios hart, let them imagine that can conjecture what ielouſie is; inſomuch that the olde doctor aſkte, when ſhould be the time: marry, quoth Lionello, to morrow at foure of the clocke in the afternoone; and

and then maister doctor, quoth hee, will I dub the olde squire knight of the forlest order.

"Thus they past on in chat, till it grew late; and then Lyonello went home to his lodging, and Mutio to his house, comming all his forrowes with a merrye countenance, with full resolution to revenge them both the next day with extremetie. He past the night as patiently as he could, and the next day after dinner awaye hee went, watching when it should bee four of the clocke. At the houre iustly came Lyonello, and was intertained with all curtesie: but scarse had they kist, ere the maide cried out to her mistresse that her maister was at the doore; for he hasted, knowing that a horne was but a litle while in grafting. Margaret at this alarum was amazed, and yet for a shifte chopt Lyonello into a great driefatte full of feathers, and sat her downe close to her woorke: by that came Mutio in blowing; and as though hee came to looke somewhat in hafte, called for the keyes of his chambers, and looked in everye place, searching so narrowlye in everye corner of the house, that he left not the very priuie vnsearcht. Seeing he could not finde him, hee saide nothing, but fayning himselfe not well at ease, stayde at home, so that poore Lionello was faine to staye in the drifatte till the olde churle was in bed with his wife: and then the maide let him out at a backe doore, who went home with a flea in his eare to his lodging.

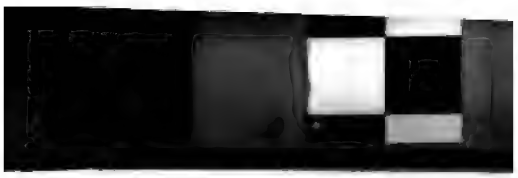
"Well, the next daye he went againe to meete his doctor, whome hee found in his woonted walke. What news, quoth Mutio? How haue you sped*? A poxe of the olde slaue, quoth Lionello, I was no sooner in, and had giuen my mistresse one kisse, but the iealous asse was at the door; the maide spied him, and, cryed, *her maister:* so that the poore gentlewoman for verye shifte, was faine to put me in a driefatte of feathers that stoode in an olde chamber, and there I was faine to tarrie while he was in bed and asleepe, and then the maide let me out, and I departed.

"But it is no matter; 'twas but a chaunce; and I hope to crye quittance with him ere it be long. As how, quoth Mutio? Marry thus, quoth Lionello: she sent me woord by her maide this daye, that upon Thursday next the old churle suppeth with a patient of his a mile out of Pisa, and then I feare not but to quitte him for all. It is well, quoth Mutio; fortune bee your freende. I thank you, quoth Lionello; and so after a little more prattle they departed.

"To be shorte, Thursday came; and about sixe of the clocke foorth goes Mutio, no further than a freendes house of his, from whence hee might descrye who went into his house. Straight hee sawe Lionello enter in; and after goes hee, insomuche that hee was scarselye fitten downe, before the mayde cryed out againe, *my maister comes.* The good wife that before had provided for afterclaps, had found out a priuie place between two seelings of a plauncher, and there she thrust Lionello; and her husband came sweting. What news, quoth shee, driues you home

* See *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, p. 268.

again



againe ſo ſoone huſband? Marrye, ſweete wife, (quoth he) a fearfull dreame that I had this night, which came to my remembrance; & that was this: Methought there was a villeine that came ſecretly into my houſe with a naked poinard in his hand, and hid himſelfe; but I could not finde the place: with that mine noſe bled, and I came backe; and by the grace of God I will ſeeke eury corner in the houſe for the quiet of my minde. Marry I pray you doo, huſband, quoth ſhe. With that he lockt in all the doors, and began to ſearch euery chamber, euery hole, euery cheſt, euery tub, the very well; he ſtabd euery fetherbed through, and made hauocke, like a mad man, which made him thinke all was in vaine, and hee began to blame his eies that thought they ſaw that which they did not. Upon this he reſte halfe lunaticke, and all night he was very wakefull; that towards the morning he fell into a dead ſleepe, and then was Lionello conueighed away.

"In the morning when Mutio wakened, hee thought how by no meanes hee ſhould be able to take Lyonello tardy: yet he laid in his head a moſt dangerous plot, and that was this. Wife, quoth he, I muſt the next Monday ride to Vycenſa to viſit an olde patient of mine; till my returne, which will be ſome ten dayes, I will haue thee ſtay at our little graunge houſe in the countrey. Marry very well content, huſband, quoth ſhe: with that he kiſt her, and was verye pleaſant, as though he had ſuſpected nothing, and away hee flinges to the church, where hee meetes Lionello. What ſir, quoth he, what newes? Is your miſtreſſe yours in poſſeſſion? No, a plague of the old ſlaue, quoth he: I think he is either a witch, or els woorkes by magick: for I can no ſooner enter in the doors, but he is at my backe, and ſo he was againe yeſternight; for I was not warm in my ſeat before the maide cried, *my maiſter comes*; and then was the poore ſoule faine to conuiegh me between two ſeelings of a chamber in a fit place for the purpoſe: wher I laught hartely to myſelf, to ſee how he ſought euery corner, ranſackt euery tub, and ſtabd euery featherbed,—but in vaine; I was ſafe enough till the morning, and then when he was faſt aſleepe, I lept out. Fortune frowns on you, quoth Mutio: Ay, but I hope, quoth Lionello, this is the laſt time, and now ſhee will begin to ſmile; for on Monday next he rides to Vicenſa, and his wife lyes at a grange houſe a little of the towne, and there in his abſence I will reuenge all forepaſſed misfortunes. God ſend it be ſo, quoth Mutio; and took his leaue. Theſe two louers longed for Monday, and at laſt it came. Early in the morning Mutio horſt himſelfe, and his wife, his maide, and a man, and no more, and away he rides to his grange houſe; where after he had brok his faſt he took his leaue, and away towards Vicenſa. He rode not far ere by a falſe way he returned into a thicket, and there with a company of cuntry peaſants lay in an ambuſcade to take the young gentleman. In the afternoon comes Lionello gallopping; and aſſoon as he came within ſight of the houſe, he ſent back his horſe by his boy, & went eaſily afoot, & there at the very entry was entertained by Margaret, who led him vp ye ſtaires, and conuaid him into her bedchamber, ſaying he was wel-

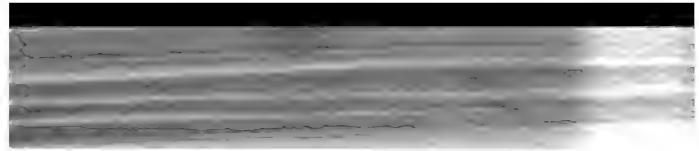
come into so mean a seruice: but quoth she, now I hope fortune shal set you in the pantry of no knaues. Alas, alas, mistris (cried the maid,) beer a my maister, and doe meet with me, with oathes and blowes. We are betraid, quoth Lionell, and I am but a dead man. Feare not, quoth she, but follow me; and straight she carries him couertly into a lowe parlor, where stoode as good store cheefe full of writinges. She put him into that, and couered him with old papers and euidences, and went to the gate to meete her husband. Why signior Mutio, what means this hurly burly, quoth she? Vile & shamelesse strumpet as thou art, thou shalt know by and by, quoth he. Where is thy louer? Ail we haue watcht him, & seen him enter in: now quoth he, shal neither thy tub of feasters nor thy seeming serue, for perish he shall with fire, or els fall into my hands. Peace thy words, iealous foole, quoth she; I aske thee no fauour. With that in a rage he setes the house round, and then set fire on it. Oh in what a perplexitie was poore Lionello, that was fast in a cheft, and the fire about his eares? And how was Margaret passionat, that knew her louer in such danger? Yet the maide light of the matter, and as soone in a rage called her maid to her and saide: Come on, wench; seeing my maister mad with iealousie hath set the house and al my liuing on fire, I will be reuenged vpon him; help me heer to lift this old cheft where all his writings and deeds are; let that burne first; and afore as I see that on fire, I will walk towards my freendes: for the old foole will be egd on, and I will reuile him. Mutio that knew al his obligations and euidences there, pold her back, and had two of his men carry the cheft into the feeld, and see it were safe; himself standing by and seeing his house burnd downe, sticke and stone. Then quieted in his mynde he went home with his wife, and began to flatter her, thinking alreadie y^t he had burnd her paramour; causing his cheft to be carried in a cart to his house at Pisa. Margaret impatient went to her mothers, and complained to her and to her brethren of the iealousie of her husband; who maintained her it be true, and desired but a daies respite to proue it. Wel, hee was bidden to supper the next night at her mothers, she thinking to make her daughter and him freends againe. In the meane time he to his woonted walk in the church, & there *præter expectationem* he found Lionello walking. Wondring at this, he straight enquires, what news? What newes, maister doctor, quoth he, and he fell in a great laughing: in faith yesterday I scapt a scowring; for, syrrah, I went to the grange house, where I was appointed to come, and I was no sooner gotten vp the chamber, but the magicall villeine her husband beset the house with bils & staues, and that he might be sure no seeling nor corner should shrowde me, he set the house on fire, and so burnt it to the ground. Why, quoth Mutio, and how did you escape? Alas, quoth he, wel fare a womans wit! She conueighed me into an old cheft ful of writings, which she knew her husband durst not burne; and so was I saued and brought to Pisa, and yesternight by her maide let home to my lodging. This, quoth he, is the pleasantest ieft that euer I heard; and vpon this I haue a sute to you. I am this

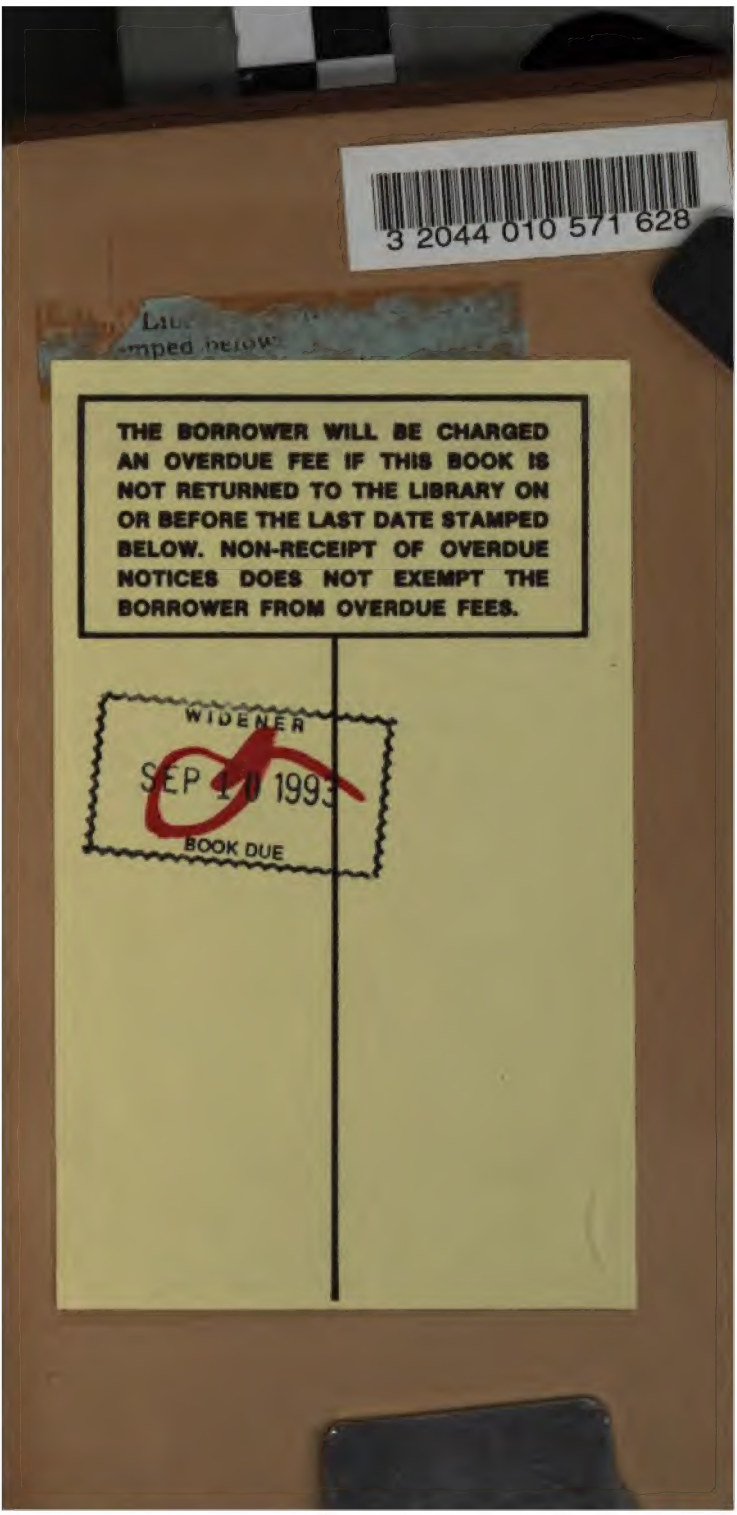
night bidden foorth to ſupper; you ſhall be my gueſt; onelye I will craue ſo much favour, as after ſupper for a pleaſant ſporte to make relation what ſucceſſe you haue had in your loues. For that I will not ſticke, quoth he; and ſo he carried Lionello to his mother-in-lawes houſe with him, and diſcoured to his wiues brethren who he was, and how at ſupper he would diſcloſe the whole matter: for quoth he, he knowes not that I am Margarets huſband. At this all the brethren bad him welcome, & ſo did the mother too; and Margaret ſhe was kept out of ſight. Supper-time being come, they fell to their victals, & Lionello was carrowſt vnto by Mutio, who was very pleaſant, to draw him to a merry humor, that he might to the ful diſcourſe the effect & fortunes of his loue. Supper being ended, Mutio requeſted him to tel to the gentlemen what had hapned between him & his miſtreſſe. Lionello with a ſmiling countenance began to deſcribe his miſtreſſe, the houſe and ſtreet where ſhe dwelt, how he fell in loue with her, and how he vſed the counſell of this doctor, who in al his affaires was his ſecretarye. Margaret heard all this with a great feare; & when he came at the laſt point ſhe cauſed a cup of wine to be given him by one of her ſiſters wherein was a ring that he had giuen Margaret. As he had told how he eſcapt burning, and was ready to confirm all for a troth, the gentlewoman drunke to him; who taking the cup, and ſeeing the ring, hauing a quick wit and a reaching head, ſpide the fetch, and perceiued that all this while this was his louers huſband, to whome hee had reuealed theſe eſcapes. At this drinking ye wine, and ſwallowing the ring into his mouth, he went forward: Gentlemen, quoth he, how like you of my loues and my fortunes? Wel, quoth the gentlemen; I pray you is it true? As true, quoth he, as if I would be ſo ſimple as to reueal what I did to Margarets huſband: for know you, gentlemen, that I knew this Mutio to be her huſband whom I notified to be my louer; and for yt he was generally known through Piſa to be a iealous fool, therefore with theſe tales I brought him into this paradice, which indeed are follies of mine owne braine: for truſt me, by the faith of a gentleman, I neuer ſpake to the woman, was neuer in her companye, neither doo I know her if I ſee her. At this they all fell in a laughing at Mutio, who was aſhamde that Lionello had ſo ſcoft him: but all was well,—they were made friends; but the ieſt went ſo to his hart, that he ſhortly after died, and Lionello enioyed the ladye: and for that they two were the death of the old man, now are they plagued in purgatory, and he whips them with nettles."

It is obſervable that in the foregoing novel (which, I believe, Shakſpeare had read,) there is no trace of the buck-baſket.—In the firſt tale of *The Fortunate, the Deceived, and Unfortunate Lovers*, (of which I have an edition printed in 1684, but the novels it contains had probably appeared in Engliſh in our author's time,) a young ſtudent of Bologna is taught by an old doctor how to make love; and his firſt eſſay is practiſed on his inſtructor's wife. The jealous huſband having tracked his pupil to his houſe, enters unexpectedly, fully perſuaded

fancied that he should detect the lady and her lover together; but the gallant is protected from his fury by being concealed *under a heap of foul half-dried*; and afterwards informs him, (not knowing that his enemy was likewise his mistress's husband,) what a lucky escape he had. It is therefore, I think, highly probable that Shakspeare had read both stories. MALONE.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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